

Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic

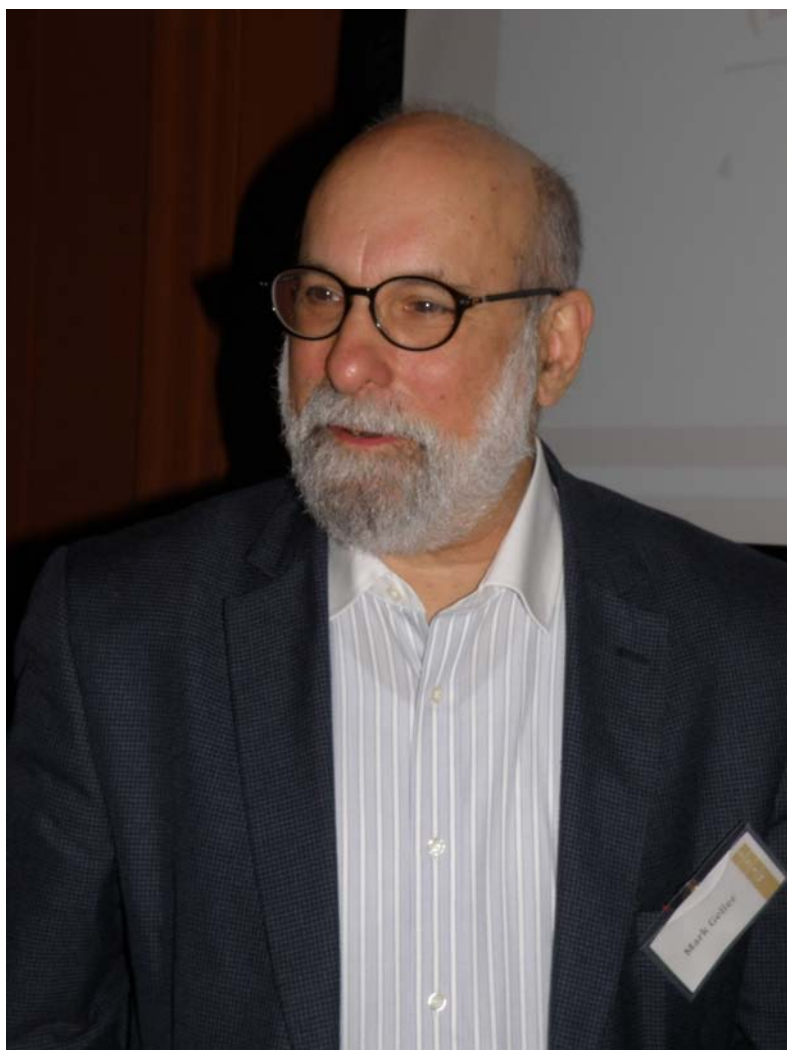
Ancient Magic and Divination

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Professor M.J. Geller

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Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic

Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller

Edited by

Strahil V. Panayotov
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with the assistance of

Gene Trabich



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Preface

The present *Festschrift* by Mark Geller's colleagues, friends, and disciples could not possibly cover the incredibly eclectic range of the honoree's scholarly interests and expertise. Instead, this volume was conceived as a thematically tight collection of essays bringing to light a representative selection of the scientific, scholarly and technical knowledge produced by the Cuneiform Cultures. This fits well with Mark's untiring efforts to uncover, analyze, contextualize and interconnect ever more information for a continuous reconstruction of a History of Knowledge in the Ancient Mediterranean in general, and in Ancient Western Asia in particular.

More specifically, the book's conceptual focus is the virtually inexhaustible pool of Mesopotamian learning and procedures concerned with the diagnostics and healing of various human physical ailments and mental complaints. This has been Mark's life-long endeavour to which he can enumerate significant accomplishments that have enriched the field of Assyriological research. Although Assyriologists are scattered throughout the world, they have kept a keen eye on Mark's research journey. It is to be hoped that these new materials, analyses, and interpretations build on his body of work and provide a worthy and appropriate tribute to the man who has truly made a mark on the research of Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic.

Initially, Mesopotamia was not at the centre of Mark's interests, though. The son of a Rabbi he found early on the allure of scholarship and research more enticing than the family tradition of leading a congregation. His scholarly development began in Classics (1970 BA, Princeton) and Semitics (1974 PhD, Brandeis). Having quickly become an expert in the latter, he rose to the position of Professor at the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies of the University College London (1976). From 1984 to 1993, Mark was the Head of that Department. Since 1982 he acted also as the Director of the Institute of Jewish Studies at the University College London.

In 1974, upon advice from Donald J. Wiseman, Mark embarked on the study of the large series of incantations against *Evil Demons* (Udug-ḫul) that have subsequently become his companions for more than 40 years. While scrutinizing the cuneiform tablets in the British Museum the same year, Mark met the formidable doyen of British Assyriology Wilfred G. Lambert who definitively fixed Mark's mind on the target of preparing a comprehensive edition of the whole series (see 1.1.11, p. 1; for the references go to Mark's bibliography in this volume). Then his Sumero-Akkadian journey through the "Land-of-the-Two-Rivers" began floating on cuneiform tablets in the British Museum.

Mark's key colleague during that journey has been the modern Noah, Irving Finkel, who has relentlessly supplied Mark with fabulous texts and ideas for decades, and continues to do so not only for his old friend but also for the group of young scholars with whom Mark has recently surrounded himself in Berlin.

Mark spent a year at Munich University (1980–1981) as a Humboldt Fellow working with Dietz O. Edzard. The fruits of his stay at Munich soon became ripe for harvest and his monograph edition of Old Babylonian monolingual Sumerian “Forerunners to Udu-gul” was published in 1985 (1.1.1). Mark steadily nourished his interest in Sumerian over the years, and thus he was able to work on Sumero-Akkadian bilingual incantations in Philadelphia and Chicago during 1987–1988 with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). In 1990, an important product of Mark's long-term engagement with Sumerian literature was published in collaboration with Bendt Alster: a volume of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* (part 58) entitled “Sumerian Literary Texts” (1.1.2).

The years 1994–1995 proved to be an auspicious period for exploring Mesopotamian magic under the aegis of the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies (NIAS) in Wassenaar. A group of scholars consisting of Tzvi Abusch, Wim van Binsbergen, Mark Geller, Shaul Shaked, Karel van der Toorn, and Frans Wiggermann worked on various topics of “Magic and Religion in the Ancient Near East”. Their collaborative research resulted in the very first volume in the series *Ancient Magic and Divination* (1999). In 1994 Mark delivered his inaugural lecture at UCL showing that Cuneiform was written alongside Greek on the so-called Graeco-Babyloniaca tablets. He thereby conclusively proved that Cuneiform had survived into the first centuries AD. This finding provides an important methodological foundation for establishing connections between Akkadian, Aramaic, Greek and Talmudic medicine and magic. Mark has published the results in his seminal 1997 paper “The Last Wedge” (2.2.26).

During 1996–1998, Mark received funding from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for three-month research visits to the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, the Freie Universität Berlin, Universität Leipzig and the collection of cuneiform texts kept at the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. His work on Ur III incantations in the Hilprecht collection at Jena, drawing on the preliminary results achieved by the late Johannes J.A. van Dijk and the collaboration of Joachim Oelsner, was published in 2003 (1.1.3).

In 2000–2001, Mark received another fellowship at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies (NIAS) in Wassenaar. He spent the year researching Greek and Babylonian medicine together with Philip van der Eijk and Manfred Horstmanshoff. The results of that work found their way into a volume

on *Magic and Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine*, published in 2004.

Another very important research institution in Mark's career has been the Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte (MPIWG) in Berlin, of which he is also a Fellow and which he has visited on many occasions in 2002, 2007, 2008, and 2009. Two important studies of his were spawned at the MPIWG: *Akkadian Healing Therapies in the Babylonian Talmud* of 2004 (1.1.4) and *Look to the Stars: Babylonian Medicine, Magic, Astrology and Melothesia* (1.1.8) of 2010, later developed into *Melothesia in Babylonia: Medicine, Magic, and Astrology in the Ancient Near East* of 2014 (1.1.9). During his stay at the MPIWG in the summer of 2002 Mark has had the opportunity to occasionally meet the *Grossmeister* of research on Mesopotamian medicine, Franz Köcher. The two scholars reached important points of agreement with implications for future work on and style of publications of cuneiform medical texts, as demonstrated in Mark's *Renal and Rectal Disease Texts* (1.1.5).

I (i.e. Mark) proposed a new scheme for the BAM series. The next volume would contain autograph copies of thematically selected texts. Instead of the extensive indices, the autograph copies would be accompanied by text editions and translations of the copied tablets, together with the duplicates published previously in BAM, or in Campbell Thompson's Assyrian Medical Texts (AMT). Köcher agreed that after publication of six volumes of copies and indices, it was now time to begin editing the medical corpus in modern transliterations and translations, to make the material accessible to non-specialists and even non-Assyriologists.

1.1.5, p. vii

In 2005–2006, Mark was Visiting Professor at the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris, funded by the Wellcome Trust. In June 2009, Mark was awarded a Doctorate Honoris Causa from the New Bulgarian University in Sofia, where he organized several conferences resulting in the publication of *Melammu: The Ancient World in an Age of Globalization* in 2014 (1.2.9).

The year 2010 represents a landmark in Mark's career. He published the first modern comprehensive overview of Mesopotamian medicine under the title *Ancient Babylonian Medicine: Theory and Practice* (2010, paperback edition 2015; 1.1.7). Since 2010, Mark has also been on secondment from the University College London to the Freie Universität Berlin as Professor für Wissenschaftsgeschichte in the TOPOI Excellence Cluster, teaching in the field of Ancient Science. In Berlin, Mark gathered a considerable and colourful group of schol-

ars and students around himself. The collaboration with J. Cale Johnson on the material from Mark's research stays in Philadelphia soon evolved into another book, illustrating his incessant interest in Sumerian literature—*The Class Reunion: An Annotated Translation and Commentary on the Sumerian Dialogue Two Scribes* of 2015 (1.1.10). Assisted by Luděk Vácín, Mark finished his *magnum opus*—*Healing Magic and Evil Demons: Canonical Udug-hul Incantations* (1.1.11), published in 2016 in the framework of the project *Bilinguals in Late Mesopotamian Scholarship* pursued together with Steve Tinney of the University of Pennsylvania and funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).

In 2013, a five-year European Research Council Advanced Grant for research on Babylonian Medicine (BabMed) was awarded to Mark. In BabMed, Mark has been leading his team with the pursuit of specific and demanding results in mind and has assigned often very difficult tasks accordingly, yet he has been able to work his magic on his team to create and maintain an environment of mutual collaboration and respect at all times. As BabMed principal investigator, Mark continued collaborating with Philip van der Eijk within an eight-year DFG-funded research cluster on Greek and Talmudic medical encyclopaedias (2012–2020). Additionally, he kept on inviting key guest researchers like Francesca Rochberg, Henry Stadhouders and Frans Wiggermann, who collaborated with him and BabMed members on various research issues.

Obviously, Mark is a very active and energetic person. He has organized numerous international conferences in different countries. He likes to travel from one research institution to another and from one city to another around the globe. He is fond of swiftly switching between different languages, while typing in another language on the tortured keyboard in his Berlin TOPOI House office. A characteristic scene after his Berlin classes: Mark finishes the lesson and briskly seats himself behind the computer throwing Dutch, German, French, Hebrew, English or Bulgarian phrases around the room filled with multilingual people. This is a real Tower-of-Babel attitude allowing him to vividly create an environment, known since days of old by the Sumerian expression *eme ھا-mun* and the Akkadian *lišān mithurti*, “clash of tongues” (see 2.2.58, p. 76). A regularly served cup of black tea with a driblet of milk has its role in supporting multilingualism as well.

Mark's remarkable career is characterized by open door policy. Contrary to the typical stiff upper lip academic attitude towards *others*, Mark likes *others*, and never fails to support young and old. He has a unique demeanor: always friendly and never angry (only at his computer). His ability to get people together results in a wonderful working environment, in which even the stupidest question and the most confused student has a role and voice; an aca-

demic democracy emphatically encouraging to all and actually implementing collaboration. He sets an example which is certainly worth following.

*Strahil V. Panayotov and Luděk Vacín**

* The editors heartily acknowledge the financial support without which they would not have been able to work on the present book: Panayotov carried out his work on the volume in the project “BabMed—Babylonian Medicine” funded by the European Research Council (ERC), and pursued at the Freie Universität Berlin; Vacín performed his part of the editorial work in project No. 15–04166Y funded by the Czech Science Foundation (GA ČR), and pursued at the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Hradec Králové.

Markham J. Geller: An Appreciation

Ideally a *Festschrift* should mirror a scholar's character and abilities in the range and content of the specially written papers contributed by peers and colleagues. The thirty-four brand-new papers collected in this celebratory volume in honour of Mark Geller fulfil this task admirably.

In Mark we have a colleague of rare qualities. A man comfortable in and working with Latin and Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic, Phoenician and Syriac, Sumerian and Babylonian and a bundle of miscellaneous Slavonic and European languages, at once gifted and perceptive scholar, inspiring and enthusiastic teacher, and a veritable catalyst in *bringing colleagues together to collaborate ending with results*. What we might call the Berlin School of Assyriological Medicine is his brainchild, deftly shepherded through the shadowy valleys of administration, grant application and funding into functional, effective existence. Hand-picked colleagues now pool knowledge and expertise in battling the hardest texts together in harmony under his baton, with the *sole intention of producing the best possible results*. This is a great achievement with consequences that will endure.

The present writer is proud to acknowledge with affection more than 40 years of the closest kind of friendship with M.J.G., laced with endless textual argy-bargy and the combative scrutiny of wedges. Long may works flow from his pen!

Irving L. Finkel

Bibliography of Markham J. Geller

Strahil V. Panayotov

Freie Universität Berlin

*Luděk Vacín**

University of Hradec Králové

It is a formidable task to compile a bibliography of an author as prolific as Mark Geller. Hence, the following overview is not a definitive list of his oeuvre which shall grow steadily for many years to come. Focusing on Mark's major and recent publications in international languages, we may have missed some of his minor and earlier works, and inevitably those that are currently in press or being prepared. Yet, we believe that the present list is illustrative enough of Mark's voluminous and varied scholarly output.

Abbreviations not found in the standard list for this volume, i.e. the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* list, are explained below.

<i>AHWME</i>	The Athlone History of Witchcraft and Magic in Europe. London.
<i>AJN</i>	American Journal of Nephrology. Basel.
<i>AKG</i>	Antike Kultur und Geschichte. Münster.
<i>DSD</i>	Dead Sea Discoveries: A Journal of Current Research on the Scrolls and Related Literature. Leiden and Boston.
<i>EAC</i>	Études Assyriologiques, Cahiers. Paris.
<i>HPLS</i>	History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences. Berlin and New York.
<i>IAP</i>	Institute of Archaeology Publications (University College London). Walnut Creek, New York and London.
<i>IJS SJ</i>	Institute of Jewish Studies (University College London) Studies in Judaica. Leiden and Boston.
<i>JJS</i>	Journal of Jewish Studies. Oxford.
<i>JRAI</i>	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. London.
<i>JSJ</i>	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period. Leiden and Boston.
<i>LAOS</i>	Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien. Wiesbaden.

* Panayotov's work on this chapter was carried out in the project "BabMed—Babylonian Medicine" funded by the European Research Council (ERC). Funding for Vacín's work on this chapter was provided by the Czech Science Foundation (GA ČR), Junior Grant Scheme (SGA0201500002), project No. 15-04166Y.

<i>LSTS</i>	Library of Second Temple Studies. London and New York.
<i>LTBS</i>	The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society. Oxford.
<i>MPIWG Preprint</i>	Preprint series of the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science. Berlin.
<i>MPRLHDK</i>	Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge. Berlin.
<i>PBA</i>	Proceedings of the British Academy. Oxford.
<i>SAM</i>	Studies in Ancient Medicine. Leiden and Boston.
<i>SJC</i>	Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia. Cracow.
<i>STDJ</i>	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah. Leiden and Boston.
<i>STMAC</i>	Science, Technology and Medicine in Ancient Cultures. Boston and Berlin.
<i>TBSAW</i>	Topoi. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World. Berlin and Boston.
<i>TSAJ</i>	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum. Tübingen.
<i>WIC</i>	Warburg Institute Colloquia. London and Turin.

1 Books

1.1 Monographs

- 1 *Forerunners to Udu-g-hul: Sumerian Exorcistic Incantations. FAOS 12.* Stuttgart: Steiner, 1985.
- 2 With Bendt Alster, *Sumerian Literary Texts. CT 58.* London: British Museum Publications, 1990.
- 3 With Johannes J.A. van Dijk (with the collaboration of Joachim Oelsner), *Ur III Incantations from the Frau Professor Hilprecht-Collection, Jena. TMH NF 6.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003.
- 4 *Akkadian Healing Therapies in the Babylonian Talmud. MPIWG Preprint 259.* Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 2004.
- 5 *Renal and Rectal Disease Texts. BAM 7.* Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2005.
- 6 *Evil Demons: Canonical Utukkū Lemnūtu Incantations. SAACT 5.* Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2007.
- 7 *Ancient Babylonian Medicine: Theory and Practice.* Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010 (paperback edition 2015).
- 8 *Look to the Stars: Babylonian Medicine, Magic, Astrology and Melothesia. MPIWG Preprint 401.* Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 2010.
- 9 *Melothesia in Babylonia: Medicine, Magic, and Astrology in the Ancient Near East. STMAC 2.* Boston and Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.

- 10 With J. Cale Johnson, *The Class Reunion: An Annotated Translation and Commentary on the Sumerian Dialogue Two Scribes*. CM 47. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015.
- 11 *Healing Magic and Evil Demons: Canonical Udug-hul Incantations* (with the assistance of Luděk Vácín). BAM 8. Boston and Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016.

1.2 *Edited Volumes*

- 1 With Murray Mindlin and John E. Wansbrough, *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East: Papers from the Symposium on 'Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East', 17–18 November 1983, London*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1987.
- 2 With Herwig Maehler, *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World: Papers from a Seminar Arranged by the Institute of Classical Studies, the Institute of Jewish Studies and the Warburg Institute, University of London, February to May 1986*. London: Warburg Institute, 1995.
- 3 With Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael Weitzman, *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches. Papers Delivered at the London Conference of the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London, 26th–28th June 1991*. JSS Suppl 4. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- 4 With Irving L. Finkel, *Sumerian Gods and Their Representations*. CM 7. Groningen: Styx, 1997.
- 5 With Irving L. Finkel, *Disease in Babylonia*. CM 36. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007.
- 6 With Mineke Schipper, *Imagining Creation*. IJS SJ 5. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007 (paperback edition 2010).
- 7 With Gershon Galil and Alan R. Millard, *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded*. VTS 130. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009.
- 8 With Klaus Geus, *Productive Errors: Scientific Concepts in Antiquity*. MPIWG Preprint 430. Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 2012.
- 9 *Melammu: The Ancient World in an Age of Globalization*. MPRLHDK 7 (= *Melammu* 6). Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 2014.
- 10 *The Archaeology and Material Culture of the Babylonian Talmud*. IJS SJ 16. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015.
- 11 With Jens Braarvig, *Studies in Multilingualism, Lingua Franca and Lingua Sacra*. MPRLHDK 10. Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 2018.

2 Articles

2.1 Book Chapters

- 1 Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls. In *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon*, ed. Gary Rendsburg, Ruth Adler, Milton Arfa and Nathan H. Winter, 47–60. New York: Ktav Publishing House and Institute of Hebrew Culture and Education of New York University, 1980.
- 2 A Recipe against ŠU.GIDIM. In *Vorträge gehalten auf der 28. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Wien 6.–10. Juli 1981*, ed. Hans E. Hirsch and Hermann Hunger. CRRAI 28 (= *AfO Beih* 19), 192–197. Horn: Berger, 1982.
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- 5 A New Piece of Witchcraft. In *Dumu E₂-dub-ba-a: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, ed. Hermann Behrens, Darlene Loding and Martha T. Roth. OPSNKF 11, 193–205. Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1989.
- 6 Akkadian Medicine in the Babylonian Talmud. In *A Traditional Quest: Essays in Honour of Louis Jacobs*, ed. Dan Cohn-Sherbok. JSOT Suppl 114, 102–112. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991.
- 7 Early Christianity and the Dead Sea Scrolls. In *In Honour of J.E. Wansbrough*. BSOAS 57, 82–86. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- 8 An Eanna Tablet from Uruk in Cleveland. In *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, ed. Ziony Zevit, Seymour Gitin and Michael Sokoloff, 531–542. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995.
- 9 The Influence of Ancient Mesopotamia on Hellenistic Judaism. In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Vol. 1, ed. Jack M. Sasson, 43–54. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1995.
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Vetitive and Prohibitive: An Observation

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It is well known that the earlier attested vetitive (e.g., *ayy-īprus*) is eventually replaced by the prohibitive (e.g., *lā iparras*) in later Akkadian dialects.¹ But both forms occur in Standard Babylonian, sometimes even with the same verb.

Scholars often distinguish between the two forms by means of different general descriptions and translation values.² For example:

According to *GAG* § 81i, the vetitive expresses a negative wish directed at a person of equal or higher standing. It is, however, **not a formal prohibition**. ... Edzard 1973: 132 supplies a semantic explanation, thereby pointing out the semantic difference between both groups: The prohibitive (representing the directives) has to do with volition and **the power or possibility to execute the action** while the vetitive (representing the wish paradigm) is used with **wishes**, where an action or state **is not wanted but not prohibited**.³

In preparing my recently published edition of *Maqlû*,⁴ I have generally followed the standard understanding of these forms. Thus, I have translated the vetitive as if it were a negative optative (e.g., “May he not”) and the prohibitive as if it were a negative command (e.g., “He shall not”).⁵ But it should be noted that in terms of the conceptual distinction indicated above, the difference between

* Professor Markham J. Geller has focused much of his scholarly work and talent on Babylonian magical texts. Thus, it is a pleasure to dedicate this modest study of grammatical phenomena in a Babylonian magical text to Mark, friend and colleague.

1 See, e.g., von Soden, *GAG*, § 81 h–i; Huehnergard 2011, § 16.3; Kouwenberg 2010, 217–220; Sjörö 2015, esp. 100–102 and 363–364 (I owe my knowledge of the last cited work to John Huehnergard).

2 See, e.g., von Soden, *GAG*, § 81 h–i; Edzard 1973, 131–132, 138; Huehnergard 2011, § 16.3; Cohen 2005, 101; Kouwenberg 2010, 218–219.

3 Cohen 2005, 101 (emphasis as in the original publication).

4 Abusch 2015a; Abusch 2015b.

5 My comments in this article are generally directed to the third person and not to the second.

the two is often not immediately apparent. Moreover, I note that occasionally ancient scribes themselves were unclear which form to use: see, e.g., I 65–66:

65 ... *ē tallik* (var.: *ē tallak*)

66 ... *lā tallak* (var.: *ē tallak*).⁶

But before reaching this conclusion we should raise the question whether or not (at least in *Maqlû*) there are specific circumstances under which one or the other form might be chosen? One way (certainly a simple way) of looking into this question is to examine the occurrences of the same verb in vetitive and prohibitive forms. Accordingly, I list the occurrences of the verb *teḥû*, “to approach” in the order in which they occur in the text.⁷

In *Maqlû*, the **vetitive** of *teḥû* occurs in the following passages:

III 170:

ayy-iṭḥûni : *a-a* TE.MEŠ-*ni*

ayy-iṭḥûni kišpîkunu ruḥêkunu lemnûti

May your witchcraft (and) evil spittle not approach me.

V 129:

ayy-iṭḥûni : *ʾa-aʾ* TE.MEŠ-*ni*

kišpîkunu ayy-iṭḥûni

May your witchcraft not approach me.

6 The synoptic layout for these two lines reads as follows:

65 K 43+: obv. 63	[		]	<i>tur-ru-uk</i>	<i>e tal-lik</i>
K 3294+...(+) 15229+: obv. 65	[			<i>t]ur-[r]u-uk</i>	[
Su 51/59: ii 17	IM	<i>na-zi-qu</i>		<i>tu-ruk</i>	<i>e ta-l[ak]</i>
Si 14: obv. 10'	[I]M	<i>ʾnaʾ-zi-ʾquʾ</i>		<i>tu-ʾrukʾ</i>	<i>e tal-lak</i> →
BM 43826+: ii 19'	[		] x []
66 K 43+: obv. 64	[		]	<i>tur-ru-uk la</i>	<i>tal-lak</i>
K 3294+...(+) 15229+: obv. 66	[			<i>-u]k l[a</i>]
Su 51/59: ii 18	šá	GIŠ.PA	<i>u</i>	GIŠ.mar-te-e	<i>tu-ruk e ta-lak</i>
Si 14: obv. 10'	šá	GIŠ.PA	<i>šá</i>	mar-te-e	<i>t[u-</i>
BM 43826+: ii 20'	[]

7 I ignore variants that carry no implications for our present discussion. I include translations mostly taken from my recently published edition (note that “may” in V 18 in my edition should

VII 13:

ayy-iṭḥûni : a-a TE.MEŠ-ni
... ipša bārtu amāt lemutti
ayy-iṭḥûni ayy-ibā'ûni bāba ayy-irubûni ana bīti (12–13)
... May sorcery, rebellion, an evil word
not approach me, not pass the door to me, not enter the house to me.

VII 167:

[ayy-iṭ]ḥâ : [a-a T]E-a
[ayy-iṭ]ḥâ ayy-isniqa mimma lemnu mimma lā ṭābu
ruḥê ... (167–168)
May anything evil, anything unfavorable, spittle ... [not rea]ch me,
not touch me.

VIII 139:

ayy-iṭḥêka : a-a TE-ka / iṭ-ṛḥeṛ-k[a]
... mimma l[emn]u ayy-iṭḥêka
... may no e[vil] approach you.

The **prohibitive** of *ṭeḥû* occurs in the following passages:⁸

V 18:

lā iṭeḥḥâ : NU TE-a / lā iṭeḥḥûni : [NU T]E-u-n[i]
ipša bārtu amāt lemutti lā iṭeḥḥâ / iṭeḥḥûni lā iqarrub[a y]âši
Sorcery, rebellion, an evil word shall not approach me, not draw near
to me myself.

be changed to “shall”); they are intended for the convenience of the reader and are not meant to prejudice the present discussion.

8 I have not included occurrences of *ṭeḥû* where I believe the correct negative adverb is *ul*—so III 153. *Maqlû* manuscripts generally distinguish between *lā* and *ul*: *lā* occurs with prohibitive verbs in the durative as well as in relative clauses; *ul* occurs with indicative verbs, including durative verbs conveying a modal sense of “cannot” and “would not” (for *ul*, see II 9–11, 208; III 147–153; VI 80–81, 88, 121–122”; and Abusch and Schwemer 2011, p. 262, text 8.2: 107). To be sure, manuscripts occasionally give both *lā* and *ul* as the reading, see I 71 (and perhaps also I 41, but there a different verb is used with *lā*).

V 169:

lā ıteḫḫê : NU TE-e
ana zumriya lā ıteḫḫê
 To my body approach not.

VI 64:

lā ıteḫḫûni : NU TE.MEŠ-ni / la TE-ni
kišpûša ruḫûša rusûša upšāšûša lemnûti
lā ıteḫḫûni lā iqarribûni yâši (63–64)
 Her witchcraft, spittle, enchainment, evil machinations
 shall not approach me, shall not draw near to me myself.

VII 54:

lā ıteḫḫûni : la 'TE'-ni / TE.MEŠ-ni
ipšu bârtu amât lemutti ... lā ıteḫḫûni lā iqarrubûni yâši
 Sorcery, rebellion, an evil word ... shall not approach me, shall not
 draw near to me myself.

VII 176:

lā ıteḫḫâ : NU TE-a
ipšu bârtu amât lemutti lā ıteḫḫâ
lā iqarriba yâši (176–177)
 Sorcery, rebellion, evil word shall not approach me,
 shall not draw near to me myself.

On the face of it, there does not seem to be any real difference in meaning between the two sets.⁹ Can we explain why one or the other form is chosen in the different passages? Perhaps we can. A closer examination of the occurrences reveals that with one exception (V 169),¹⁰ all the prohibitives are preceded by a dependent clause introduced by *kîma* (V 14–18, VI 61–64, VII 52–54, and VII 174–177).¹¹

9 The absence of differentiation between the two forms might not be surprising in so far as one form is thought to have replaced the other generally in Akkadian.

10 But note that the exception is a second person form.

11 In this context it is significant that not one of the vetitives is linked to a clause introduced by *kîma*.

V 14–18:

*kīma pû lā ippattil(u) utt[a]tu lā uk[t]aṣṣaru¹
 ana šamê kišpī ana erṣeti bārtu lā inneppuṣū
 ana errī mā[rat] ilī rabûti
 ipša bārtu amāt lemutt[i l]ā ʾiteḥḥû¹ lā iqarrubu
 ipša bārtu amāt lemutt[i] lā ʾiteḥḥâ lā iqarrub[a y]âši*

As chaff cannot be twined together, (as) barley cannot be knotted
 (together),
 (as) witchcraft cannot be performed against the Heavens, (nor) rebel-
 lion against the Netherworld,
 (as) sorcery, rebellion, an evil word cannot approach, cannot draw near
 to Colocynth, daughter of the great gods,
 so sorcery, rebellion, an evil word shall not approach me, not draw near
 to me myself.

VI 61–64:

*kīma qaqqad silit kukri
 ana aḥāmeš lā iqarribū
 kišpūš[a] ruḥûša rusûša upšāšûša lemnūti
 lā ʾiteḥḥûni lā iqarribûni yâši*

Just as the tip(s) of a cut twig of *kukru*
 cannot draw near to each other,
 so her witchcraft, spittle, enchainment, evil machinations
 shall not approach me, shall not draw near to me myself.

VII 52–54:

*kīma annak[u]^(?) parz[illu]^(?) ipšu bārtu amāt lemutti
 [k]iṣpī ruḥû rusû up[šāšû lemnūti]
 lā ʾiteḥḥûkunūši lā iqar[r]ubûkunūši
 ipšu bārtu amāt lemutti
 k[iṣpī ruḥû rusû upšāš]û lemnūti
 lā ʾiteḥḥûni lā iqarrubûni yâši*

As tin(?) (and) ir[on](?), sorcery, rebellion, an evil word,
 witchcraft, spittle, enchainment, [evil] mach[inations]

cannot approach you, cannot draw near to you,
 so sorcery, rebellion, an evil word,
 wi[tchcraft, spittle, enchainment], evil [machina]tions
 shall not approach me, shall not draw near to me myself.

VII 174–177:

[k]īma mē annūti ipšu bārtu amāt lemutti
 lā iṭeḥḥû lā iqarribu
 ipšu bārtu amāt lemutti lā iṭeḥḥâ
 lā iqarriba yâšî

As sorcery, rebellion, evil word
 cannot approach, cannot draw near to these waters,
 so sorcery, rebellion, evil word shall not approach me,
 shall not draw near to me myself.

Kīma is a subordinating conjunction that introduces a dependent clause. Here this conjunction has a comparative force (“as”, “like”). The dependent statement describes a natural fact or represents a socially accepted understanding of the universe (so, for example, in VII 174–175, witchcraft cannot affect water). The *kīma* clause gives expression to that which is regarded as real;¹² it introduces a statement that is regarded as certain. The comparison itself serves to transfer the quality or truth statement in the dependent clause to the participants in the main clause. So, while the situation in the main clause may not yet exist, it is regarded as real because of the comparison and the association of

12 Cf. Wright 1993, 499–500:

For ritual analogy to have the foregoing effects, it requires a certain logical quality: the situation described by the phoros must be believable. Many phoroi refer to natural situations: Other phoroi refer to acts that are performable: A phoros occasionally may have supernatural elements which may be incredible to members of another society or cultural tradition; but for those who would use the analogical form the phoros ... must be as believable as the other[s] listed here. Nevertheless, despite the appearance of some supernatural phoroi, there is a tendency to use natural or everyday phoroi—situations or acts that could be agreed upon cross-culturally. If a phoros were not believable to the performers, the analogy would be a case of irony: “Just as a dog flies when it jumps off a cliff, so may our king succeed in his battle” – certainly an incantation one would hope the enemy would recite.

the main clause with a similar or identical situation that does exist. Hence, the use of a verb form (*iparras*) that asserts the existence of something that may be regarded as certain.

The *kīma* clause adds emphasis and a sense of greater certainty to the negative volitive; it draws the desired condition into the present and gives it a real (as opposed to an *irrealis*) context. Perhaps this observation is actually supported by the occurrence without *kīma* of a prohibitive of *teḥû* in the second person in a list (V 158–175) containing demands of evil forces that they depart and adjurations to that effect: *ana zumriya lā teḥḥê* (V 169).

But one should not ignore the possibility that the prohibitive and vetitive might sometimes be translated the same way. For in the positive, there is a single counterpart, the precative (or wish form), to the two negative forms of volition (in the third person), the vetitive and prohibitive;¹³ and perhaps for that reason a positive statement of volition takes the precative form even when introduced by a *kīma* clause (III 122–123).¹⁴

I hope to have expanded our understanding of the usage and function of the vetitive and prohibitive. Of course, my results are tentative, for I have examined here only a very limited data set of grammatical forms. More definitive results require the study of the vetitive and prohibitive in a broad corpus. Nevertheless, I do hope that I have provided a starting point for such a study.

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13 Admittedly, this may reflect no more than the existence of structural asymmetry between positive and negative forms of the volitive (see Sjörs 2015, 34).

14 I would also acknowledge one further possible conditioning factor: *kīma* + *lā* introducing a predicate might have influenced the choice of *lā* in the main clause and therefore excluded the vetitive and required the prohibitive.

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Sons of Seth and the South Wind

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The present paper will combine the data of archaeology, historical inscriptions and literary texts to cast light on the circumstances under which the figure Seth in Judaism emerged. There is a linguistic and historical continuity between the Amorite tribe Suteans and the biblical Seth (*Šēṭ*), son of Adam (Diakonoff 1982: 19). The name Seth originates from the ethnic term for Sutean nomads in Akkadian, alternatively called Shasu/Shosu in Egyptian. The term Sutean is analogous to the term *ḫabiru*/*apiru*, which was widely used in the second millennium Akkadian and Egyptian texts for splinter groups, and continued to be used in the Hebrew Bible, although in a modified meaning (see Na'aman 2005, 252–274). The present paper will argue that the ancient terms for the tribally organized Shasu or Sutean nomads survived in the accounts about Seth and his sons.

The Akkadian word *šūtu* or *sūtu* denotes both the cardinal direction of the south and a pastoral tribe of southern origin. The Sutean tribes were exemplary enemies of Mesopotamian kings and gods, the south wind had a negative character, e.g. it was the antagonist of the sage in the Adapa myth. I will outline the idea that the account about Seth in Genesis polemically reverses the accounts in cuneiform literature about the Suteans. Both Adapa's curse of the south wind and the accounts about destruction of Suteans are countered in Gen 4: 25, where God grants to Adam another child Seth in place of Abel. Pieces of historical memory about the Sutean tribes can be found in the Hebrew Bible and elsewhere in the Jewish literature in the stories about Adam's son Seth and his progeny. It is probable that the Sutean pastoral tribes of Transjordanian origin indeed participated in the formation of the central hill country population during the early Iron Age (Rainey 2001). Secondly, the accounts about "sons of Seth" became diversified within Jewish tradition itself, when different social groups started to identify themselves as such. There are instances in which "sons of Seth" are portrayed either in a positive or negative way.

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Whereas the motifs associated with Suteans in cuneiform literature can provide background for some traits in the “sons of Seth”, the Egyptian sources give a reliable account about their geographical location during the late Bronze Age. In the Egyptian texts of the second millennium BCE, Shasu/ Shosu is the name for nomadic groups corresponding to Akkadian Suteans (e.g. Amarna letters Nos. 16, 122, 123, 169, 195, 297, 318). The Egyptian king Ramesses II in 13th century BCE claimed to have destroyed the land of the Shasu nomads and captured the nearby mountain Seir (Givon 1971, No. 25). This account locates the Shasu nomads in the area of Edom, Seir and Transjordan east of Arabah valley. The Shasu in Egyptian texts are indicated both as a people and a territory (Grabbe 2011, 50). The “land of the Shasu” nomads in the Ramesses II inscription from the site Amarah is called with the toponym YHW’ (*t3 š3sw y/hw3*), which is quite reliably the etymology of the divine name YHWH. It is probable that the name YHW’ denoted both the Sutean territory and the deity of their tribes. Aššur is another prominent example of a name functioning simultaneously as geographic and divine label (Tilly and Zwickel 2011, 75).

The account in Gen 4: 26 says that it was during the generation of Seth that humankind began to worship YHWH. This piece of information should be compared to the Egyptian texts, which mention YHW’ as the land of the Shasu nomads. The name of the land and the deity of the Shasu/Sutean groups locates them in southern Jordan during 14–13th centuries BCE. The Shasu/Sutean population joined the settler groups, which later became Israel (Grabbe 2011, 49). In other words, the Shasu/Sutean traditions also formed a part in the genesis of religious identity in the new states of Judah and Israel.

According to the written sources, the southern origin of YHWH was still remembered many centuries later. Numerous references in the Hebrew Bible place the origin of YHWH to southern arid regions. Habakkuk’s words, “YHWH came from Teman, and the Holy One from Mount Paran” (Hab 3: 3) should be compared to Jer 49: 7–8, where Teman is mentioned in relation to Edom and to Dedan in northwest Arabia. The inscriptions found at the 8th century BCE site Kuntillet ‘Ajrud mention both the northern deity “YHWH of Samaria” as well as the southern “YHWH of Teman” (Finkelstein 2013, 149).

The Suteans in Mesopotamian Sources

In Mesopotamian literature and historical records, the Suteans occur as West-Semitic nomads with their population centre around Jebel Bišri in Syria. In the third millennium historical sources, the troublesome western Amorites were

called by a different name: *Tidnu*, *Didānu*, and other similar variant words. In the second millennium BCE, this name disappears and is replaced with *Sūtû* “Suteans”. The two names are equated in lexical lists (Heltzer 1981, 5). The depictions of Sutean nomads in Akkadian texts exhibit the characteristics of intercultural conflict and dehumanization. According to the texts of the first millennium, the Suteans lived in the steppe like onagers and gazelles, they did not have houses and lived in tents, their refuge was the mountain. They did not know agriculture, did not recognize agreements, nor human reason, and their speech was that of animals (see Malbran-Labat 1981, 74). The last references to the Suteans in historical sources occur in the 7th century BCE royal inscriptions (Heltzer 1981, 96–97).

The Sutean tribes posed an enduring threat to the sedentary population of Mesopotamia. According to Old Babylonian texts from Mari, the Suteans were active around the steppes of the Syrian desert and the Jebel Bišri, a mountain range between Mari and Palmyra (Durand 1998, 505–511). In the cuneiform sources it is called mountain Šaršar and listed e.g. in the series of *Lipšur*-litanies as an Amorite location. The name of the mountain occurs already in a mythological text from Ebla as *sa-sa-ru*₁₂, which may refer to Jebel Bišri (Lambert 1989, 17–18). Defeat of the Suteans and the establishment of border defences against them in conjunction with the mountain is mentioned by the time of the Middle Babylonian king Kadašman-Ḫarbe (see Glassner 2004, 278–279).

However, in Babylonian texts the term “Sutean” is not only ethnic, but also a designation of a witch. The Sutean man and woman occur in the anti-witchcraft series Maqlû 3: 77–87, belonging to the Babylonian host of malicious beings. In this incantation, the fire-god Girra and the river-god are invoked to destroy the “Sutean” and “Elamite” witches (Abusch 2015, 74). These two deities are metaphors for the exorcistic purification rituals with fire and water. The Suteans occur as witches also in Maqlû 4: 125–129 (Abusch 2015, 96). The demoness Lamaštu, who seizes the human babies, calls herself a Sutean woman. She is exorcised away with fire, she leaves human habitations like smoke (Lamaštu 2: 136–150):

“I am the daughter of Anu from heaven, I am a Sutean, I am ..., I am terrifying. I enter the house, I leave the house (as I please). Bring me your sons: I want to suckle (them). In the mouth of your daughters I want to place (my breast).” Anu heard (this) and wept, the tears of Aruru, Lady of the Gods were flowing: “Why should we destroy what we have created, and why should the wind carry away what we have produced? Indeed, take her to the sea, (or) to the (highest) outcrop of the mountain! Indeed, bind her to a free-standing tamarisk or a lone reed stalk! As surely as a

corpse does not have life and a still-born child has never suckled the milk of his mother, may the Daughter-of-Anu like smoke leave town, and never return!”

FARBER 2014, 176–177

In the cuneiform sources the Suteans are much hated nomadic neighbours of the sedentary Mesopotamians. They were secondarily demonized as witches and exorcised away with water and fire. In the following, I will explore how such cultural attitudes were narratively reversed in some Jewish accounts about the “sons of Seth”.

Seth and His Sons in Jewish Sources

The literary connection between the sons of Seth and the Suteans is an intricate one. While Adam’s son Seth was a forefather of mankind in Genesis, another tradition survives in the Hebrew Bible which more directly relates to Mesopotamian and Egyptian literary traditions. The “sons of Sheth” are mentioned in the oracle of Balaam in Num 24: 17–18 as the enemies of the Israelite monarchy. The Ancient Near Eastern royal propaganda presented Suteans as the enemies of civilization. For example, one of the last references to Suteans comes from Esarhaddon’s Nineveh inscription, where he recounts: “The Suteans, the tent-dwellers, whose places are far away, I uprooted like an angrily raising storm” (Heltzer 1981, 96). In Balaam’s oracle, the “Sons of Sheth” are associated with the location called Š^e’ir (š^y’r) just like Shasu nomads are in the Egyptian texts:

I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh: a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel; it shall crush the forehead of Moab, and break down all the sons of Sheth. Edom shall be dispossessed, Se’ir also, his enemies, shall be dispossessed, while Israel does valiantly.

The rules of symmetry in Hebrew poetry compel to read “all the sons of Sheth” in parallelism to both Moab and Seir. One can see a pattern of similarity between Suteans on Šaršar and “sons of Sheth” in the land of Seir, where the Egyptian texts often locate the Shasu nomads. Mount Šaršar belonged to the mental map of ancient Mesopotamians as a mythical location, therefore its geographic identity was flexible. However, it is common to both Seir and Šaršar that they are exemplary areas of rebellious Amorite nomads, who made

problems to Egyptian and Mesopotamian rulers. The passage cited from the oracle of Balaam follows the literary topos of ancient Near Eastern royal propaganda which often described how the Sutean or Shasu nomads were defeated. Balaam's oracle rephrases this traditional royal rhetoric as a prophecy promoting Israelite kingship. The mountain name Šaršar may even be alluded to in the Hebrew text by the word *qarqar* as the "forehead" of Moab.

The portrayals of Seth and descriptions of the "sons of Seth" as a group in Jewish sources depended on the earlier Mesopotamian traditions either by way of imitation (Num 24: 17–18) or as a counter story (Gen 5: 3). Apparently, it was impossible not to respond with a counter narrative to the negative and degrading Mesopotamian view of the Sutean neighbours. It is said in Gen 5: 3 that Adam begot Seth "in his likeness after his image". This means that Adam fathered a normal child with a human appearance, it was not a monster. Seth became in a genuine sense the father of the human race. The phrase "after his image" fuelled the aggadic speculation that Adam previously begot demons and monsters. The book of Genesis with its naturalistic conception of the origins of civilization reacts here polemically to the Babylonian tradition that civilization was founded by hybrid offspring of the first humans (Tigay 1997, 147). Otherwise, the Babylonian primeval sages were also demonized as the sons of God in Gen 6: 1–4 (Annus 2010). In Jewish accounts, the progeny of Seth is the true origin of mankind, which survives despite every attempt to destroy it.

Mount Šaršar

In 1986 H.W.F. Saggs published the fragments of the Akkadian cuneiform tablet GM 1 found near modern Mosul, in the Neo-Assyrian period site of Sherikan. The tablet was once a large six-column manuscript which contained both the Anzu Epic and the Epic of Erra on its two sides. The fragments were found in the ancient temple of Nergal at Tarbisu (Saggs 1986, 1–3). The juxtaposition of two complex mythological texts on one substantial tablet was not a common practice in ancient Mesopotamia; on the contrary, it was very exceptional. The question of why the texts of Anzu and Erra were chosen to be written on the same tablet, can be answered with the reference to intertextuality (Machinist 2005).

The similarity in meaning and theological implications between the two epics is indicated already by their incipits: the Anzu Epic begins with the phrase "Son of the king of habitations" (*bin šar dadmē*) and that of Erra, "King of all the habitations" (*šar gimir dadmē*). The hymnic prologues of the two epics are

addressed to the deities Ninurta and Išum, who act as the neutralizers of the two dangerous threats to divine order, Anzu and Erra respectively. Both Anzu and Erra are half-demonic beings, outsiders of the established order of the assembly of the gods. In both epics, they are initially drawn into divine order to perform similar functions for a chief deity—Anzu as a guardian of the chamber of Enlil, and Erra as an advisor of Marduk. According to P. Machinist's insightful analysis, Anzu and Erra proceed to disrupt the order by taking over one of the chief's key possessions and emblems of sovereignty: the Tablet of Destinies in the case of Anzu, and Marduk's royal seat and chamber in the case of Erra (Machinist 2005, 46). The seizure of seat and chamber is temporary in the Erra poem, since it appears that Marduk is able to return. Yet, both seizures of divine attributes give rise to a kind of anti-order, within which the usurper, Erra and Anzu, has to be stopped and neutralized.

In the Anzu Epic Ninurta defeats Anzu in battle, while in the Erra poem Išum defeats the Suteans and so helps Erra to assume his own orderly propensity. While the defeated Anzu was often given the new role of guarding the entrances of temples, Erra becomes in the last stage of the narrative the restorer and guarantor of the established order he had earlier dissolved (Machinist 2005, 48).

In the Erra poem Erra himself turns out to be an Anzu-like figure who finally takes on the character of Ninurta by conquering himself. The transformative power which turns the evil Anzu into a guardian image of the temple gate also makes the difference between the evil Erra and the god Nergal. When starting to restore the divine order after having made much damage to it, Erra's first act is to send Išum to destroy the wicked Suteans, living near Mount Šaršar. This location is also a connecting point between the two epics. If one takes a closer look at the Anzu poem 1: 25–28, it can be shown that the birth of Anzu is clearly located on the mountain of the same name (Annus 2001, 19).

<i>i-na Šár-šár KUR-i e-li-[i x x]</i>	On Šaršar, the high mountain [...]
<i>ina ut-li-šá^a a-nun-[na-ki x x]</i>	in her bosom Anun[naki ...]
<i>it-ta-[a]'-lad an-z[a-a x x]</i>	Anzu was born [...]
<i>šá-áš-šá-ru [a]p-p[a-šú x x]</i>	A saw was [his] beak [...]

Later in the same epic, this birth-place is referred to as “its (= Anzu's) mountain” (*šadûssu*), where it flies with the stolen Tablet of Destinies.¹ According

1 Anzu 1: 83, 110, 131, 152; 2: 29, 147. The reading of the mountain name as Šár-šár is firmly established by a gloss in the lexical text Urta 22: kur.šár^{šá}-ar-šá-áršár (George 2009, 12). That this

to the god list *Anu ša amēli*, Šaršar was the god of Sutean nomads, who was equated with the Babylonian cattle god Sumuqan.² In the Erra poem 4: 137–151 the same mountain is flattened by the god Išum in revenge for the devastation of Babylonia by the Suteans:

The warrior Erra said these words to Išum his vanguard, “Go, Išum, the matter you spoke of, do as you wish.” Išum set out for the mountain Šaršar, the Seven, warriors unrivalled, fell in behind him. When the Warriors reached the mountain Šaršar, he raised his hand and destroyed the mountain, he reckoned the mountain Šaršar as level ground. He cut away the trunks of the cedar forest, the thicket looked as if the deluge had passed over, he laid waste cities and turned them into open spaces, he obliterated mountains and slew their wildlife, he convulsed the sea and destroyed its increase, he brought the stillness of death upon swamp and thicket, burning like fire, he cursed the beasts and returned them to clay.³

FOSTER 2005, 908

The epic of Anzu contains a very similar pattern: as Ninurta defeats Anzu at its mountain, so Išum helps to restore the divine order by flattening Šaršar and destroying the Suteans. The mountain name occurs as one of the names of Ninurta himself, as “Šaršarra, Ninurta of devastation” in the god-list *Anu ša amēli*.⁴ The same name of the mountainous domicile implies that Suteans and Anzu belong to the same category of demonic beings, and the two fulfill the same role in the divine plan. In the Jewish accounts about the “sons of Seth”, this divine plan is often reversed with a counter narrative (see below).

The mountain or the mountain range Šaršar also had another name, Tid(a)-nu, explained as “the mountain of the Amorites”.⁵ The Amorite tribal name Sutu was interchangeable with the name Tidnu and its variants, denoting nomadic tribes of the same territory in the east of Mesopotamia (Annus 1999,

reading of the signs 𒄩𒄩-𒄩𒄩 is correct is shown by the parallelism in the quoted Anzu passage with the word *šaššāru*, “saw” (Lambert 1989, 17–18; George 2009, 12–14).

2 Line 104: ^dšár-šár ^dSumuqan šá su-ti-i (Litke 1998, 236). The name ^dšár-šár occurs in the god list An = *Anum* 2: 163 as a name of Ea (Litke 1998, 87), and Ea is equated with Sumuqan in An = *Anum* 3: 198. This speaks for a local Syrian image of Ea as a herdsman's god (George 2009, 14).

3 Note also that Ezek 35 presents an unfavourable prophecy for Mount Seir that is very similar in phraseology to the passage in Erra 4: 137–151.

4 Line 72: ^dšár-šár-ra ^dNinurta(MAŠ) šá na-áš-pan-te (Litke 1998, 233).

5 In Gudea St. B: vi 13–14; see Steinkeller 1992, 261.

18). Tid(a)nu was the name of the tribe's eponymous ancestor with the iconographic representation of a human-faced bull or bison, called *kusarikku* in Akkadian. This monstrous being was subordinated to the sun-god Šamaš who in his capacity as a warrior god held it under his control. This human-faced bull firmly belonged to the inventory of Mesopotamian demons. According to the Anzu Epic, Ninurta defeated *kusarikku* in "the midst of the sea" (1: 12) as one of his exploits. On some pictorial representations Šamaš subdues the human-faced bison leaning against a mountain, being the personification of Mount Šaršar. Apparently, an ancient oral tradition told how Šamaš defeated this human-headed bull, which would explain why the beast was associated with the sun-god in art and literature (Steinkeller 1992, 261). This story is not actually hypothetical because if we consider that the fire-god in Mesopotamia was a hypostasis of the sun-god (Abusch 2015, 8), we get the following equations:

- 1) Išum = Šamaš
- 2) Sutu = Tid(a)nu = *kusarikku*

Mutatis mutandis, Išum destroying the mountain Šaršar and the Sutean nomads in the Erra passage should be considered a more recent version of the old story about Šamaš subduing the human-faced bull. The same fire-god Išum, who executes Suteans also burns the witches, who are often associated with Suteans in Mesopotamian literature. The representation of the demonic bull *kusarikku* takes oaths from those, who have heard about practices of witchcraft according to the Middle Assyrian Law Code 47 (written ^dGUD.DUMU.^dUTU; see Roth 1997, 172). The son of the sun-god had best knowledge of witchcraft being committed.

Whereas the mythical mountain Šaršar is vanquished by the fire-god in the Erra Epic, it is destroyed by flood in the Anzu Epic, which is Ninurta's divine weapon (see Annus 2001, 27; 3: 14–20). These comparisons help to understand the image of the Sutean as a witch in cuneiform anti-witchcraft literature. The images of witches were destroyed with fire and water as the most basic cleansing substances in Mesopotamian exorcistic rituals. The fire-god destroying Suteans and Ninurta defeating Anzu are mythical images, which relate to these cleansing rituals. The historical kings of Mesopotamia followed the example of warrior gods and carried out regular military expeditions to the western Šaršar area.⁶

6 I am convinced that the Greek word for Titans (Titanes) derives from the Semitic *dītānu*

Purification with Water and Fire

In Jewish tradition, the concepts of Sutean magic and witchcraft were countered with the accounts about Seth's wisdom. Outside of the Hebrew Bible, Seth is often depicted as possessing great wisdom and credited with important inventions for mankind. The Jewish writer Josephus knew about a mysterious land Seiris in connection with the "sons of Seth" (*Ant.* 1.68–71). When Adam predicted the twofold destruction of mankind through water and fire, the sons of Seth erected two steles, one of brick and one of stone, to preserve their discoveries of "the science of the heavenly bodies and their orderly array" (Stroumsa 1984, 107):

He [= Seth], after being nurtured and coming to the prime of life that is able to judge beautiful things, strove after virtue and, being himself excellent, left descendants who imitated the same virtues. All of these, being virtuous, lived in happiness in the same land without civil strife, with nothing unpleasant coming upon them until their death. And they discovered the science with regard to the heavenly bodies and their orderly arrangement. And in order that humanity might not lose their discoveries or perish before they came to be known, Adam having predicted that there would be an extermination of the universe, at one time by violent fire and at another time by a force with an abundance of water, they made two pillars, one of brick and the other of stones and inscribed their findings on both, in order that if the one of brick should be lost owing to the flood the one of stone should remain and offer an opportunity to teach men what had been written on it and to reveal that also one of brick had been set up by them. And it remains until today in the land of Seiris.

FELDMAN 2000, 24–26

The tradition of Adam's knowledge about the twofold destruction of the world and of Seth's tablets survived in another Jewish work as well, the *Life of Adam and Eve* 49–50. The obvious implication of the earliest source for Seth's writings, Josephus *Ant.* 1.71, is that Seiris was the land of the early Sethites, the place where they had once lived "without dissension and in prosperity" and where

and its variants (see Annus 1999). Given the close connection of the Suteans with the tribal name Ditanu, one can plausibly speculate whether the Greek word for netherworld, *Tartaros*, derives from the mountain name Šaršar. To explain this etymology, a comparison can be made between Zeus imprisoning the rebel Titans in Tartaros, Išum flattening the mountain Šaršar and the sun-god subduing the Tidnu monster around the same mythical mountain.

they had erected the stelae, recording the antediluvian knowledge. It is this same land that Noah of Sethite genealogy was later said to have left (*Ant.* 1.76). The Tablet of Destinies which Ninurta gains back from Anzu after the battle on its mountain Šaršar, is a related tradition. The Suteans inhabiting the mountain Šaršar exhibit a similar pattern with “the sons of Seth” around the location called Seir(is) both in the oracle of Balaam and in the account of Josephus. But the Jewish tradition recorded by Josephus should be read as a counter narrative with regard to Mesopotamian accounts, in a way that evil has become good. The first catastrophe predicted by Adam according to Josephus by means of devastating fire is related to that recounted in the Epic of Erra, Išum being the god of fire (Akkadian *išātu*). The second devastation through the “abundance of water” has a forerunner in Ninurta’s measures against Anzu, because Ninurta is deluge (see Annus 2002, 123–133). Moreover, as pointed out above, the pair of water and fire figures prominently in Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft texts and rituals, where they are the main deities invoked to purify the patient and to destroy witches.

The eschatological oracle of Num 24: 17 about the destruction of the “sons of Seth” is quoted in several Second Temple sources. The interpretive solution offered by *Targum Onqelos* and the commentary of Abraham Ibn Ezra explains the “descendants of Seth” as referring to postdiluvian humanity (Reeves 2010, 1221). The Josephus passage about the twofold destruction of the world can be compared to the Qumran passage from the *Book of Giants*, where the garden of the Watchers is destroyed by water and fire (4Q530: ii 10). Whereas the Watchers perish in the flood, the descendants of Seth preserve their knowledge for the postdiluvian humanity with the agency of Noah, who was from the lineage of Seth.

The story about the twofold destruction of the sinful antediluvian world historicizes the exorcistic practices of Mesopotamian purification rituals. The eschatological concept of a dual cosmic destruction, one of which employs water, and the other fire became popular in Late Antiquity. One form of it appears in Plato’s *Timaeus* 21E–22E, where it is imparted to Greek sage Solon by an Egyptian priest who teaches that the sublunary world periodically undergoes destruction by both conflagrations and floods. In the Hellenistic era, this doctrine is attested in a variety of Jewish and Christian sources.⁷ The idea of a recurrent destruction of the Earth by water and fire occurs in a fragment of the astrological teachings of Berossus, quoted by Seneca in his *Naturales Quaestiones* 3.28.7–29.1:

7 See Klijn 1977, 121–124; Stroumsa 1984, 106–113; Reeves 1992, 88–89, 145–146.

[Deluge will take place] in the same principle in which the conflagration will occur. Both will occur when it seems best to god for the old things to be ended and better things to begin. Water and fire dominate earthly things. From them is the origin, from them the death. Therefore whenever a renewal for the universe is decided, the sea is sent against us from above, like raging fire, when another form of destruction is decided upon. Berossus, who interpreted Belus, says that these catastrophes occur with the movements of the planets. Indeed, he is so certain that he assigns a date for the conflagration and the deluge. For earthly things will burn, he contends, when all the planets which now maintain different orbits come together in the sign of Cancer, and are so arranged in the same path that a straight line can pass through the spheres of all of them. The deluge will occur when the same group of planets meets in the sign of Capricorn. They are signs of great power since they are the turning-points in the very change of the year.⁸

The authenticity of the passage has sometimes been questioned and attributed to a “Pseudo-Berossus” (see Reeves 1992, 145). However, there is no serious reason to doubt its authenticity because the Babylonian forerunners for this Hellenistic concept can be found in the myths of Erra and Anzu, as was argued above.⁹ Of course, a tremendous amount of intellectual development occurred between the time of the Neo-Assyrian empire and the Hellenistic world, but the transformation of mythological images into eschatological ones is clearly discernible, even though the later concept seems much more systematized than the earlier Mesopotamian one.

Seth's Wisdom in Later Texts

The dwelling place of the Suteans according to cuneiform texts was Mount Šaršar, and this association continues with the “sons of Seth” or Sethites living in the land Seiris as in Josephus (see above). The historical origin of the latter notion derives from the Mt. Seir, which was the dwelling area of the Shasu nomads according to Egyptian sources (Grabbe 2011, 49). The mysterious land of Seiris, Seres, or Šir often occurs as the origin of revelatory writings in Late

8 Translation is by T. Corcoran, from Loeb edition. See Drews 1975, 50–55 for a full discussion.

9 Drews rightly says: “Logic suggests that no impostor would borrow Berossus name for a pamphlet on astrology, unless Berossus were already known as an authority on the subject” (1975, 52).

Antiquity (see Reinink 1975). It is found in Hippolytos' report in *Refutatio Haer.* 9.13.1–3, where a certain Alkibiades from Apamea brought to Rome a book of revelations of the Mesopotamian baptismal sect Elxaites. This happened in the early second century C.E., and the miraculous book originated “from the Seres of Parthia” (Greek: *apo Sērōn tēs Parthias*). This book was revealed by giants and it opens with a vision of two enormous angelic beings, the former being referred to as “Hidden Power”, son of God, while the latter is called the feminine “Holy Spirit” (see Luttikhuizen 1985). Accordingly, Seres was a land where divine giants were thought to live in early Christian age. In Syriac legends about Christ, the dwelling place of Sethians and their descendants, the Magi, is a mountain with the cognate name, Šir. Both the Syriac *Chronicle of Zuqnin* and Latin *Opus imperfectum in Matthaëum* of Pseudo-Chrysostom mention the “Mount of Victories”,¹⁰ which was located in the Oriental land of Šir upon which “book(s) of Seth” were hidden. The Magi climbed this mountain once a month and from there they finally noticed the star that would guide them to Bethlehem. The mountain Seiris was sometimes conflated with the mountain of the flood story because the obvious place where the writings would be safe from the flood was Mount Ararat (Stroumsa 1984, 116). In the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* Mount Ararat is the Mount of Victories, which was also the original dwelling place of the Sethite Noah. This tradition poses Noah as a transmitter of Seth's knowledge (Stroumsa 1984, 117).

The scholars of Gnostic mythology are well aware that the figure of Seth plays a very prominent role in the Gnostic texts of “Sethian” type. Among the Nag Hammadi codices, there are titles named after him: *The Three Steles of Seth* and *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth*. *The Gospel of the Egyptians* is ascribed to him and two texts have a strong interest in his character: *The Apocalypse of Adam* and *The Apocryphon of John* (Reeves 2010, 1221). In the same texts the patriarch Enoch plays no role at all. It is clear that the Seth figure in Gnostic mythology possessed the authoritative force that Enoch did for some other circles and ideologies. The Gnostic movement of Sethians believed in a heavenly Seth, who periodically visits earth in various human guises to impart revelations (Reeves 2010, 1221). The sons of Seth were often viewed as antagonistic to Watchers and their descendants. The sons of Seth survived the flood which destroyed the progeny of the Watchers as punishment. For example, Epiphanius of Salamis tells the flood story of a sect whose members called themselves “Sethians” (*Panarion* 3.3.1):

10 *Mons victorialis* in Latin, *tur neṣṣanē* in Syriac.

Once Mother and Female saw a great deal of intermingling and unruly desire on the part of angels and men, since the two breeds had become mixed; and she saw that their unruliness had caused certain combinations of breeds. So she returned and brought the flood, and destroyed all humanity (and) the whole stock of her opponents, so that only the pure stock, if you please—the one that derived from Seth and was righteous—would remain in the world to propagate the stock from above, and the spark of righteousness.

WILLIAMS 1987, 257

The lineage of Seth proceeded over Noah, although the Sethians maintained that Noah's son Ham was a giant offspring of the Watchers (*Panarion* 39.3.2). The Nag Hammadi treatise *The Apocalypse of Adam* appealed to Adam who revealed his secret knowledge about the course of world history to Seth. Seth then transmitted this saving knowledge to his posterity, the Gnostics. The reason why some Gnostic groups selected Seth as their antediluvian authority is his important role in the transmission of knowledge and divine secrets which his father Adam revealed to him (Reeves 2010, 1221).

Historically speaking, Seth's presentation as Adam's son in the Hebrew Bible was a politically motivated response to Mesopotamian negative view of the Suteans, functioning as a "counter narrative". According to this counter story, the "sons of Seth" survived every attempt of Mesopotamian gods and kings to extinguish them and their progeny. According to the Adapa myth, the ancient Mesopotamian sage used magic to break the wing of the south wind, the word for which (*šūtu*) can also mean "Sutean". The proposed etymology for the word "Sutean" makes use of the same root *sūtīu*, "southern" (Streck 2002, 165). In the Adapa myth the primeval sage acquires control over sickness and witchcraft by cursing the south wind. In the Mesopotamian world view, Adapa the sage is the good exorcist and the south wind is a bad magician. According to the Jewish counter narrative, Adam is the sinner and Seth becomes the father of humanity acquiring Adam's divine secrets. This counter story constructed the Sethian identity, which persisted for a long time in various times and places. It is certainly not the case that the Sethian Gnostics derived their identity from the ancient Sutean nomads of the Neo-Assyrian period. However, the detailed analysis of the narrative elements that occur both in the Mesopotamian and later texts helps to describe and understand the dynamics and changes of cultural traditions through polemical responses (see Frahm 2010).

Seth's wisdom was important for many Gnostic movements, including Manicheism and Mandeism (Reeves 2010, 1221). The Byzantine chronologists Suidas,

Michael Glycas, Johannes Malalas and Joel reproduced the tradition of Seth's astronomical knowledge and mentioned his invention of Hebrew letters, as well as the division of time into weeks, months, and years. Seth is said to have received this knowledge from the angel Uriel, who came to him as he later came to Enoch (Feldman 2000, 24, n. 164). Malalas writes that people called Seth "God" because of his piety and because he invented Hebrew letters, and possessed knowledge about astrology (Klijn 1977, 40). In the *Life of Adam and Eve* (ch. 25–29) Adam imparted to Seth antediluvian knowledge about God on his *Merkabah*. Seth is a scribe and astrologer and he has written revelatory books before the flood (see Klijn 1977, 48–60).

While the Mesopotamian model for the figure of Enoch has been recognized and amply discussed by biblical scholars, there has been little effort to trace the origin of the Saviour Seth in Jewish and Gnostic mythology. The Jewish origins of the "Sethian gnosis" are very clear, but another question is what gave the impetus for so high regard for the patriarch. The Josephus passage quoted in this paper serves as an example of a Jewish counter narrative against Mesopotamian cultural concepts expressed in poems such as Anzu and Erra. The "sons of Seth" in these counter narratives are the owners of the antediluvian wisdom, Seth is the ancestor of the "irremovable race" which the authorities of this world try to annihilate with the two global catastrophes. All this is in vain and the descendants of Seth prevail until eschatological times.

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An Old Babylonian Oil Omen Tablet from the British Museum

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Oil omens, like other *bārûtu* omens taken from non-animal materials,¹ very often discuss private matters in their apodoses.² They discuss family troubles, financial success, or marital matches. But the most common topic among these private matters is prognostication. The predictions concerning the fate of “the sick man” are rather simplistic. Usually, they only mention whether the patient will live or die. Sometimes, it is also noted whether he will suffer from troubles during his illness. An oil omen tablet that deals exclusively with such private matters is the British Museum Tablet BM 87635. It deals extensively with prognosis and is, therefore, worthy to be published on this occasion, as it concerns Babylonian medicine, Markam J. Geller’s main area of expertise.³ The fact that eclipses are also frequently mentioned in this tablet, possibly alludes to early forms of pre-zodiac type of *Astromedizin*, antedating Babylonian *Melothesia*, a subject to which Geller has dedicated much attention.⁴ It is with pleasure that the edition of this tablet is offered as a contribution to his *Festschrift*.

* The abbreviations used in this study follow those in volume T (No. 18) of the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*.

1 Two omen tablets dealing with smoke were first published by Henri Lutz (1929) and were later on identified as smoke omens by Erich Ebeling (1935). Giovanni Pettinato reedited those two tablets (1966b). An additional collation of the texts is given in Biggs 1969. Leichty 1977 offers an edition of the duplicate UCLM 9–2433 with additional collations. Irving Finkel (1983) published a fourth smoke omen tablet, this time from a private collection, also duplicating omens from the previously published tablets. See also Cingolo 2016 for a discussion of terminology and possible methods of practice.

For the only published flour omen text see Nougayrol 1963; see also Maul 2010 for a new translation of parts of the text along with a discussion. For a general discussion about the topic of *bārûtu* omens drawn from non-animal materials see “Opferschau für Eilige und Arme” in Maul 2013, 155.

2 This matter has been pointed out in the fourth chapter of my dissertation submitted to the Freie Universität in 2015 and will be the subject of future publication.

3 For his own discussion of the subject see: Geller 2010, 39–42.

4 Geller 2014

The main interest of BM 87635 is, however, formations of oil on water and the above topics are only mentioned in relation to the observed oil phenomena. We know about such observations mainly from the collections of oil omens. The knowledge about the habit of noting this specific type of omens is known to modern scholarship since the publication of two tablets in copies made by Leonard William King and published in the volumes III and V of the *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets* in 1898.⁵ Johannes Hunger published the first edition of these two tablets, in transliteration, translation and commentaries in 1903. He chose the title *Becherwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern* due to his interest in the relation of the oil omen series to the Greek *λεκανομαντεία* and to the biblical story about Joseph's silver cup.⁶

Giovanni Pettinato has also chosen to study the practice of oil divination. He took upon himself the task of analyzing Babylonian lecanomancy, while editing the oil omen series that were known to him and published his research under the title *Die Ölwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern*.⁷ Since Pettinato published his book, several scholars have noticed the existence of another oil omen tablet, BM 87635, which is the subject of the present publication. It has first been identified by Abraham Sachs who was allowed to cite one of its omens in several volumes of the *CAD*.⁸ Jean Nougayrol, who wrote a review of Pettinato's book, noticed Sachs' citation in *CAD* A/2. He also noted other mentions of the practice of oracle by means of oil, outside the corpus of the oil omen series.⁹ Erle Leichty also knew about this tablet and referred to the same omen, cited in the *CAD*, in his article about omens from doorknobs.¹⁰

This tablet's right and lower edges are broken. Nevertheless, 16 of its omens could be recovered to some extent. All of them are new omens in the sense that they do not duplicate any of the omens known from the oil omen series published until now. This tablet is contemporaneous to the big group of the oil

5 *CT* 3 5 (pp. 2–4) and *CT* 5 7 (pp. 4–6).

6 Hunger 1903.

7 Pettinato 1966a. The editions of six oil omen collections are found in the second volume of Pettinato's work. It includes the edition of the tablets from the British Museum with duplicates, mostly from the Yale Babylonian Collection. The four new collections are found in tablets from Yale and Berlin, known from copies in *YOS* 10 57, 58 and 62, *KAR* 151, *KUB* 34 5 and *KUB* 37 198. The first volume of Pettinato's study offers an analysis of the language, topics and origins of the oil omen tablets as well as a discussion about oil divination in Mesopotamia and other ancient civilizations.

8 See, e.g., *CAD* N/1 56b.

9 Nougayrol 1968, 148.

10 Leichty 1987.

omen series. Judging by the language, orthography and palaeography, it is of the Old Babylonian times. The practice, as it is described in the protases, appears to follow the traditions known from other Old Babylonian omens. Most of the omens in this tablet are derived from the more common practice of pouring oil on water. The second practice of pouring water on the poured oil is also recorded, at least once, in omen No. 7. As mentioned, the apodoses of the omens deal with three of the common themes of the genre: family matters, the health of the client as well as his relation with his gods.

The interest in the smaller disciplines of *bārûtu*,¹¹ and in oil divination specifically,¹² has increased in the last decade. The edition of this tablet is therefore brought here for the sake of the fields of interest of the honoree, as well as for those of the wider public.

11 Maul 2013, 155–180; Maul 2010; Pientka-Hinz 2008; Cingolo 2016.

12 See Pientka-Hinz 2008 for a new translation of the two main oil omen tablets. This has also been the topic of a study presented by Alexander Loktionov and Christoph Schmidhuber in 2013 at the 59th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Ghent.

Edition of BM 87635

Obverse

1. DIŠ Ì.GIŠ *a-na pu-ut al-pi i-tu-úr i-na nam-ta-al-lim[?] ḫa-[bi[?]-lum[?]]
a-wi-lam i-na-ṭa-al aš-ša-at a-wi-lim i-ša-ba-at-šu*

If the oil turns into a forehead of an ox,¹³ during an eclipse,¹⁴ a cr[iminal]
will look at the man; the wife of the man will catch him.¹⁵

2. DIŠ Ì.GIŠ *ku-bu-ur-šu ši-it* ^dUTU-ši *qu-tu-un-šu e-^rre¹-eb* ^dUTU
i-na-aṭ-ṭa-al a-wi-lum li-im-ra-aš li-iš-ta-[ni-iḫ i-ba-lu-uṭ]

If the thick part of the oil is facing the sunrise and the thin part of the
oil is facing the sunset; the man, although ill and iritta[ted (in his throat),
will survive].¹⁶

13 Metaphors and analogies are an important descriptive tool used to depict specific forms in oil. Different animals, plants and natural phenomena, cucumbers, snakes, rainbows and stars are all used in this same manner. See Pettinato 1966a (vol. 1), 149 for a discussion of analogies in oil omens. A metaphor that is especially relevant here is that used in an omen noted on the tablet VAT 10100: rev. 40: [šum-ma] 'GIM' SAG.DU GU₄ GIDIM SÌG.MEŠ-šú 'x' [x], "[If] it is like a bull's head, a ghost will strike him..." For a recent publication of this tablet see Heeßel 2012, 232, 236. Note that omen No. 10 here compares the form of oil to a worm.

14 Note that BM 22446: 38 and 71 (Pettinato 1966a [vol. 2], 20, 24) also discuss eclipses:

38. DIŠ Ì *me-e i-na na-de-ka a-ga-šu ta-ri-ik nam-ta-al-li* ^dNANNA *a-wi²-lum i-ma-a-at*
If, while you pour (the oil) into the water, the fringe of the oil darkens, lunar eclipse;
the man will die.

71. DIŠ Ì *qá-ab-li-šu id-ku-uš-ma ù i-ta-tu-šu di-im-tam sà-aḫ-ra nam-ta-al-li* ^dUTU
If the centre of the oil is enlarged and its borders are surrounding a 'tear', solar
eclipse.

Astrology seems to have played an important role in all branches of *bārûtu*. For an example of the mentioning of an eclipse in the protasis of extispicy omens see Koch-Westenholz 2000, 325. For a commentary of *bārûtu* that discusses this sort of interpretation see Koch-Westenholz 2000, 137; Maul 2013, 277–295; Anor 2017. This same theme seems also to be the concern of omens Nos. 13 and 14 of the tablet presented here.

15 For a discussion of family matters in the apodosis of oil omens see Pettinato 1966a (vol. 1), 201.

16 Note that the protasis is a parallel to BM 22446 omen No. 34 (Pettinato 1966a [vol. 2], 19).

3. DIŠ Ì.GIŠ *ša ku-tim* Ú DI AG ŠU X *iṭ-tè-pi* EGIR-[*šu*²]
a-wi-lum i-na Ì.GIŠ i-lum i-bi-ka

If the “oil of the jag” gets conglomerated and after [that ...], the god called you, the man, by means of oil.¹⁷

4. DIŠ Ì.GIŠ *i-na na-de-e-ka li-ib-(bi) ka-sí-im* ^ṛx¹ [...] [*iṣ-ba-at LÚ SILIM x* [...]]

If, while you pour the oil, [it²] catches the centre of the bowl, the man will survive [...].

5. DIŠ Ì.GIŠ *i-na na-de-e-ka li-ib-(bi) ka-sí-i*[*m ú-ul*²]
iṣ-ba-at mu-ki-il re-ši-[im]

If, while you pour the oil [it does not²] catch the centre of the bowl, it is (a sign for) the spir[it (supporting the man)]¹⁸].

6. DIŠ Ì.GIŠ *ša-^ṛap¹-li¹-šu a-na me-e ka-ap-ša-[at]*

If the lower (part) of the oil is bent towards the water [.....].

It is then possible to reconstruct the end of the omen as it is clear that the sick man will survive. The only problem is that there is not enough space at the end of the line. It is possible that the last word, *iballuṭ*, was omitted or that the Sumerogram TI was used in the manner of later omens.

- 17 The syntax of the apodosis is somewhat unusual. The fact that both *awilum* and *ilum* are in the nominative case is not easy to explain. It seems that *awilum*, which often opens the apodosis here, is in a fixed nominative form in the manner *šamnum* is in the protasis, also when, formally speaking, the oil is not the subject of the sentence, as is the case in omens 4, 5 and 7 of this tablet. Also the fact that the main verb in the apodosis is in the preterite is not common. This, however, can sometimes occur, as demonstrated by omen No. 62 of BM 22446 (Pettinato 1966a [vol. 2], 23), which also has a similar sentence structure with preterite in the apodosis.
- 18 The term *mukil rēšim* is often used in the apodoses of omens. See BM 22446: 49 (Pettinato 1966a [vol. 2], 21) and BM 22447: 16–17, 48–49 (Pettinato 1966a [vol. 2], 62, 65) for the use of either *mukil rēš damiqtim* or *mukil rēš lemuttim* in oil omens. See also Pettinato 1966a (vol. 1), 183–185 for further discussion of these terms.

7. DIŠ Ì.GIŠ *me-e a-na li-ib-bi-šu ta-ad-di* [.....]
 Ì.GIŠ *i-de-e-ma a-na e-re-eb* ^dUTU [.....]
 'a¹-*wi-lum ʔe-em-šu i-ša-an-ni ŠU M*[A[?]]
 'a¹-*na ša-ni-im i-na-an-di-[in]*

If you pour water to the centre of the oil [and then?] he pours oil [...] towards sunset, the man will change his mind and will give [...] to another person.

8. [.....] XXX ʔU UŠ NE IZ [X] XXX [.....]

Reverse

- 9'. [.....] XXXX [.....]
 [.....] X *aš-ša-at a-wi-lim* X [.....]

[.....] XXXX [.....] the wife of the man [.....].

- 10'. [DIŠ Ì].GIŠ *ki-ma tu-ul-tim li-i[b-bi-šu*]
 [... *i-na n*] *a-de-ka zi-i wa-ru-uq a-wi-[lum*]

If the ce[n]tre] of the oil [...] like a worm [wh]ile you pour it, the excrement?? is yellow¹⁹ the ma[n will ...].

- 11'. [DIŠ] Ì.GIŠ *a-na ta-ka-al-tim i-tu-ú[r*]
ù me-e-šu i-ri-iq aš-ša-at a-wi-l[im]

If the oil turns into (the form of) a liver [.....] and its water becomes yellow, the wife of the ma[n].

19 The “excrement” in question could be part of the protasis just as it can be part of the apodosis. One possible interpretation is that the yellow/green excrement is a metaphor for a form of oil on water. The alternative interpretation is that the statement “the excrement is yellow” refers to the condition of “the sick man”, who is often mentioned in this tablet. This would then mean that the statement in question is part of the apodosis.

- 12'. DIŠ Ì.GIŠ *pa-nu-šu a-na e-re-eb* ^dUTU-ši X [.....]
e-re-tum ša li-ib-bi-ša X [.....]

If the front²⁰ of the oil [...] towards sunset [...] a curse of her heart X [...].

- 13'. DIŠ Ì.GIŠ *ki-ma ša-am-ši qá-ab-li-a-t*[*u-šu*]
na-am-ta-al X [.....]

If the centre of the oil is like the sun [...], eclipse of X [...].

- 14'. DIŠ Ì.GIŠ *ki-ma ša-am-ši qá-ab-li-a-tu-šu* DAX [...] [.....] *nam-ta-al-la'-am* UG-ti EGIR *nam-ta-a*[*l*]

If the centre of the oil is like the sun X [...], eclipse and “anger”²¹ after an eclipse of [.....].

- 15'. [DIŠ] Ì.GIŠ *ki-ma a-aš-ku-ut-tim qú-tu-un-šu a-na ši-i*[*t* ^dUTU]
ku-bu-ur-šu a-na e-re-eb ^dUTU-ši *it-ta-aš-ka-a*[*n*]
mar-šum i-na mu-ur-ši-šu i-lum u-sà-an-na-aq-šu-ma
ik-ri-bi-šu ú-ša-ad-da-an-šu-ma i-ma-at

If the oil is like a wedge²¹ and its thin part is placed towards [sunr]ise while its thick part is placed towards sunset, the god will reach the sick man in his illness; he (the god) will, then, make him give offerings to him but he (the sick man) will die.

²⁰ For the occurrences of this form, in the nominative, especially in the context of extispicy, see CAD P 85. These examples show that a feature in the liver can point towards a direction like “the sunset” in the case of this specific omen. The verb *naṭālum* is the verb used in those cases. But, since oil often “spreads” (*paṭārum*) towards certain directions, the reconstruction cannot be certain here.

²¹ More specifically a wedge used to bar doors. See CAD A/2 444. Note that the last two omens are discussed by Leichty 1987.

- 16'. DIŠ [Ī].GIŠ *kī-ma a-aš-ku-ut-tim ku-bu-ur-šu a-na š[i-it ^dUTU]
 qú-tu-un-ša a-na e-re-eb ^dUTU-ši it-[ta-aš-ka-an]
 mar-šum i-na mu-ur-ši-šu i-lum ú-^rsà¹-an-^rna¹-[aq-šu-ma]
 ik-ri-bi-šu ú-ša-ad-da-an-šu-ma i-ba-lu-ut*

If the oil is like a wedge and its thick part is p[laced] towards [sunri]se while its thin part is p[laced] towards sunset, the god will re[ach] the sick man in his illness; he will, then, make him give offerings to him and he (the sick man) will live.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank on this occasion Prof. Markham J. Geller for agreeing to take my dissertation project under his supervision and for offering his unfailing aid and advice throughout the years. The tablet published here was taken into consideration in crucial points of my research and is, hence, worthy to be included in this festive volume. It is thus a great pleasure to dedicate this publication to my *Doktorvater* and to honour thereby his person and achievements.

I also wish to mention that I first read this tablet as part of my M.A. thesis, entitled “Reading the Oil Omens: A Study of Practice and Record of Mesopotamian Lecanomanancy” under the supervision of Prof. Nathan Wasserman, which was submitted at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2010. I then collated the tablet during my visits in the British Museum funded by the Excellence Cluster TOPOI. The readings, especially of the difficult broken parts at the beginning of the tablet, were improved owing to suggestions by Dr. Irving Finkel. The honoree has also generously invested from his time to read and improve the original edition of this text.

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FIGURE 3.1 *BM 87635, obverse*

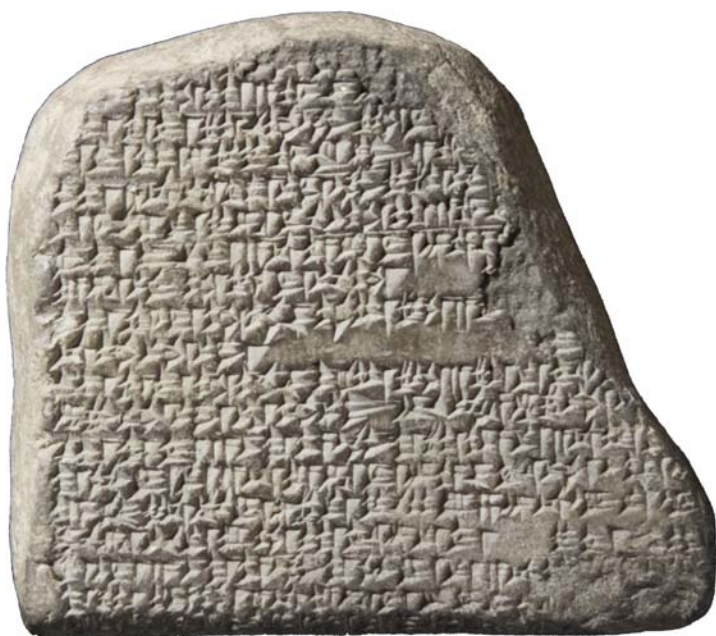


FIGURE 3.2 *BM 87635, reverse*

PHOTOS S.V. PANAYOTOV



FIGURE 3.3 *BM 87635, reverse at an angle*



FIGURE 3.4 *BM 87635, reverse and lower edge*
PHOTOS S.V. PANAYOTOV

Disease and Healing in the Book of Tobit and in Mesopotamian Medicine

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It is a great pleasure to participate in this *Festschrift* dedicated to Professor Mark Geller. The theme of this study is a double “clin d’œil” to his research about Babylonian medicine and the Bible.

This study relies on two different types of texts: one is literary and derives from the Book of Tobit; the other is scientific and belongs to the Mesopotamian series dealing with various diseases. Tobit’s blindness is a key topic of the apocryphal Book describing the adventures of Tobit, a pious Jew living in Nineveh and his son Tobias. Another medical issue in this Book is a fumigation performed to expel the demon Asmodeus who persecuted Sarah and provoked the death of her husbands during her wedding nights. I will then move forward to the systematic collection of Mesopotamian medical texts and their descriptions of eye illnesses and their treatments found in the second chapter of the series “diš na igi¹¹-šú gig”, “if a man’s eyes are diseased.”¹ Exorcism belongs to one of the most developed fields of expertise in Mesopotamia: fighting against a demon’s attack was a major concern of various types of scholars in all periods.

The goal of this paper is to investigate the relationship between these illnesses and treatments in the Book of Tobit, and the texts produced by the Mesopotamian lore.

* I would like to thank Thomas Römer, Marten Stol and Martin Worthington for reading this article and commenting on it constructively. I am also grateful to Sophie Démare-Lafont, Lionel Marti, Strahil Panayotov and Aline Tenu who, in friendly conversations, suggested new approaches. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to all the friends who endured my obsessions with the medical adventures of the heroes of the Book of Tobit. Any remaining mistakes are mine.

1 This series has been copied by Franz Köcher in *BAM* (vol. 6): IGI 1 as *BAM* 510, 513 and 514 (3 duplicates of the first tablet of the series); IGI 2 as *BAM* 515, second tablet; IGI 3 as *BAM* 516, third tablet. Until now, the fourth and last tablet has not been identified. See the presentation of the series in *BAM* (vol. 6), x–xi.

The Story of Tobit: “The Setting”

This tale belongs to the literature of the Second Temple period. It has been described by Machiela and Perrin (2014, 115) as a “fairy tale, romance, novella, sapiential text, comedy”. The story addresses a wide range of topics: devotion, patriarchal family, marriage customs, endogamy, angels and demons, medicine, intercession and gratitude expressed by prayers, sapiential advices, Jewish and Gentile food, etc. The place where the Book was composed is still a matter of debate: Egypt, Persia, Syria and Hellenistic Judea have been considered but there is no consensus on this matter.² It seems generally accepted that it was originally written between the early or mid-third century or between mid- to late second century BCE in Aramaic and then—as attested by the Dead Sea Scrolls—translated into Hebrew.³ Despite the fact that it was not retained in the Hebrew Bible canon the story was very popular in both Christian and Jewish circles.⁴ Thus, it has been transmitted in different languages: Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Arabic, and, as mentioned above, in Aramaic and Hebrew.⁵

The Synopsis

Tobit was a deported Jew living in Nineveh. Before his captivity in Assyria he lived in Galilee as a pious man, following the Jewish dietary prescriptions of Mosaic Law, faithful to the ethics and commands of religion. He was particularly attached to Jerusalem and to the Temple, unlike the inhabitants of the Northern Kingdom who worshipped pagan gods. In Nineveh he kept behaving as at home: “But I kept myself from eating the bread of the nations ... ¹³ I was mindful to my god with all my soul” (Tob 1: 12).⁶ He was able to trade with Media

2 See for example Fitzmyer 2003, 52–54 and Knauf 2009, 759 who does not believe in the Mesopotamian, Judean, Persian and Egyptian localisations and prefers the Levant or Galilee.

3 See references in Perrin 2014, 111–115, for arguments supporting a Hebrew original see Buth 2013, 291–295.

4 Weeks, Gathercole and Stuckenbruck 2004, 32–46 with a description of the different later Hebrew or Aramaic manuscripts or fragments found in the Jewish community.

5 Machiela and Perrin 2014, 113: “Tobit has enjoyed a sustained readership for millennia due to its eventual place among Christian (deuterocanonical) literature, with a continuous history of transmission in an assortment of languages and recensions (Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic).”

6 Translations of the text G2 (the siglum G2 used in this edition stands for the *Long* Greek Recension) are taken from Di Lella 2009.

and to live comfortably. He was a faithful, brave and stubborn person: he lost everything when he defied the order not to bury his coreligionists. And, when he recovered the favour of the king, he preferred to stick to his principles, thus jeopardizing his safety and that of his family. He was blinded by bird droppings while resting in his garden, which raises the question of whether or not this was a divine punishment. No physician could succeed in curing him, and according to the long Greek recension (G2)⁷ the more they treated him, the worse this condition became. The story continues with the adventures of Tobit's son Tobias, who has to travel to Media to recover money that his father has left with a coreligionist. He travels with his dog and a guide, the angel Raphael in the form of a young man. When they reach the river Tigris, Tobias goes to wash his feet and is attacked by a big fish, Raphael advises him to catch the fish, keep its heart, its liver and its gall bladder in order to use them as medicine, and to eat the rest. On their way to Media they arrive at the house of Raguel, whose daughter Sarah has the misfortune to be in the power of a demon, Asmodeus, who kills her husbands during the wedding nights, leaving her always or perennially a virgin. Raphael suggests or orders Tobias to marry Sarah, explaining that he could drive out and expel the demon through a fumigation with the heart and the liver of the fish. The treatment is effective and the demon is cast out, sent far away to Egypt. After collecting the money they had set out to recover, they return to Nineveh where Tobias is able to cure his father with the help of Raphael and the gall of the fish. He puts it on the eyes of his father and cures the *leucoma*, the white films. The story ends with the departure of Tobit's family for Media, where they hear about the destruction of Nineveh and rejoice.⁸

The Book of Tobit contains many references to the Bible especially from the Patriarchal Narratives in the Books of Genesis,⁹ Deuteronomy,¹⁰ Wisdom,¹¹ and Job.¹² There are also connections with Gentile folktales:¹³ "The Grateful Dead",¹⁴

7 See Weeks, Gathercole and Stuckenbruck 2004, 12–13 for the Long Recension (G2) of the Codex Sinaiticus (S) which allegedly reflects the original story.

8 Di Lella 2009, Tob 14: 15: "And before he died (Tobias) he saw and heard of the destruction of Nineue, and he saw its captivity being led into Media..."

9 Machiela and Perrin 2014.

10 Di Lella 1979; Machiela and Perrin 2014.

11 See Macatangay 2011. See also Weitzman 1996.

12 Perrin 2014, 125.

13 See Harari 2013, 523–525 and Fitzmyer 2003, 36–41 who states that "these ancient tales provide interesting parallels, but I find it difficult to conclude that the author of the Book of Tobit was deliberately imitating them or using them as a source, since there is practically no evidence that the tales predate the Tobit story."

14 Jacobs 2007, 12–13 with fn. 55; Chrysovergi 2011, 116 with fn. 588.

the tale of Ahiqar,¹⁵ and Persian tales¹⁶ are among the narratives frequently quoted by scholars. The study of these influences is beyond the scope of this paper but it is important to note with Machiela and Perrin (2014, 116): “Both Tobit and the *Genesis Apocryphon* bear the marks of fictional elaboration on earlier Jewish texts and traditions, weaving literary styles, motifs, type-scenes, ideologies, and specific idioms from a variety of other sources into their new literary compositions.” I will focus on the Mesopotamian influence, specifically from the medical angle.

The Relationship between Tobit and the Mesopotamian World, Particularly Assyria

Admittedly, several centuries separate the drafting of these texts; they belong to different literary genres and purposes. But the history of the Bible was always intermingled with that of the Mesopotamian world. Its customs, lifestyles, and ways of thinking find an echo in the texts from Syria, especially from 18th century Mari, and these Mari texts provide an interesting background for improving our understanding of the Hebrews. Epigraphists and archaeologists find it difficult to understand tribal society described in the Bible, since nomads leave no artefacts, no houses, no temple, no palace, and no administrative archive. Mari letters describing this world provide good analogies for scholars. Specialists in the Bible and Mari have dedicated numerous studies to these relationships. The most penetrating study derives from a conference held in Paris in 1998 about the Amorite traditions and the Bible.¹⁷ Durand (1998, 39) concluded his article as follows:

Les rencontres que nous avons opérées au tout début de ce travail, recherchant les traits communs de civilisation que peuvent révéler une communauté d'historiettes, ne sont donc certainement pas fortuites et montrent que ceux qui peuplent la Palestine au I^{er} millénaire ont eu des ancêtres amorrites. S'il nous est donné un jour de pouvoir combler l'hiatus historique qui sépare ce début du II^e millénaire des traditions bibliques ... nul doute que nous saurons comment récupérer ces récits au nombre des textes sur lequel peut se fonder un discours véritablement historique

15 See Holm 2014 and Bodi 2011.

16 See Russel 2001 especially on the demon Asmodeus who persecutes Sarah.

17 Durand and Lafont 1998 and 1999.

et étudier comment, au cours de l'histoire des hommes, les faits réels se transmutent peu à peu en contes et en folklore.

Likewise, Fleming (1998, 45) states: "Mari offers us the best ancient written evidence for peoples with a similar profile, though they come from several centuries earlier. These Amorrite tribes inhabit the northern part of the same large region of West Semitic speakers, and share some concrete cultural kinship, if a distant one." Even more relevant for our purposes is Fleming's (1998, 77) following observation: "While the distance between the times of telling and the times portrayed is substantial, the biblical capacity to remember the past has been both underestimated and misrepresented." This statement explains how the memories of the Assyrian civilization found their way into texts written in the third / second century BCE. The confrontation of the two worlds was so traumatic that it left a deep and unforgettable memory in the mind of the Israelites.

The story of Tobit is situated in Assyria and this choice is not fortuitous.¹⁸ In his article on the deportations of Israelites, Younger (1998, 201–227) describes the vicissitudes of the Northern Kingdom vis-à-vis the giant Assyria. As Younger (1998, 201) indicates: "The reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 BCE) saw Israel go from a relatively prosperous nation to a vassal state and then to a greatly diminished puppet state surrounded by Assyrian districts on its former territory." What happened to the Northern Kingdom populations is summarized by Barmash (2005, 208): "Three circumstances served as an impetus for northerners to escape deportation; (1) Earlier Assyrian attacks and deportations of population, both in the region in general and in the Northern Kingdom in particular, warned of what might be in store for the future and may have inspired northerners to flee in anticipation. (2) The conquest of Samaria was interrupted, allowing northerners the opportunity for flight. (3) The Assyrians in the end enforced only a partial exile, leaving many northerners in their native land." The Assyrian propaganda was virulent and frightening.¹⁹ However, it allowed the inhabitants of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah to take measures to avoid the worst. When the politicians were realistic they paid tribute; when the population anticipated a debacle the inhabitants fled. A part of the Galilean and Samaritan population took refuge in Judea, so that its demography increased. Other populations were "exchanged", among them Babylonians

18 The Galilean origin of Tobit was also deliberate. See Dimant 2009.

19 See Marti 2012a; 2012b.

mostly belonging to the upper class.²⁰ The Southern Kingdom was not spared, not only did they suffer the Assyrian king's campaigns but a part of the population was deported. As Barmash (2005, 221) states: "An Assyrian inscription records that when Sennacherib attacked the Southern Kingdom in 701, he took 200,150 captives from the Southern Kingdom." This number is probably hyperbolic. However, it is surprising that the population increased so quickly that Sennacherib could boast about taking many prisoners and having destroyed 46 fortified cities in the Judean country.

Nineveh was destroyed in 612 BCE. The Judeans experienced deportation to Babylon after the fall and destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 and 587 BCE.

These military campaigns and deportations have put the Mesopotamian Kingdoms into contact with those of Israel and Judah. This coexistence of populations with similar cultures could only be of mutual benefit, even in the context of war. The Book of Tobit represents a faraway reflection of these contacts.

The Importance of Mesopotamian Medicine in the Hebrew World

The Bible and Talmud bear the print of Mesopotamian medicine. A large amount of Mesopotamian topics—including semiology, treatments and scientific vocabulary—can be found in them. This is the result of prolonged contacts that were established between the two nations either in exile or in Israel and Judea.

Regarding the impact of Mesopotamian lore on the Bible, Sanders (2012, 16) comments: "The Priestly source of the Torah shares, with Babylonian scholarship, an interest in precise categorization and description of the physical world ... These appear in the creation of Leviticus 12–15, with its rules for observing physical signs as symptoms of the skin disease *šara'at*." In addition, Leviticus (21: 20, 22: 22) states that a person with a skin disease (possibly scabies or leprosy, psoriasis²¹) was forbidden from entering the Temple. This skin damage, *grbn*, *garbān*, recalls the *garābu*, attested in the Mesopotamian medical texts. Another similarity described by Hurowitz (2006, 13–23) occurs in a text from the Leviticus dealing with snakes: there are correlations with Mesopotamian texts in the expression of the prognosis.

20 This statement is confirmed by Nadav and Zadok 2000.

21 According to the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon, *CAL*, <http://cal.cn.huc.edu/>.

A study by Mark Geller shows the extent of the influences of Akkadian medicine in the Talmud.²² Geller (1986, 738) states: "The Babylonian Talmud is a great repository of information about Babylonia in the first five centuries A.D., and its contents often reflect the learning and practices of contemporary and earlier Babylonia." One can easily find examples of treatments mentioned in the Talmud possessing a relationship to Mesopotamian medical texts on the website of the Melammu project.²³ A telling example of such closeness concerns the night and day blindness.²⁴ The treatment of this disease in the third Tablet of the IGI series²⁵ has a close connection with the Talmudic text but is not identical. Its description in the IGI series reads as follows:

If both of a man's eyes (suffer from) night blindness, you shall thread the 'pole' of a donkey's belly (and) its neck sinews on a cord (and) place it on (the patient's) neck. You set up the ritual-water vessel, and in the morning spread a linen cloth in the sun, and prepare a censer with juniper. You make that man stand behind the linen cloth, in the daylight. The incantation priest will raise up seven loaves and the one with the sick eyes will raise seven loaves, and [the priest] will say to the sick man, "Receive, O bright of eye!" The sick man shall say to the incantation priest, "Receive, one with staring eye!" [...] you will chop up the 'pole' of the belly [...] you (with the?) incantation priest will assemble children, who say thus: "... they will say ... You mix ghee and best quality oil and repeatedly daub his eyes. [Its ritual]: the same. [Incantation]: 'May Ea hear the prayer, may Ea receive (it). See O clear eyed, see, O staring-eyed.' Recite the incantation ... and this incantation ... of the door you will put in his hand and he will eat ... you will [take away] the 'pole' of a donkey's belly, and the pieces you will ... [and] you will anoint his cheeks and [eyes] and he shall recover."²⁶

The same disease appears in the Babylonian Talmud, *Gittin* 69a:

For night blindness let (the healer) take a rope of white strands and bind together one of (the patient's) legs and a leg of a dog, while children toss

²² Geller 2004.

²³ URL for this entry: http://www.aakkl.helsinki.fi/melammu/database/gen_tpl/to5/tooooo471.php (accessed 19 January 2016).

²⁴ For *Sîn-Lurma* see Stol 1986 and Geller 1991.

²⁵ The third tablet concerns eye diseases, especially vision problems.

²⁶ Melammu project http://www.aakkl.helsinki.fi/melammu/database/gen_html/aoooo572.php (accessed 28 November 2015).

potsherds behind him and say to him (the incantation): “Heal the dog, hide the cock.” Let (the healer) collect seven pieces of meat from seven houses, and position them for himself on the door-pivot, and let them (the dogs?) eat (the meat) on the town’s refuse-heap. After this, undoing the white rope, let (the healer) say: “O blindness of So-and-so, depart from So-and-so,” and let them stab (or blow at) the dog in the pupil of the eye. For day blindness let (the healer) take seven red (pieces) from the belly of animals, and let him roast them in a craftsman’s vessel. Let (the healer) place himself inside, with the other man outside, and let (the healer) say to (the patient), “Blind one, give that I may eat!” Let (the patient) say to him: “Open-eyed one there, take and eat!” After it is eaten, let him break the vessel, that (blindness) not return to him.²⁷

The strategies of the “doctors” seem to be similar, and yet the differences are evident. This suggests that the medical knowledge was not stable, even if the familiarity between the texts is obvious. As Wasserman observes in his article on the transmission of magical practices from Mesopotamian to Jewish lore: “The passages are clearly related, but the dependency between the two sources is not direct and certainly far from verbatim,” and “Subterranean, nonwritten paths of transmission carried this and some other minute stories from the dark waters of ancient Mesopotamian magic to the reservoir of Jewish aggadic lore.”²⁸

The Bible and the Talmud severely criticize these magical procedures even though, or perhaps because the Hebrews resorted to them. The treatment when Sarah chased away the demon Asmodeus is viewed by several researchers as “magical”, with the idea that fumigation belonged to the exorcistic practices. Chrysovergi maintains that “Scholarship agrees on the magical character of the smoking of the fish entrails.”²⁹ But Stuckenbruck (2002, 258–269), in his article dedicated to the problem of magic in the Book of Tobit, defends the thesis that the treatment of the eyes and the expulsion of the demon are of the same order given the similarity of the vocabulary, so that it is difficult to decide what belongs to medicine and what belongs to magic. We recognize that the relationship between “rational” and “magical” treatments is difficult to separate in Assyro-Babylonian medicine.

27 http://www.aakkl.helsinki.fi/melammu/database/gen_html/a0000573.php (accessed 28 November 2015).

28 Wasserman 2014, 261 and 264.

29 Chrysovergi 2011, 144. See also the bibliographical reference *ibid.*, 144, n. 700.

According to Geller (2004, 46): “One cannot expect major genres of Akkadian magic to be represented in the Talmud, because of the nature of the sources and their complex manner of transmission.” Indeed, while major rituals like *Šurpu* or *Maqlû* do not appear in the Talmud, simpler rituals are described there. One medical ritual described by Levy, Attia and Buisson (2006, 202) could be of some interest:³⁰

En ce qui concerne les fièvres dues aux démons *asakku* le porcelet est élevé au rang de réceptacle pour la maladie et de substitut du patient. Par le geste et la parole, on fait correspondre la tête, le cœur, le sang, les membres d’un porcelet sacrifié aux parties correspondantes du patient afin que les *asakku* s’y précipitent. Il n’est pas impossible qu’un écho de ce traitement se retrouve dans le Talmud *Shabat* 110b où il est question d’un cochon tacheté dont on arrache le cœur pour le placer sur le cœur du patient.

The ailments treated by these rituals are different: in Akkadian it is fever, while in the Talmud it is jaundice. But in both cases the purpose of the treatment is to make the devil leave the body of the patient.³¹

In what follows, I hope to make clear the influences of Mesopotamian scholarship, especially concerning medicine, in the Book of Tobit. As stated above, Assyria and Babylonia shared with Israel and Judea the same cultural references, thus allowing an easier integration of Mesopotamian medical practices.

Links between the Book of Tobit and Mesopotamian Medicine

Birds’ Droppings

Tobit became blind because he laid down in his garden against a wall without worrying if the place was clean and safe. Birds—sparrows according to the Greek translation—let their excrements fall into his eyes, causing the formation of a white film and provoking blindness. On the other hand, birds’ droppings were often used as medication in the Mesopotamian recipes.³² One of the most famous was the guano of the bat, (*rikibti arkabi*, u₅ argab^{mušen}), used for various treatments including eyes. Different sorts of eye diseases were treated with this drug.

30 See the transcription of this incantation in Schramm 2008, 110–111: 64–73.

31 See Geller 1991, 108 for an earlier comment on this correspondence.

32 See below how von Soden (1966, 81–82) described eye treatments based on gallbladder.

– *For sick eyes:*

IGI 1: § 4;³³ BAM 510: i 1'+BAM 514: i 6': "[Antim]ony, bat guano, marrow of a short bone of a [male? sheep ... you dau]b? (it)."

IGI 1: § 20; BAM 510: i 29'+BAM 514: i 35'–36' // BAM 19: 11': "If the eyes of a man are sick: you pound bat guano in ghee (and) you daub (it) on."

– *For bloodshot eyes:*

IGI 1: § 24 (note that the parallel text BAM 159 differs: tearing, crepuscular fuzziness, confusion, darkening); BAM 510: i 36'+BAM 513: i 27'+BAM 514: i 43'–44' // BAM 159: iv 24'+BAM 18: 3: "[You pound in ghee] 1 *kisal*-shekel of bat guano, 1/2 *kisal*-shekel of white-plant, 1/6 of fine salt [(and) you daub (it) on]."

IGI 1: § 26; BAM 510: i 39'+BAM 513: i 30'+BAM 514: i 46'–47': "[You pound] bat guano [in] ghee (and) [you daub (it) on?]."

– *For blood sediment, two preparations contain this product:*

IGI 1: § 40; BAM 513: ii 13'–15'+BAM 514: ii 9'–11' // BAM 22: r. 27'–30'+BM 54641+54826:³⁴ 1'–18': "[If a man's eyes contain] blo[od sediment, (and he cannot?) se]e, white-plant, [guano] of a bat, fine salt, nanah-mint, [*atā'īšu*-plant, *terebinth*, *oliban resin*], you grind finely together these [x] ingredients, you m[ix in the bile of a black sheep, you make a token, if it is during winter], you soften it [in water, if it is during summer] in cuscute water (and) you daub (it) on his eyes."

IGI 1: § 41; BAM 510: ii 1'+BAM 513: i 16'+BAM 514: ii 12': "You pound 3 shekels of bat guano [and ...] in mountain honey (and) you daub (it) on his eyes; these are ingredients for 20 days."

33 The paragraph numbers of the IGI series (eye disease) are quoted according to Attia 2005 where the translation is in French. The above English translation is adapted from the French.

34 Tablets edited, translated and commented on by Fincke 2009, 84–93.

- *For burning sensation of the eyes due to sun exposure complicated by “Grains-of-Blackberry-follicles”*.³⁵

IGI 2: § 2; *BAM* 515: i 8–9: “White-plant, bat guano, fine salt, alum, salicornia, myrrh, [river m]ud, cuscuta; in total 8 ingredients for a topical medicine for the clinical case: ‘If a man’s eyes burn (as if they) were sun burnt and are [full of grains]-of-Blackberry-follicles.’”

- *For ocular tumor, possibly pterygium:*

IGI 2: § 10; *BAM* 515: i 22–24 // *BAM* 22: 4’–7’+*BM* 54641+54826: 2’: “If [a man’s eyes] are full of *overrunning* flesh and it *overruns*, to cure him: you grind together [cardamine, nanah-mint, ..., resin] of oliban, white-plant, bat guano, fi[ne sa]lt, you mix in cedar [balm], (and) cedar oil, you mak[e a token, you grind in water (and) you daub (it) on].”

IGI 2: § 11; *BAM* 515: i 25–26 // *BAM* 22: 9’–10’+*BAM* 382: 3: “[If a man’s] eyes are full of flesh and blood: m[yrrh, nanah-mint, white-plant, oliban resin, guano] of a bat (and) cardamine, [you grind], these ingredients [(for) a compound ointment for *overrunning* flesh].”

- *For a white šišītu-membrane obscuring the eyesight:*

IGI 2: § 57’; *BAM* 515: ii 49–51: “If a ma[n’s ey]es are sick and a membrane cov[ers] the apple of his eyes, [te]ars flow, his eyes are full of opacity: colocynt, small-cress, grains of [...], white-plant, bat guano; these 11 ingredients [...], you mix [in] cedar [oil], you daub on his eyes (and) he will recover.”

IGI 2: § 65’; *BAM* 515: ii 68 // *BAM* 23: 5: “If a man, same clinical case: 1 shekel of guano [of a bat ... in] dry form, you daub on.” In *BAM* 23: 5 one can find the indication: “If a man’s eyes are full of *šišītu*-membrane.”

- *Some parts of the tablets are broken so the guano of a bat is found in prescriptions for which the indication is unknown, for example:*

IGI 2: § 69’; *BAM* 515: iii 10’–11’: “... for one month you daub (it) on him 3 times, you grind bat guano in ghee (and) you daub (it) on ...”

35 The botanical equivalent is drupelet.

– *For blindness:*

IGI 3: § 24'; *BAM* 516: ii 6'–7' // *AMT* 18/4: 6'–7': "If a man's eyes do not see: this man burns with sunstroke, [...] 1 shekel of bat guano, 1/2 shekel of white-plant, 1/4 of fine salt, [you grind] in naphtha and gh[ee], you daub (it) on his eyes."

– *One example outside the IGI series:*

BAM 13: i 8'–11' for eyes with "glowing twilight vision" a pharmaceutical preparation for a so-called "spoonful of lead" ointment containing guano of a bat.

This drug had uses other than ocular ones; in *CAD* R 344b–345a one can read several different cases but they are not as numerous as those for the eyes. One related to the *šišitu*-membrane is found in the series about internal diseases *su'ālu*: *BAM* 578: iv 15: "For the same case (if a man's eyes are full of *amurriqānu*-jaundice) you grind bat guano (and) white-plant in ghee, you daub it repeatedly (and) the membrane will be removed."

The exact identification of this drug, "guano of a bat" has not been clarified definitively.³⁶ Eventually, one treatment may give a clue that it actually corresponds to bat droppings: in *BAM* 66 in case of "undulant illness" the treatment comprises bat "cowpat".³⁷ To my knowledge, it is the only treatment where *kabūtu* of a bat is mentioned. But as pointed out by Civil (1984, 7), in *BAM* 3: iv 4 there is one example of še₁₀ arkab'(ib.gar)^{mušen}. Usually, *kabūtu* is used for bovine or ovine but maybe the scribe got confused and made a mistake. As for še₁₀, it is used for birds, men and all sorts of animals. These arguments are in favour of the fact that this mysterious *rikibti arkabi* meant bat excrement.

Other bird droppings were used in Mesopotamian therapeutic texts, for example *zê summati*, "dove's droppings", but this name hides the name of a plant; it is in fact a code name or a popular name, referred to in German as *Deckname* or *Dreckapotheke*.³⁸ Another plant hides itself behind these "droppings", as shown by a comment to the therapeutic text *BRM* 4 32: 11 transcribed and translated by Geller (2010, 169, 172): úaš // *kima ḫal-la tu*^{mušen}, "‘Single’-plant

36 See *CAD* R 344b, guano of a bat; *CDA* 304b, spur (of a bird); Scurlock 2014, 336, "musk".

37 *BAM* 66: diš na min ud-1-kám gig ud-1-kám ti na bi 50 ud^{meš} gig *ana* gig-šu nu gíd-d[a] ...¹⁹kuš! anše šurun [ark]ab^{mušen} *ina* šu-pe-[e] ²⁰te-še-pi *ina* gú-šu gar-an-ma [ti], "If a man, the same, one day is ill, one day is healthy ... you wrap ox skin², bat cowpat in a wrapper (and) place it around his neck, [he will recover]."

38 See *CAD* S 380a with references to Uruanna 1: 189: *zê summati*, dove's dung; seed of the false carob.

is like the dung pellet of a dove.” Its various applications did not reach to eye problems.³⁹ These dove’s droppings are found in a recipe from the Babylonian Talmud *Gittin* 69b: “For the top of the sack he should take acacia and aloe juice and white-lead and silver dross and an amulet-full of phyllon and the excrement of doves and tie it all up in linen rags in the summer or in cotton rags in the winter.”⁴⁰

“Crow excrement” also hides a plant. It is found in the same commentary text *BRM* 4 32: 11 quoted above: ⁴lú-^dA-nu // ki-ma ḥal-la e-re-bi, “(The plant) *amīlānu* is like the dung pellet of a raven” (Geller 2010, 169, 172).

Other birds’ dung were also used: še₁₀ buru₅-ḥabrud-da, iṣṣur ḥurri, droppings of rock-partridge appear in a fumigation (*TCL* 6 34: 4’) for a broken heart (gaz libbi). In *BAM* 482: iii 53 the droppings of swallows (zê sinuntu, še₁₀ sim^{mu}sen), of doves (zê summatu, še₁₀ tu^{mu}sen)—other birds’ droppings might be in the lacuna—, and other “usual” drugs are used to cure headaches. They are not found in the *Dreckapotheke* list of Uruanna.

Different parts of birds were frequently used in Mesopotamian pharmacopoeia. For an extensive study of the numerous sources see Chalendar 2014.

In his essay on Talmudic medicine, Mark Geller notices that some unpleasant pharmaceutical products in the Talmud recall these organic ingredients. He explains that these products were introduced to the Talmud at a time when these names were no longer understood. The fact that they were quite ordinary drugs was forgotten and these names were taken literally.⁴¹

It is striking that a key product of Mesopotamian ocular therapeutics became the cause of Tobit’s blindness. Especially one of them, the bat guano, was used to treat afflictions very similar to Tobit’s membrane, *šišītu*. The exact name and nature of this pharmaceutical product must have been more or less forgotten and transformed into sparrow droppings. We have here a disguised criticism or caricature of Assyrian medicine, which must have been understood by the readers and the audience of this narrative.

The Leucoma

The whitening of the cornea is quoted as follows in the Book of Tobit (text G2, Di Lella 2009).

39 On the other hand, one can find dove’s brain in *IGI* 2: § 33’; *BAM* 515: ii 5–6: “You gr[ind] a wild cow’s skull [...] you mix (it) in equal proportions with oil and male dove brain, for [3 days you keep it] (and you) pour several times, regularly, in his eyes.”

40 Melammu project, http://www.aakkl.helsinki.fi/melammu/database/gen_html/a0000969.php (accessed 19 January 2016).

41 Geller 2004, 27.

Tob 2: 10 And their warm excrement settled into my eyes and brought about white films. So I went to the physicians to be healed but the more they anointed me with the medicines so much the more were my eyes blinded by the white films until I became completely blind.

Tob 6: 9 And as for the gall, anoint a person's eyes on which white films have come up; blow upon them, upon the white films and they will be healed.

Tob 11: 7 Then Raphael said to Tobias (...): "I know that his eyes will be opened. Sprinkle / scatter the gall of the fish and the medicine will make the white films contract and peel off from his eyes, and your father will look up and see the light."

The term translated by "white films"⁴² or "white spots"⁴³ is found in Aramaic in the manuscripts from the Qumran caves. This word in *CAL*⁴⁴ is: ḥwṛwryn, ḥwṛwry (*ḥwarwārīn*, *ḥwarwārē*), "glaucoma" or "whiteness of the eyes" with the text: 4QTob b4.1.15=6.9, "gall for painting the eyes that have whiteness".⁴⁵ The term is also preserved, but broken, in the Hebrew manuscript 4Q200 frg. 5:5 (Fitzmyer 1995, 69).

This Semitic word has been translated into Greek as *leucoma*. This term is still used in modern clinical medicine and designates whitish, more or less dense corneal opacities. There are several candidates for this *leucoma*. The most likely one is the whitish *šišitu*-membrane in the Mesopotamian medical texts. There is another sort of opacification in these texts: Sum. *gissu*, Akk. *šillu*, literally "shadow", though this "shadow" could just be a darkening of the sight. There are also descriptions of whitish loss of vision using meteorological, pastoral metaphors, e.g. the diminution of eyesight defined as "cloudy": "*Ipītu*, un

42 Thus Fitzmyer 2003, 137, 277 and Stuckenbruck 2002, 262.

43 Thus Chrysovergi 2011, 125.

44 *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*: <http://cali.cn.huc.edu/> (accessed 27 January 2016). This term is also found in a tiny broken Aramaic fragment No. 7 of 4Q196 (Fitzmyer 1995, 15): "To cu]re [the] whi[te scales." Michael Langlois, in a personal communication, helped me to clarify the meaning of this term: its root is ḥwṛ, in this case the adjective ḥiwwār, white can be nominalized as the "white thing", here "whitening" of the eye. With this precision I understand that it is impossible to determine if this "whitening" corresponded to the whitening of the cornea (or less probably of the eye's lens) or to a white membrane.

45 See Fitzmyer's (1995, 46) translation: "white scales".

voile qui évoque les nuages mais parfois aussi l'incompréhension, le fait que la maladie échappe à l'interprétation."⁴⁶

The closest affliction seems to be *šišitu*, as can be seen in the examples taken from the second Tablet of the IGI series and others from a small tablet from Aššur: *BAM* 23.

IGI 2: § 57'; *BAM* 515: ii 49: "If a ma[n's ey]es are sick and a membrane cov[ers] the apple of his eyes, [te]ars flow, his eyes are full of opacity."⁴⁷

IGI 2: § 58'; *BAM* 515: ii 52–53: "If a man's eyes are sick and [a membrane? ...] (and) it is difficult for him to se[e]; to remove the white which is above the apple of his eyes."

BAM 23: 1–2 // *BAM* 515: ii 65–66: "[If a ma]n's ey[es are sick and a membrane covers the apple of his eyes] and it is difficult for him to [see]; to cure him."

This filmy membrane should be white according to *BAM* 515: ii 52. But it also occurs in cases of jaundice and could be yellow: *BAM* 578: iv 15: "For the same case (if a man's eyes are full of *amurriqānu*-jaundice) you daub it repeatedly (and) the membrane will be removed."⁴⁸

This membrane can cover the lips like a glaze; *TDP*, 74–75, Tablet 9: 29: "If his face is unevenly colored with yellow-ochre *kalû*-clay, his lips are full of *šišitu*-glaze, his eyes are continually colored with yellow (and) his right eye 'flutters', he will die."⁴⁹

The shadow or opacity (Akk. *šillu*), does not correspond exactly to the white film. One can get an idea of what it looked like by reading its description in an incantation (§ 55): "Just like *agalpê* (covers) water they (the eyes) are covered with spots, just like a vessel of vinegar they are covered with 'šillu-shadow'..." (Veldhuis 1991, 74).

There is no real description of "cloudy" eyes, the metaphor suffices. It is mostly used in incantations.⁵⁰

46 See Attia 2005, 55 for the attestations in the series and p. 90 for the quotation.

47 The treatment for this case comprises bat guano, u₅ argab^m[u^šen]. Apple corresponds in English to prunelle in French, it corresponds to cornea and pupilla with no distinction.

48 As seen above the treatment included *rikibtî arkabî*, bat guano.

49 Translation Scurlock 2014, 70. For the yellow ochre *kalû* see Stol 1998, 347–348.

50 Incantations in IGI 1: § 55, *BAM* 510: ii 27'+*BAM* 513: ii 42'+; *BAM* 514: ii 38'; § 58, *BAM* 510: ii 36'+*BAM* 513: iii 3; § 61, *BAM* 510: iii 9+*BAM* 513: iii 14(/10')+*BAM* 514: iii 14'; § 64, *BAM*

The Aramaic term is not recognizable in the Akkadian words designating this affliction. It is difficult to tell which tradition is reflected in Tobit's illness. But, as it was a frequent affliction of the eyes its description is probably "universal".

The Maiden and the Death of the Betrothed

Young virgin girls whose grooms died during the wedding night are a *topos* found in various folkloric tales as described by Haupt (1921, 71–95) who proposed that Sarah suffered from hystero-epilepsy.⁵¹ It is not easy to make the differential diagnosis between hysteria and epilepsy. In the Diagnostic and Prognostic Series⁵² the exorcist gives different descriptions of convulsions to determine if the prognosis was bad or good. It is possible that the favourable cases could correspond to hysteric crises whereas the bad cases would correspond to epileptic fits.⁵³ It is difficult to understand why this hysteria led to the death of the bridegroom. Thus, Haupt (1921, 86) proposes that the epileptic fit scared the men who ran away. In fact, the fear caused by these deaths evokes the fate of young people turned into Mesopotamian devils. Girls and boys who died before having experienced sexual bliss, marriage and conception became aggressive demons prone to attack the mortals. These demons, the *lilû* and especially their female counterparts, the *lilitu* and the *ardat lilî*-demons, survived in the Bible and in the Rabbinic literature under the name of Lilith.

Lackenbacher's (1971, 140) translation of an Akkadian incantation gives a valuable description of these demons:

La jeune fille de l'espace hanté est revenue sans cesse par la fenêtre vers la jeune fille, ^{6'-8'} l'ardat-lilî qui, par la fenêtre de la maison, a voleté vers l'homme, ^{9'-11'} la jeune fille que, telle une fem[me], aucun mâle n'a imprég[née], ^{12'-13'} la jeune fille que, telle une femme, aucun mâle n'a déflorée, ^{14'-17'} la jeune fille qui, dans le giron de son mari, n'a pas touché son sexe, ^{18'-21'} la jeune fille qui, dans le giron de son mari, n'a pas

510: iii 21+BAM 513: iii 26'(/22')+BAM 514: iii 26'; § 87, BAM 510: iv 23+BAM 513: iv 33+BAM 514: iv 28; § 61, BAM 514: iii 15', or in the clinic description of § 16, BAM 515: i 54' // BAM 22: 1'.

51 This "Freudian" concept is contradicted by the fact that in one Aramaic fragment from Qumran (4Q197) men and women could be treated by fumigation in case of a demonic attack. See Fitzmyer 1995, 44–45: 13: "[You] smoke it in presence of a man or a woman afflicted by a demon or an [evil] spirit."

52 Labat 1951.

53 For epilepsy see Stol 1993.

écarté son vêtement, ^{22'-24'} la jeune fille dont (aucun) beau jeune homme n'ouvrit la fibule, ^{25'-27'} la jeune fille dont les seins n'ont pas eu de lait.

Sarah was terrified at the idea that she would not have the normal fate of all young girls. Her maid accused her (Tob 3: 7) of being cruel, of beating her servants, of having strangled her bridegrooms, and finally cursed her, wishing that she would never bear children.⁵⁴ It is the exact portrait of the *ardat-lilî*! These accusations and maledictions drove Sarah to despair and made her wish to die. Such ill fortune could have led a young girl to become a demon. This symbiosis between the story of Sarah and the Mesopotamian myths is another clue to the close relationship between the two cultures.

The Demon Asmodeus

The Aramaic term for demon, *šēd šēda*, is attested in the Book of Tobit;⁵⁵ its direct cognate in Akkadian is *šēdu*. In Mesopotamia these demons can be propitious or malevolent. In the story of Tobit the demon is called Asmodeus. His name is of Iranian or Egyptian origin,⁵⁶ and is quoted in the Rabbinic literature.⁵⁷ Human beings attacked by demons are a common occurrence in Mesopotamian literature. For example, in the series *Utukkū lemnūtu*, the demons which have seized a human body are expelled through incantations adjuring them to leave and to fly away.⁵⁸ Methods intended to tear out the demon responsible for the illness were already imagined by Mesopotamian exorcists. These were similar to those recommended by Raphael.⁵⁹ Apart from “true” demons, illnesses were also perceived as maleficent beings able to settle in the body of the patient, as in this incantation against the disease *bušānu*: “*Bušānu*, strong is its grasp. It seized the uvula like a l[i]o[n], it seized the *nurzu* like a wolf, it seized the moi[st part of the nose], it seized the tongue, it set up its chair in the windpipe” (Collins 1999, 68).

54 The maid's accusations and curse are partly found in the Qumran manuscripts. See Fitzmyer 1995, 11; 4Q196 frg. 3: 11, “has been strangled” and pp. 13–14, frg. 6: 1, “May we ne[ver] see a son [or a daughter] of yours.”

55 <http://cali.cn.huc.edu/comment.php?coord=44003197041130608>, 4QTob b4.1.13=6.8: “If you smoke it before a man or a woman infected (literally: touched) by the demon.”

56 See Russell 2001, 1–6 and “Aschmodai” (2006) at <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/de/stichwort/14045/> (accessed 22 January 2016).

57 See the article on Asmodeus in the online Jewish Encyclopedia:

<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/2019-asmodeus> (accessed 22 January 2016).

58 Geller 2007, e.g. 201.

59 See below *sub* “fumigation”.

The Fish and Its Organs

Tobias and the angel Raphael leave Nineveh and soon stop on the banks of the Tigris before crossing the river.⁶⁰ As he is washing his feet, Tobias is attacked by a fish that tries to swallow him, but Tobias manages to kill the fish and eat it. On the advice of Azarias *alias* Raphael, he dissects the fish, takes out the heart, the liver and the gallbladder, for a later therapeutic use. Cf. Tob 6: 5: “Cut open the fish and remove the gall and the heart and its liver and keep them with you, and take out the entrails, for the gall and the heart and its liver are useful medicine” (Stuckenbruck 2002, 265). The organs are put in salt for conservation.⁶¹

The word for fish in Aramaic is *nwn*, *nwn*⁷ (*nūn*, *nūnā*); its Akkadian cognate is *nūnu*. It is found in the Qumran manuscript of Tobit’s Book (Tob 6: 7): “What medicine is in the heart of the fish, its liv[er, and its gall]?”⁶² Furthermore, it is important to note that the Aramaic term for medicine is *sm*, *sm*⁷ (*sam*, *sammā*), probably linked to the Akkadian *šammu*, plant, medicinal ingredient.

The motif of the fish has been commented upon. Jacobs dedicated several pages to the symbolic nature of the attack, the killing of the fish and its consumption.⁶³ But its Mesopotamian aspect has not been pointed out. Yet the fish and the bird are the protagonists of Mesopotamian fables and literary disputations opposing two kinds of animals, each claiming its own pre-eminence over the other. In one of these Sumerian debates the fish accuses the bird of being noisy, and shameless, and of scattering its dung everywhere. The bird accuses the fish of being an ugly animal deprived of limbs, and of stinking so badly that it provokes vomiting.⁶⁴ We are very close to what is described in Tobit, where the droppings provoke blindness and the repulsive smell of the fish expels or attracts the devil Asmodeus.

Furthermore, the Mesopotamian wise *apkallus* wore a coat made of carp scales, and exorcists could be represented in the same manner. The very name

60 The reason why they stopped at this place is explained by the fact that according to Radner 2015, 64: “Ferries were used to cross the Tigris at Nineveh.”

61 This detail is found in the Aramaic fragment 4Q196 frg. 13: 1, Tob 6: 6; see Fitzmyer 1995, 18–19: “He sal[ted] the [re]st for the journey.” The translation in *CAL* is: “The sa[lt?] is enough for the journey.”

62 Fitzmyer 1995, 44, 46; Tob 4Q197 frg. 4: i 12.

63 Jacobs 2007, 152–169.

64 Black et al. 2004, 230–235 and on the website of the *ETCSL*: <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=c.5.3.5&display=Crit&charenc=gcirc&lineid=c535.13#c535.13> (accessed 19 January 2017).

of the physician, *asû*, is in Sumerian *a-zu*, “the one who knows water”, which connects him to the aquatic fauna. Besides, several demons quoted in *CAD* P 516b have fish scales.

Fish was common food in Mesopotamia. Like other foodstuffs, its consumption could be forbidden on certain days for fear of disease or misfortune.⁶⁵

Fish (Sum. *ku*₆, Akk. *nūnu*) were used in medicine and ritual practices. All or parts of them could enter in the preparation of therapeutic recipes. After having removed scales and viscera, they were grilled to cure *asû*-disease and seizure.⁶⁶ Medical preparations could contain fish oil (Sum. *ì ku*₆) or garum (Akk. *šiqqu*), a sort of fermented fish sauce made of fish or crustaceans. Pickled fish were used for anal flows of pus or blood.⁶⁷ Similarly, snake scaly skin is attested in a ritual probably for sick eyes.⁶⁸ Fish gallbladder was used for belly problems,⁶⁹ and in a transfer ritual for getting rid of testicular sickness: “If three, you capture alive a *girītu*-fish. He urinates into his mouth, and if he releases it into the river, he will recover.”⁷⁰

Different types of fish are included in medical recipes: the scales of the *arsuppu* or *purādu* carp were used in magical rituals;⁷¹ the *kuppû* eel is an interesting case since its bile and biliary vesicle were used in medicine as described by von Soden (1966, 81–82):

AMT 66/7: 14 the patient drinks the bile of the fish, maybe for urinary problem (the indication on the tablet is broken).

BAM 12: 13' for cephalic fever; an eel gallbladder is laid in salt, and then mixed with oil.

65 See Livingstone 2013, 263–266 on food restrictions.

66 See *CAD* U 178a, *BAM* 497: ii 17'–18': “You char fish, you take away their scales and their internal organs, you dry them.”

67 *BAM* 159: 31: *mu-du-ul ku*₆. For the translation of *mu-du-ul*, “pickled”, see Scurlock 2014, 503.

68 *BAM* 488: ii 8 (Attia 2005, 12 with correction) see now K 2354+: 36 (Panayotov 2016, 64): “Tu gril[les] de la peau écaillée de serpent [...]”

69 *BAM* 579: iv 28. Interestingly, this recipe is referred as “a royal secret”, *ú^{bia} šeš ni-šir-ti lugal-[ti]*.

70 *BAM* 396: iv 22–23 in Scurlock 2014, 545–546. See a similar procedure for soothing the god's anger in Schwemer 2013, 193; *BAM* 318: 19: “[Yo]u catch [a fish] (and) keep hold (of it); then you put your spittle in the mouth of the fish, ‘[Fish], undo my [c]urse, fish, carry off my sin, take it down [to the sub]terranean ocean!’”

71 *CAD* A/2 308a, *AMT* 28/7: 3–4 (+*AMT* 23/2: 14–15+*AMT* 78/1: 6–7).

BAM 14: 1–2 // *BAM* 521: 5' for diminution of eyesight combined with tears; the gallbladders of an eel and of another animal were used (the procedure of application is broken).

BAM 18: 14 // *BAM* 14: 5 for tears; the gallbladder of an eel and of another animal are included in a so-called “spoonful of lead” ointment.

BAM 23: 9 for a *šišitu*-membrane; an eel gallbladder is laid in salt, then mixed with grilled pomegranate and other (broken) ingredients to make an ointment.

BAM 382: 5 // *BAM* 22: r 20' propose an ointment to remove the opacity (*te-qit šá gissu zi-ḥi*); it contains fine salt, eel gallbladder, the medicinal plant *kurkānu* and the white-plant, all mixed together in ghee.

To my knowledge, fish hearts and liver are not found in the Mesopotamian pharmaceutical preparations.

The Treatment of the “White Films”

The angel Raphael tells Tobias to treat his father by applying the gall on his eyes so that the white film will be removed (text G2, Di Lella 2009):

Tob 6: 9 And as for the gall, anoint a person's eyes on which white films have come up; blow upon them, upon the white films and they will be healed.

Tob 11: 7 Then Raphael said to Tobias (...): “I know that his eyes will be opened. Sprinkle / scatter the gall of the fish on his eyes, and the medicine will make the white films contract and peel off from his eyes, and your father will look up and see the light.”

Tob 11: 11 Now, the gall of the fish was in his hand, and he blew into his eyes and held him ... Then he laid the medicine on him, and it worked.
12–13 And he scaled it off with both hands from the corner of his eyes.

The Administration of the Gall

Several verbs describe how Tobias should administer the treatment:

- To anoint: this verb is not preserved in the Qumran manuscripts. Another verb is used: *khl*, to paint the eyes, with a reference to Tobit 4QTob b4.1.14=

6.9: “gall for painting the eye”.⁷² In the IGI series, the following verbs reflect the act of anointing: *pašāšu*, anoint; *eqû*, to daub on. The painting of the eyes recalls the lead *itqurtu*-balm or the *ašhar*-kohl.

- To blow: the Greek text G2 (Tob 6: 9, 11: 11) combines application of the gall and of blowing the medication into the eyes. This verb is not found in the Qumran manuscripts but in the IGI series this method is employed. The physician often uses a reed straw or a bronze tube (e.g., IGI 1: § 5, § 36, § 52, 53; IGI 2: § 53', § 61'). This mundane mode was often used if it facilitated drug administration (eyes, ears, penis, and vagina).
- To sprinkle or to scatter: in the Hebrew manuscript from Qumran, 4Q200 frg. 5: 2, the verb employed is *npš* and translated as “to scatter” by Buth.⁷³ It thus seems that a solid product was scattered in Tobit’s eyes. The gall was not diluted but probably powdered. In the IGI series several verbs describe a similar action: *zarû*, to scatter. If sprinkling is meant, the equivalents are: *nuttuku*, to sprinkle; *taḥāḥu*, to pour; and for both *nadû*, to pour or to throw.
- To lay: one way to apply the gall is expressed by “to lay” or “to spread”. This term is not attested in the Qumran manuscripts. The Akkadian equivalents are: *šamādu*, to bandage; *sêru*, to rub (a medication); *šakānu*, to put.

It is obvious that, following Raphael’s advice, Tobias is using the same methods of application as Mesopotamian doctors. However, these are mundane methods, the symptomatic treatment of the eyes being essentially based on local application. These methods have no particularly distinctive magical or symbolic features. They are just methods adapted to the anatomy in order to administer the treatment locally. In this respect, the treatments differ from the Greek ones which were derived from a theory of disease and were not intended to just alleviate the symptoms.

The Gallbladder (Tob 6: 9; 11: 4–8, 11–14)

The manuscripts from Qumran document this word, in Aramaic *mrrh*, *mrrt*⁷⁴ (*mrārā*, *mrātā*), corresponding to Akkadian *martu*.⁷⁴ This term is also partially preserved in the Hebrew manuscript 4Q200: “[And the ga]ll of the fish (was) in his hand, and he scattered (some of it) [on his eyes]” (Fitzmyer 1995, 69, frg. 5: 2).

72 <http://cali.cn.huc.edu/comment.php?coord=44003197041140609>; Fitzmyer 1995, 46 translates: “for anointing”.

73 Buth 2013, 294 presents this verb as “adverbial infinitive”.

74 See above 4QTob b4.1.15=6.9, “gall for painting the eyes that have whitening (of the eyes)”.

Gall and bile were used in Assyro-Babylonian medicine to treat the eyes:

For sick eyes, IGI 1: § 16; *BAM* 510: i 23' + *BAM* 513: i 13' + *BAM* 514: i 29'–30': “You dissect a green *muša*”*irānu*-frog, you mix its bile in ghee (and) you daub (it) on his eyes.”

For pressed-peeled⁷ eyes, IGI 2: § 28'; *BAM* 515: i 71': “Same case: you lay down a gallbladder of *raqqu*-tortoise in salt, you leave it until it is dry; once dried you grind it in oil (and) verdigris and you daub (it) on.”

As seen above, an eel gallbladder was used for a *šišitu*-membrane in *BAM* 23: 9.

Bile of a male sheep is utilized in IGI 1: § 40; *BAM* 513: ii 13'–15' + *BAM* 514: ii 9'–11' // *BAM* 22: r. 27'–30' + BM 54641+54826: 16'–18' for a kind of blood-*šiknu*-sediment. It also enters the composition of a treatment for eyelids associated with eye bleeding in *BAM* 522: 3' (// *BAM* 26 + BM 54641+54826: 15'). Interestingly, the gall was placed in salt before use.⁷⁵

Chrysovergi (2011, 146) points out that Dioscorides highlights the beneficial effects of the bile of different animals (including tortoise). This physician, born in Cilicia in the first century CE could also have inherited Mesopotamian medical knowledge.

The Expulsion of the Demon through a Fumigation

Tobias follows Raphael's instructions, he takes with him in the bridal room the bag containing the heart and liver of the fish, he puts them on incense-coals and the filthy smell chases away Asmodeus (Tob 8: 2–3).

Fumigation was frequent in Assyro-Babylonian therapeutics.⁷⁶ Interestingly enough, it was used against the terrifying demoness Lamaštu,⁷⁷ who could be identified as *ardat lilī* in incantations.⁷⁸ One must remember that she was

75 [... mūd *it-r*] *i-ma* gub-iz zé udu.níta ì.udu sa₅ ina mun ná-al.

76 Fumigation was the subject of a workshop organized by Strahil Panayotov in Berlin in July 2015 in the framework of the BabMed project headed by Mark Geller. This type of treatment was commonly used to cure several women pathologies. See for these indications and procedures of fumigation Steinert 2014a, and Steinert 2014b for a comparison with the Hippocratic recipes which in both cases remarkably did not have any connection to magic.

77 Farber 2014, 151, 167, 191; *Lam.* 1: 60–61, *Lam.* 2: 31–33 and *Lam.* 3: 74–75.

78 Wiggermann 2000, 227–228.

accused of strangling babies,⁷⁹ just as Sarah was supposed to have killed her newly-wed husbands according to her maid.

To my knowledge, fumigation with the heart or liver of a fish is not attested in the medical texts. Yet, we find organic ingredients: fish oil as a component of fumigation against epilepsy,⁸⁰ lion and goat hair to protect a baby against the attack of a *lilû*,⁸¹ and snake skin against Lamaštu.⁸² The blood and the black fluid of the eyes,⁸³ the covering-tissue of the depressions of the head and the neck, fish oil and diverse plants compose a fumigation against the Lord-of-the-Roof demon, Hand of the God and Hand of the Goddess responsible for epilepsy. A fumigation against fever can contain, among other ingredients, the grease of the kidney of a black ox.⁸⁴

To conclude, Sarah is threatened with becoming a Lilith demon, the responsibility for her fate being attributed to Asmodeus. He is expelled from her by way of a fumigation consisting of fish organs, components which are not documented in the Mesopotamian corpus, though fumigations were commonly used in Mesopotamian therapeutic procedures.

The Heart and the Liver Used in the Fumigation

In the Qumran manuscripts of the Book of Tobit, the terms “heart” and “liver” are documented and have Akkadian counterparts: Tob 4Q196 lb, lb’ (*leb*, *leb-bā*),⁸⁵ “heart”, Akkadian *libbu*; Tob 4Q197 kbd, kbd’ (*kbed*, *kabdā*),⁸⁶ “liver”, Akkadian *kabattu*.

Liver and heart of animals are found in preparations to cure eye diseases in Mesopotamian therapeutic texts. A slice of donkey liver is used in a necklace for the *Sinlurma* day or night blindness (see above). Blood from a pig’s heart is dripped into the eyes and bandaged over in case of bloody eyes.⁸⁷ Two recipes

79 Farber 2014, 149; *Lam.* 1 OB₁: 10: “Little ones she really strangles to death.”

80 *TCL* 6 34: 5.

81 *BAM* 248: iv 41.

82 Farber 2014, 167, 191 in a fumigation accompanying the incantations (*Lam.* 2: 32 and *Lam.* 3: 74).

83 Panayotov 2014, *TCL* 6 34: 1–9. The black fluid could correspond to retina, iris and eye vitreous humour?

84 Bácskay 2015, 9: “⁶⁴If ditto, you fumigate him over embers (with) tallow from the kidney of a black ox, dung of a gazelle, stag’s horn, ‘bone-of-mankind’, ⁶⁵‘horned-*uḫūlu*’-plant, *kibritu*-sulphur and he will recover.”

85 Fitzmyer 1995, 20–21, frg. 14: i 11: “[T]ake some of the heart.”

86 Fitzmyer 1995, 44, 46, frg. 4: i 12: “[A medicine is its gall], its [heart], and its liver.”

87 IGI 1: § 30; *BAM* 510: i 43’, *BAM* 514: i 51’.

for tooth problems use the heart of a very big *pizzalurtu*-gecko in a tampon (*CT* 55 150: 12), and together with plants as an application directly on the aching tooth (*BAM* 538: i 1). The heart of the *hurri*-bird (rock-partridge?) was used to cure impotence: it was preserved in salt and swallowed to get an erection.⁸⁸ In case of fever, an owl's heart was used in a phylactery (which was a common treatment for fevers): "You take the wing of an owl, its ^{broken}, its heart and its blood" (Bácskay 2015, 8).

As for birds' droppings, there are plant names hidden behind "heart" or "liver" of animals or a goddess: "wolf's liver" is a cover-name for "tamarisk";⁸⁹ "heart of Ninkilim" corresponds to the plant *ququbinnu*;⁹⁰ "foal's-heart-plant" appears in the description of a plant in *šammu šikinšu*.⁹¹

The Success of the Treatments

Both treatments worked, the demon fled away to Egypt, Tobias and Sarah became husband and wife, Sarah lost her virginity, and she was able to fulfil her womanly fate. As this illness cannot be defined in clinical terms, and as Sarah's story is more of a fairy tale than reality, the question of the efficacy of fumigation is irrelevant.

By contrast, the eye whitening which induces blindness is a true eye problem, and the efficacy of the treatment can be assessed. In the narrative, the treatment worked. Tobias was able to peel away a membrane and make his father see again. This conclusion is partially found in the Hebrew manuscript from Qumran.⁹² In the Mesopotamian therapeutic texts, it is often implied or stated as an optimistic prediction such as "he will be healed", or "he will recover". The concluding sentence "and it worked" in *Tob* 11: 11 corresponds to the wording of the good predictions of Mesopotamian therapeutic texts.⁹³ By

88 Biggs 1967, 62 (*LKA* 95: r. 4); another example without salting *ibid.*, 52; *BAM* 272, *AMT* 56/1.

89 In *Uruanna* 3: 512: ú *ga-bi-id* ur.bar.ra : giš (var.ú) *bi-nu*; in a ritual necklace *STT* 111: 9: *ga-bi-di šá* ur.bar.ra; in a broken text resembling a commentary, the names of the plants are explained by quotations from *Uruanna*, *BAM* 307: 26: *ga-bi-id* ur.bar.ra // ^{giš}*bi-nu*.

90 *Uruanna* 2: 323: ú *lib-bu* ^dnin.kilim : ú *qu-qu-bi-nu*.

91 See the transcription in Stadhouders 2011, 25, Text IIIa (= *KADP* 33); translation in Stadhouders 2012, 12: § 11': "(1) The plant whose appearance is (such) that its leaves are like the lea[ves of the ..., whose xx is like (that)] (2) (of) the foal's-heart-plant, which con[tains? x]x—[that] plant [is called ...]; (3) it is good against colic in horses."

92 Fitzmyer 1995, 69, frg. 5: 4: "[o]n his eyes, and it smarted []⁵[the white scal]es of his eyes. And he saw again."

93 See also the expression of prognosis described by Hurowitz (2006).

contrast, the ways and means of a successful treatment, as they appear in the Book of Tobit, are rarely explained in the cuneiform sources. At best, one can find statements such as “you do again (this treatment) until they (the eyes) become clear,”⁹⁴ far less developed than in Tobit’s case. Likewise, in case of dermatological problems the physician could peel off the lesion.⁹⁵ Ointments, enemas and suppositories could cut off and break anal excrescences, and so release the opening of the anus and cure blockage.⁹⁶ Anyway, it is difficult to understand how a simple local treatment could successfully retract any kind of ocular membrane (corneal opacity, tumor of the surface of the eyes, etc.). It is correspondingly difficult to envisage how Tobias could remove it with his fingers. The optimistic conclusions of both the Mesopotamian and Biblical texts are equally difficult to believe.⁹⁷

The Dog

In a long article, Jacobs explains why a dog accompanied Tobias on his journey.⁹⁸ She explains the motives and influences which could introduce a dog into this story despite the bad reputation of dogs in Biblical and Rabbinic literature.⁹⁹ She addresses the influence of Mesopotamian, Greek and Persian cultures, and the relation of dogs with gods. In addition to this analysis, I would point out that the dog had an ambiguous reputation in the Ancient Near East. It was the companion and the assistant of men and gods, but was also an impure and unclean animal, eating leftovers and garbage. It was the favourite animal of Gula, the goddess of medicine.¹⁰⁰ Ornan (2004, 18) explains the presence of dogs in her temple “by the fact that the saliva of canines, like that of other mammals, has medicinal properties which work like antibiotics.” This probably explains why a dogs’ cemetery was discovered in the temple of Asclepius at

94 IGI 2: § 55’; *BAM* 515: ii 47.

95 *BAM* 35: ii 6’, 10’: u₄.bú.bú.ul *ta-qàl-lap*, “You peel off the *bubu’tu*-pimple.”

96 *CAD* Q 165 s.v. *qatāpu* (to cut off), *CAD* H 170 s.v. *hepû* (to break, to split) and *CAD* U–W 135 s.v. *umšātu*, 253 s.v. *uršu* (two types of anal excrescences, some sort of haemorrhoids).

97 Papayannopoulos, Laskaratos and Marketos 1985, 181–187 describe how ancient and modern physicians believed in the efficacy of the “bile” treatment but conclude that, for them: “The problem of the cure, from the medical point of view remains unsolved.”

98 Jacobs 2014, 221–246.

99 See Schattner-Rieser 2009, who describes the dog’s reputation in the Jewish world. On p. 299 she emphasizes the fact that the dog is not found in the Qumran manuscripts (but they are incomplete) and in the medieval Hebrew versions as if the copyists deliberately forgot to mention it.

100 See Ornan 2004; Böck 2014, 38–44 and the review of this book by Charpin 2015.

Ashkelon (like in the temple of Gula at Isin). Ornan (2004, 18) states: “It is possible that the allusions to dogs in the cult of Asclepius originated in the worship of the Mesopotamian goddess of healing.”

It was well known that dogs could be aggressive. Their dangerous or menacing nature allowed them to be able to fight the female demon Lamaštu. Farber describes rituals in which the exorcist had to create seven clay watchdogs to protect a woman and her newborn baby against Lamaštu.¹⁰¹ The dogs were brutal enough to keep a close watch over her departure and to escort her away from her victims under proper custody.

In Middle Bronze Age Ugarit, a text halfway between myth and recipe against drunkenness elucidates how the dog was considered in the cities of the eastern Mediterranean. Fink (2003, 52) points out: “The evidence of two contradictory religious attitudes regarding dogs in the temple of Ugarit can be easily concluded from RS 24.258 the one which sanctifies the dog, and the one of Hittite origin, which posits the dogs as an impure animal.” He also tries to explain the presence of numerous dogs’ cemeteries during the Persian period in the Levant. In their study of these cemeteries, Wapnish and Hesse came to the conclusion that these traditions remain obscure: “Ashkelon in the Persian period was a cosmopolitan centre... Perhaps, the practice of burying dogs is a syncretism, a local amalgam of attitudes towards dogs and the burial ritual that cannot be attributed to a particular culture.”¹⁰²

Influence or shared-culture phenomenon led the redactors of the Book of Tobit to introduce a dog during the journey from Nineveh to Persia. The relation between a dog and the Mesopotamian culture could be direct or borrowed through other cultures of the Levant.

For the Redactors of the Book of Tobit the Mesopotamian Treatments were Ineffective and Even Dangerous

The help of local or Jewish physicians trained in foreign medicine was felt to be hopeless and dangerous, since the ocular condition of Tobit deteriorated (Tob 2: 10). Indeed, Mesopotamian ocular treatments with droppings or gall were obviously inefficient. Of course, this accusation could reflect the caustic spirit of the Mesopotamians themselves towards physicians.¹⁰³ The fable of the Poor

¹⁰¹ Farber 2007.

¹⁰² Wapnish and Hesse 1993, 56, 76.

¹⁰³ See Worthington 2010 for an overview of physicians and humoristic comedy in Mesopotamia.

Man from Nippur, where the hero plays the role of a doctor and misleads his victim easily,¹⁰⁴ or the disgusting recipes of an *aluzinnu*-jester, imitating the exorcist's preparations, are examples of this humour.¹⁰⁵

For Chrysovergi (2011, 127): "The rejection of the physicians' medicine in Tobit 2: 10 is a veiled form of propaganda against the cultural invasion of Hellenism. Such a view is in line with the author's polemic against gentile customs and his criticism of fellow Jews for embracing the latter." Her premise is plausible, but the same arguments can serve the critic of the Assyro-Babylonian medicine and culture. Denigrating and making fun of Mesopotamian doctors could reflect the bitterness of a population having been oppressed and humiliated by the Assyrians and later by the Babylonians.

Conclusion

This story swings between a realistic account of the life of the Israelites in Assyria and a tale full of supernatural elements. All along, the pathetic situation of the protagonists is counterbalanced with strokes of humour.¹⁰⁶ The Mesopotamian treatments failed to cure Tobit but when they were recommended by Raphael, the messenger of God, they were successful. These ambivalences are the expression of the hateful situation of exiled people and those who have lost their independence. Making fun of medicine and doctors was, and still is, a safe weapon. This was caused by the memory of fierce conquest and harsh deportation by armies who used cruelty as a propaganda weapon and as a "flag". The interdiction to bury the dead was part of this policy of terror. The Assyrians pictured piles of corpses and of victims' organs, thus denying any humanity to the victims; bodies were just furniture or part of the landscape.¹⁰⁷ Tobit's determination to bury his compatriots shows his revolt against this situation. Other interpretations have been proposed. The comparison with the tale of "The Grateful Dead"¹⁰⁸ where the hero is rewarded by a deceased man for having buried him is credible but Tobit was not rewarded for his generosity, on the contrary he lost his eyesight. As for the story of Antigone by Sophocles,

104 See Gurney 1956; Cooper 1975.

105 Foster 1974; D'Agostino 1998; Milano 2004.

106 For humour in Second Temple literature see Gruen 2002, 135–161; humour in the Book of Tobit pp. 148–159.

107 See Marti 2012a, 57–58, 64–66.

108 See fn. 14 above for references.

the context was different, Antigone broke the interdiction of burying the dead not for a foreigner but for her brother, it was a “family affair”. Tobit behaved in a remarkably generous and selfless way.

One may have the feeling that the despair of exiles, whatever their origins, diluted itself into a sort of assimilation. Assyrian and Babylonian administrative archives and letters show that Tobit’s situation was comparable to that of many exiles,¹⁰⁹ whose life could be comfortable in a new environment. But the Book of Tobit, by its implied criticisms and sarcasms, demonstrates that it was not the case, and that Tobit, too, might have recited: “If I forget thee, O Jerusalem.”

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A Transtextual View on the “Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince”

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One of the most interesting pieces of Neo-Assyrian literature is the tablet VAT 10057, the so-called “Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince” (henceforth UWV).¹ Though clearly rooted in the age-old tradition of netherworld travels in Mesopotamian literature,² the UWV is one of the most innovative “Trans-Texts” of the 1st millennium Assyrian scribal culture.³ It transcends the boundaries of texts commonly understood by modern researchers as “literature”⁴ (in the broader sense of *belles lettres*) by utilizing the format and content

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- 1 Previous editions and translations of the text have been offered by Ebeling 1931, 5–9; von Soden 1936 (with inferior photos of the tablet); see also Heide 1963, 132–136; Speiser 1950, 109–110; Labat 1970, 94–97; Foster 2005, 832–839. The latest published edition is that of Livingstone 1989, 68–76 (*SAA* 3 32); a more recent edition can be found in the 2010 MA thesis of Nele Diekmann (2010, 70–88; including autograph). Another autograph is available in the dissertation of Anmar Abdulillah Fadhil (2012). For this paper I used Fadhil’s autograph of the tablet beside some photos of VAT 10057 which I could take in the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin. I would like to thank Prof. Joachim Marzahn for his permission to examine and photograph the tablet.
 - 2 Sanders 2009, 151–152. It is not feasible to discuss here all possible transtextual connections especially to 1st millennium texts like Ištar’s Descent and Nergal & Ereškigal, but significant text-text-connections will be indicated whenever necessary.
 - 3 The poetologic terminology used in this paper is based on the “Theory of Transtextuality” by Gérard Genette (1997a, 1–7): Transtextuality is in essence (p. 1) “[...] all that sets the text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts.” The transtextual discourse itself consists of five (sub-)types, namely intertextuality, paratextuality, metatextuality, hypertextuality and architextuality. Genette defines the important fourth type of Hypertextuality in turn as follows (p. 5): “By hypertextuality I mean any relationship uniting a text B (which I call the *hypertext*) to an earlier text A (which I call the *hypotext*), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary” and the hypertext itself as (p. 7) “[...] any text derived from a previous text either through a simple transformation, which I simply call from now on *transformation*, or through indirect transformation, which I shall label *imitation*.” Cf. also Genette 1997a, 7–30. On architextuality see Genette 1992, on paratextuality Genette 1997b.
 - 4 As no discussion of what “literature” might be for any given literate society is intended here,

of the so-called “Göttertypentext” (henceforth GTT)⁵ thereby becoming somewhat different than thematically similar pieces like *ludlul bēl nēmeqi*. One should note that a transtextual poetic behaviour comparable to that of the UWV is only rarely seen in other cuneiform cultures.⁶ By integrating the format of the GTT into the UVW’s text, the latter’s composer wove an “epistemic” or maybe even “philosophical” discourse into a narrative.⁷ In the following, I want to discuss some aspects of a particular passage of that narrative, i.e. UWV: rev. 2–10. While that section surely was not the only reason for creating the text, it can be viewed as a very elegant and special micro-statement embedded in its bigger narrative framework. The main goal of the passage under discussion is to show that it is generally possible to recognize and describe ontological phenomena. More specifically, it deals with the identification of Death as a mentally graspable and describable discourse. It is my distinct pleasure to gratefully dedicate this study to my dear teacher and doctoral advisor Mark Geller, whose never-ending quest for knowledge inspires his students each day anew. Thank you, Mark, for all your kindness, understanding and especially your patience.

the reader interested in literature theory is invited to have a look at the essay-collections Todorov 1995 and Kimmich, Renner and Stiegler 2003; cf. also the respective lemmata in Nünning 2001 with further reading.

- 5 Von Soden 1936, 3; see also Sanders 2009, 156–158 and 161; Diekmann 2010, 39–41.
- 6 Some other instances of an integration of “Göttertypentext”-like passages into a narrative framework can be found, e.g. in Gudea Cyl. A: v 13–16 (Livingstone 2007, 93) and Gilg. 7: 165–171.
- 7 A classic modern example of an epistemic/scientific debate interwoven into a narrative is the well-known discussion on the nature of the whale in Herman Melville’s “Moby-Dick”. One finds there an evaluating summary of the then current natural history of marine mammals given in the course of the narrative. This discussion is intradiegetically triggered, but does not impact the course of the narrative greatly and clearly has an extradiegetic addressee, namely the reader of the novel. Similar poetics can also be found in most of the novels by Jules Verne, e.g. in “20 000 Leagues under the Sea”, “From the Earth to the Moon”, “Trip around the Moon”, “The Mysterious Island”, “Journey to the Center of the Earth” and others.

The "Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince"—A Short Summary of the Text

Since the publication of the still largely reliable⁸ edition of VAT 10057 by Wolfram von Soden,⁹ the UWV was understood for quite some time as a piece of Neo-Assyrian "literary propaganda".¹⁰ Unfortunately, no other texts comparable to the UWV from ancient Mesopotamia are known, which makes a generic debate of it quite complicated.¹¹ Yet the poetic make-up of the UWV is, at first glance, identifiable as something special and uncommon in Neo-Assyrian literature.¹² Seth Sanders, building on earlier works by Helge Kvanvig, proposed an understanding of the UWV as the literary "archetype" of an emerging ANE genre of "prophetic underworld visions", whose mode of communication he identified to be a "religious" one.¹³ While one can agree with Sanders' understanding of the UWV as a text concerned with what we would nowadays deem "religious matters" presented in the corresponding language, one should also note that such an understanding of the UWV is only one aspect of its interpretation.¹⁴ For instance, Sanders' assumptions are not adequately applicable to a description of the poetics of rev. ls. 2–10 of the text. Concerning these poetics, one should rather speak of a "cognitively oriented" mode of communication or an "epistemic" register of this part of the UWV, though with such a proposition one is likely to perpetuate the implicit dichotomy of religious vs. non-religious qualifications. Among the first things that a participant of Mark's classes on Babylonian medicine learns is that in Ancient Mesopotamia "religious" and "non-religious" discourses were in general much more entangled with and permeating each other than they are today, and certainly this counts for the UWV as well.¹⁵ It is therefore more useful to first study the underlying poetics of rev.

8 Fadhil 2012, 170.

9 Von Soden 1936, 6–7.

10 On the historical background and subsequent scholarly debate of that proposition see Sanders 2009, 153–156 and 161; cf. Diekmann 2010, 16–21.

11 Cf. Sanders 2009, 156.

12 Sanders 2009, 151–153.

13 Sanders 2009, 161.

14 When Sanders mentions a "religious" mode of communication of the UWV, one is tempted to open a can of worms on the issue of what a "religious" mode truly might be—or on the follow-up question if such a distinctive labeling is not simply an artefact of modern scholarly discourse.

15 That same notion is also upheld by Livingstone (2007, 102–103) and Pongratz-Leisten (2014, 527–529).

2–10 of the UWV before labeling this multilayered and multifaceted text as “propagandistic”, “religious” or otherwise.

The tablet VAT 10057 itself is badly preserved on the obverse, so that only a handful of stringent elements of the story can be worked out. The protagonist of the text, a certain character named Kummay,¹⁶ was most likely an Assyrian prince, or at least belonged to the larger household of the king (cf. rev. 13[?], 26 and 32). However, Kummay seems to have occupied a higher position in the Neo-Assyrian administration, a function which granted him direct access to the divinatory practices carried out at the Assyrian court and contact with the “wise/learned¹⁷ bookkeepers” (*šassukkū enqūtu*), also called the “secretkeepers” of the ruling class (*nāšir pirišti bēlī-šun*); obv. 2–3. It looks as if Kummay was concerned with the appointments of magnates and provincial governors (obv. 4). Maybe overwhelmed by the weight of his duties he became unreasonable and “forgot the godly splendors” (obv. 6), so that “in the weariness of his heart, that was clothed in fear, he became negligent although in his heart he planned to do good” (obv. 7). Before the text becomes largely illegible, we learn that Kummay amassed treasures in his storehouses like “tar and bitumen that comes up from the ground” (obv. 8–11).¹⁸ The following fragmentary passages indicate that Kummay always tried to be full of hope but one day got overwhelmed by a series of sudden unfortunate events. (obv. 14–16). He wanders the streets of his town alone and crying when the first thoughts about the underworld occur to him—yet those were seemingly not destined for him by the gods (obv. 17–23).¹⁹ Planning to descend to the netherworld,²⁰ Kummay

16 On the name cf. Sanders 2009, 156–157 with fns. 16–17 as well as the entry “Kummāiu” in *PNA* 2/1, 636–637; regarding the transcription of the PN I follow Sanders 2009 (ibid.). On the date of composition of the UWV and question of Kummay’s identity see Sanders 2009, 159–165; cf. on the same issues also Diekmann 2010, 16–21; von Soden 1936, 7–8; Livingstone 1989, xxviii, and Foster 2005, 832–833; cf. Zgoll 2006, 239–240 and 328.

17 Cf. Diekmann 2010, 70 and 79–80.

18 The motif of (black) pitch, tar or bitumen occurs twice more in the text (obv. 9, rev. 10), as well as further plain or metaphorical references to other geo-materials like dust and clay (obv. 10, rev. 31). This is clearly connected to the general chthonic setting of the text. For the general significance of clay and ceramic metaphors and similes in ancient Mesopotamia see Foster 2010 with further literature.

19 This passage is strongly reminiscent of *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and, to a lesser extent, the “Babylonian Theodicy”. Cf. for example Kummay’s state as narrated on the obv. of UWV with the description of Šubši-mešre-Šakkan’s condition in the first two tablets of *ludlul*. On the transtextual aspects of *ludlul* see Pongratz-Leisten 2010.

20 On this topos as a metaphor for a sort of a death prediction in Uduḡ-ḫul see Sanders 2009, 157 fn. 18 with further literature.

enters a temple. Here he ritually prepares for the induction of a dream vision by arranging censers as well as by some further (unfortunately lost) preliminary activities (obv. 27–29).²¹ A first prayer of Kummay is (maybe deceitfully, cf. obv. 32 [*ina*? *šap*]*tē*? *tušši*) answered by the underworld goddess Allatu, but the text is very fragmentary here (obv. 32–34). Finally, Ereškigal, the queen of the netherworld, appears to him in a dream (MÁŠ.GE₆ = *šuttu*). She first asks for his wishes, but then refuses to answer him because in his request Kummay had ignored Šamaš, the god of justice, and turned directly to her instead (obv. 35–36). Kummay awakens, crying like a dove, and curses his dream (obv. 37). Once more he prays to Ereškigal and her spouse Nergal, again asking them to “open up the face of the secret” for him (obv. 38–40). This little narrative cliffhanger concludes the obverse, the reverse of the tablet is much better preserved.²²

On the reverse the narrative is taken up by a description of how Kummay fell asleep again. He dreams once more, but *in* that dream he now receives a “night vision” (*tabrīt mūši*).²³ Pongratz-Leisten, Zgoll and Sanders have right-

21 One should be careful not to mingle Kummay's first and second attempt to induce a dream vision into one event, as it has happened in Sanders 2009, 157. As far as one can infer from the text, the preparations of the second attempt consisted only of a single prayer to Ereškigal and Nergal which remains somewhat cryptic due to the condition of the tablet. Note Zgoll 2006, 328, who suggests in a comparative overview on weeping as a means of dream induction that Kummay's crying in obv. 37 should also be counted as a kind of ritualistic paraphernalia.

22 It is pivotal to note that the line count for the obverse has never been right. There is an additional line (here preliminarily called *23) between obv. 23 and 24, that has been wrongly mixed up with obv. 23 in previous editions (Livingstone 1989, 70 and von Soden 1936, 14; also see Foster 2005, 834). The clue lies in counting the preserved beginnings and ends of lines from obv. 23 onward. It can be noticed that there are 18 lines remaining, and not only 17 as previously assumed. Due to this, there must be another line between lines obv. 23 and obv. 24, whose beginning is lost and that therefore was not recognized as a line of its own. A corrected transliteration of the lines in question and the resulting re-arrangement of the latter halves of the remaining lines of the obverse lead to the following, still preliminary reading: ²³ [...] *-ú-ti i-na* KI-tim šá 'la' [...] *-kab-ti ù šī-pir* [ni]-kil-ti it-ti nam-ša-ri-šú ir-X-[..... ik?]-tal-du ka-ri-[...] ^{*23+1=24} [...] *qé-re-et* 'LUGAL¹² 'ma'-ka-le-e GAL^{MEŠ} nap-ḫar [...] DU TUKU / UR ^{*25} [...] *-r-ú-šú* ḪUL^{MEŠ} UGU DINGIR(-)'X'(-) [.....] X X-ta la šī-im-ti-šú É [...] X X X [..... ta-ma]r-ti ^{*26} [...].

23 I translate and emend rev. 1 of UWV as: “[Kum]may lay down to sleep and saw a night-vision in his dream: T[o the netherworld], the House [of ...] I was taken as captive. I beheld his¹ terrifying splendour [...].” I do not follow the option chosen by Livingstone (1989, 71) who disconnects the words “in his dream” from the preceding sentence and treats them as a free floating introductory phrase introducing Kummay's report. The different translation

fully stressed the authoritative meaning of such a “night vision” (MÁŠ.GE₆ = *tabrīt mūši*) in contrast to the more “ordinary”, usually non-revelatory dream (*šuttu*).²⁴ A “night vision” was commonly understood as a true and reliable message from the gods. Note also that the text’s voice changes from 3rd to 1st person for the duration of Kummay’s “night vision”. This poetic move creates an atmosphere of “authenticity”, for it somehow suggests that a real dream vision has been incorporated into the text of the UWV. Yet, such a suspicion remains unprovable, and the change in voice might only be due to a specific poetic strategy of the author of the UWV to enhance the suspense of the passage *without* actually having an account of a thematically similar dream-vision at hand. However, should there have been some hypotextual reality behind that night vision of Kummay, any supposed original oral or written report obviously was

proposed here can be justified by other Neo-Assyrian occurrences of *tabrīt mūši* listed in Butler 1998, 31, which are all taking place WITHIN a *šuttu*. On the same matter see also the following footnote.

- 24 See Oppenheim 1956; Butler 1998; Pongratz-Leisten 1999, 102; Sanders 2009, 158 with fn. 20; Zgoll 2006, 69–70; see also Brown 2006, 102–103. Both Oppenheim (1956, 201 and 225) and Butler (1998, 31–32) are taking the expression *tabrīt mūši* as a synonym for *šuttu*, a seemingly reasonable conclusion judging from *malku* = *šarru* 3: 53–55 (as cited by Butler 1998, 32), which gives at least three equations for *šuttu* (*tabrīt mūši*, *madrū*, *munāmātum/munattu*). Yet, the UWV makes it clear, at least in my point of view, that the *tabrīt mūši* differs from a *šuttu*. First of all, the *tabrīt mūši* mentioned there is received by Kummay IN a *šuttu*. The same applies to the other examples cited by Butler (1998, 31), where the *tabrīt mūši* is always received WITHIN a *šuttu*. Secondly, Kummay sees things in that *tabrīt mūši* that he has not seen in his earlier *šuttu*. While the first *šuttu* admittedly has brought him into contact with a supernatural entity (Allatum), his desire to see the netherworld crudely comes true only in the *tabrīt mūši* of his second *šuttu*. And lastly, all presently known NA references to *tabrīt mūši* (cf. Butler 1998, 31) are either connected to a goddess (Ištar, Allatum, Ereškigal; yet in the UWV there is an additional involvement of a male god, namely Nergal), a prayer to one (Ištar; in the UWV to Allatum and then Ereškigal plus again Nergal), or both, while a plain *šuttu* was not depending on any such preparations. Therefore, one might consider that while *malku* = *šarru* 3: 53 suggests on the surface a synonymy between *šuttu* and *tabrīt mūši*, it seems more likely that one should understand that entry more along the lines of *tabrīt mūši* = (a [special] type of) a *šuttu*, as indicated by the two following lines *malku* = *šarru* 3: 54–55. From the scanty evidence for *tabrīt mūši* it seems quite likely that a *tabrīt mūši* was perceived as a somewhat more significant divinatory event within a dream (or as a special kind of divinatory dream involving some divine action), which got subsumed in *malku* = *šarru* under the category *šuttu* in the same way as one might label “The Lord of the Rings”, “My first ABC” and the Bible as “books”.

worked over heavily by the author of the UWV, as one can deduce, for example, from the high degree of transtextual density of the parts of the text narrated in the 1st person.²⁵

At the beginning of his "night vision" Kummay finds himself captive in the netherworld, where he beholds a terrifying glamour (rev. 1). Then he sees and describes 16 of the underworld's inhabitants (rev. 2–10), the last entity being portrayed in rev. 10 as separated from the others by an interposed total of "15 gods [...] present" in the preceding line. This crucial passage will be discussed in thorough detail in the next section of this paper. What follows then was labelled as a "theophanic" scene by Sanders: Kummay beholds the god Nergal sitting on his throne, armed with maces, lightnings flashing around him and the Anunnaki kneeling to his right and left.²⁶ The netherworld is full of ghostly silence when Nergal grasps Kummay at the forelock and pulls him near to his throne. Kummay is overwhelmed by Nergal's divine splendour and kisses his feet (rev. 11–15). Nonetheless, Nergal wants to kill Kummay but before carrying out his plan he is placated by the more benevolent god Išum (rev. 16–17).²⁷ Nergal then addresses Kummay and accuses him of having insulted his beloved wife Ereškigal. As a penalty he condemns Kummay to eternal sleeplessness due to constant sorrows, upheavals and violence against him (rev. 18–21).²⁸ Additionally, Nergal shows Kummay the body of his royal progenitor (*zārû-ka*, "your begetter") which lies buried in the netherworld. This dead king is sometimes regarded as Sennacherib, for it is mentioned in the same passage that he received the divine command to build the *akītu*-house (rev. 22–28).²⁹ The text ends with Kummay's awakening (here the voice changes again to the 3rd person), after which he runs out to the streets screaming, and in pains praises Nergal and Ereškigal before the population of the land of Assur (rev. 29–32). In the course of this, very exquisite poetic imagery is used to describe Kummay's distress in an almost Homeric manner,³⁰ including a simile of our now very terrified protagonist with a copulating, belching and farting young boar.³¹

25 See on that matter in general very convincingly Zgoll 2006, 20–22.

26 See Sanders 2009, 159 and 162.

27 Cf. Sanders 2009, 159.

28 Regarding those lines and Kummay's identification with an Assyrian prince by von Soden see the discussion by Diekmann 2010, 19–20.

29 See fn. 5 for literature.

30 Diekmann 2010, 41 quoting Bucelatti 1976, 66.

31 It is noteworthy that while the context of rev. 30 clearly suggests a reading of the sign IM as TU₁₅ = "wind" (cf. Livingstone 1989, 76) an additional meaning of IM = "clay" is at least present due to the polyvalency of the logogram (on the inherent polyvalency of cuneiform

In a narratively quite twisted, self-referential afterthought the scribe of SAA 3 32 states that he himself was personally very impressed by Kummay's story. He mentions his own former crime of receiving bribes, and attributes any future deed of his to the sole command of Nergal and Ereškigal. The text concludes with a report of the same scribe on how he then made his way to the royal residence, where he recited Kummay's tale to (inhabitants of) the palace "as his own release-ritual (*namburbi*)" (rev. 33–35).³²

Some Aspects of the Transtextual Poetics of UWV Rev. 2–10

Although the UWV is admittedly a unique text with no existing comparable parallels, it still is dependent on a number of identifiable hypotexts, older texts which have been worked into it. While it is not feasible to provide one single designation for the whole of the UWV, one can at least label various allusions to other texts to a satisfying degree by using the theory of transtextuality as laid out by Genette 1997a.

a) *The Hypertextual Relation between UWV and GTT*

The main discussion of this paper does not aim at offering an over-arching conclusion with regard to the whole of the UWV, but is concerned only with one small subsection of the text, rev. 2–10. In this particular passage our protagonist Kummay describes the entities he sees in the netherworld on his way to Nergal's throne. As already noted by von Soden, those lines employ a specific structure whose content and syntactical organization is derived from the format of the GTT,³³ edited in 1953 by Franz Köcher.³⁴ The GTT describes the appearance of

signs in general see Maul 1999 and Pearce 2006). Both the motives of clay and wind are connected to a broader thematic complex revolving around the nothingness of humanity or the human condition, as can be deduced from various myths and epics. On the symbolism of clay see Foster 2010, 141–153; for wind as a motif of naught see Streck 1999, 91 and 101; for the latter cf. also Gilg. (Yale) 4: 8, the 1st millenium trope *ana šāri turru*, "to turn into wind = to annihilate", and the UWV itself, rev. 27.

32 For the most recent discussion of the audience of Neo-Assyrian royal narratives (both pictorial and textual) see Liverani 2014; Siddall 2013, 133–149 and Pongratz-Leisten 2013 with further reading.

33 Von Soden 1936, 3; also see Sanders 2009, 161; cf. Diekmann 2010, 39–41.

34 Köcher 1953. The GTT is not to be confused with the God Type Texts (cf. for those Livingstone 2007, 92–112 and Livingstone 1989, 92–102), which equalize body elements of one single divine entity, also organized from head to heel, in a seemingly "esoteric" manner with organic and anorganic materials, animals, plants, artifacts and other divine beings.

divine statuettes in short nominal and stative sentences following a fairly standardized scheme of presentation that runs *de capite ad calcem*, from head to heel.³⁵ The exemplar we have at hand claims in the colophon to be a faithfully checked copy of an "original from Babylon" (GTT: vi 37–40), which allows us to deduce a traditionally significant and thereby somewhat authoritative status of the GTT at the time it was imported to Assyria.³⁶ Let us take a look at some examples (in translation):

1.a) GTT: i 17'–25'; Illab[...]³⁷

17' The head is the head of a *kissugu*-fish. 18' The face is that of a human being, the cheek is ad[orned]. 19' The ears are that of a dog, his han[ds are that of a human being]. 20' (??)³⁸ 21' Around his neck a collar is placed. 22' He is [carrying] a š[ibi]rru-weapon. 23' Fro[m his] he[ad] to his waist (lit.: "belt") he is human. 24' Fr[o]m [his] wais[t (lit.: "belt") to ... he is ...]. 25' His name is Illab [...].

1.b) GTT: i 51'–ii 10; ^dNinurta

i 51' The head (carries) a horn and a p[olos?]. 52' The face is huma[n]. 53' He has cheeks. 54' He has a *parsasu*-headdress. 55' His hands are human. 56' [His right hand?] is lifte[d up?] on high [...].³⁹ 57' The *meṭṭu*-weapon [...]. 58' In h[is] left (hand) [...]. 59' The lead-rope of [...] 60' and he carries a [...]. 61' With a (broad) sash [made of the leather?] of a lamb

ii 1 [he is] covered [at his breast].⁴⁰ 2 He is [g]irded [with a belt]. 3 He is ["b]ound" with a [s]c[arf]?. 4 The [b]od[y] is human. 5 The garment [...] 6 His r[ight] foot is 7 exposed 6 f[r]o[m his [...] onwards 7 and stands (firm).

35 Additionally, each entry is separated from the others by line dividers, although a description of one entity could transgress column limits (cf. example 1.b).

36 On that topic see Lenzi 2008a; Lenzi 2008b; Lenzi 2013; cf. Lambert 1957; Lambert 1962; Lambert 1996 [1963]; Elman 1975; Pongratz-Leisten 1999; Beaulieu 2007.

37 Köcher 1953, 60 argues that the lack of divine determinative before the name in GTT: i 25' excludes an identification of this being with ^(d)Il(l)abrat.

38 GTT: i 20' reads BUR.ZI.ŠĀ.ĜĀL'LA, yet the meaning of this expression remains unclear. Köcher 1953, 85 does not agree with Deimel's translation given in *ŠL* 349, 18, yet cannot offer any alternative.

39 Cf. Köcher 1953, 87.

40 On those two lines see Köcher 1953, 87–88.

⁸ His left foot and (*both*) leg(s) is (*are*) exposed and ⁹ with his feet he is trampling on the An[zû]-bird. ¹⁰ His name is Ninurta.

1.c) *GTT: iv 23–33; ^dŠērum*

²³ The turban of the head (is that) of [a ...]. ²⁴ He has the horns of a bovine. ²⁵ The hair ²⁶ is falling ²⁵ from [his] h[orns] ²⁶ down onto his back. ²⁷ The face is human. ²⁸ The cheek is adorned. ²⁹ He has wings. ³⁰ His front pair of feet are that of a bovine. ³¹ His body is (that of) a lion. ³² He is walking on four <<pairs of>> feet. ³³ His name is Šērum.

For comparison we will now examine some descriptions of divine beings given in the UWV. The main difference is that while the GTT is commonly accepted as describing divine statuettes (cf. the colophon in vi 37), the UWV uses the same style to describe entities seen in a dream. That means that on the one hand it lacks the immediate material *signifié* of the GTT, but on the other hand it introduces an eye-witness *signifiant* who (allegedly) based his descriptions on personal experience (UWV: rev. 2, *āmur*, “I saw”). Nonetheless, it is safe to say that both the GTT and the UWV endeavour to get a grasp of aspects of a divine appearance (and thereby of the respective divine qualities) by employing a similar descriptive scheme, as can be seen in the following examples:⁴¹

2.a) *UWV: rev. 4; ^dALAD.ḪUL and ^dAlluḫappu*

The Evil Genius had a human head and hands, was crowned with a tiara and had the hands of an eagle / a “lametation bird”.⁴² With the left foot he was trampling on a crocodile. *Alluḫappu* had the head of a lion, his four <<pairs of>> hands and feet were hum[an].

2.b) *UWV: rev. 5; SAG.ḪUL.ḪA.ZA (“Upholder of Evil”) and ^dḪumuṭ-tabal (“Take away quickly!”)*

The Upholder of Evil had the head of a bird. His wings were spread out and he flew here and there. His hands and feet were human. ^d*Ḫumuṭ-tabal*, the ferryman of the netherworld, had the head of the Anzû-bird, his four <<pairs of>> hands and fe[et were ...].

⁴¹ Translations follow Livingstone 1989, 71–72.

⁴² Cf. Livingstone 1986, 71, footnote commentary to rev. 4.

2.c) *UWV: rev. 7; ^dMāmītu, ^dNedu (^dPītu) and mimma lemnu ("Total Evil")*

The (deified) Oath had the head of a goat. His hands and feet were human. Nedu, the porter of the netherworld, had the head of a lion. His hands were human. His feet were those of a bird. Total Evil had 2 heads. One was the head of a lion, the second was the head of a [...].

As noted before, the UWV employs a textual scheme that appears to be an abbreviated and partially inverted version of the one used in the GTT.⁴³ While the latter offers more descriptive points and sometimes even goes into minute detail, the UWV just describes head, hands and feet (possibly plus one or two additional features) of an entity seen in a dream. Further, while the GTT gives a being's name only after the description of its appearance, the UWV does so first, and then proceeds to the description of the entity. Using Gérard Genette's theory of transtextuality, one can understand this part of the UWV as a hypertext to the GTT, more precisely as a transposition of it (same macro-content, but different structure),⁴⁴ which was created by the poetic means of translongating, here: reductive clearance,⁴⁵ a rearrangement of the hypotext's structure,⁴⁶ a transstylization by employment of the respective idiolect⁴⁷ and punctual additions⁴⁸ to the imported features (cf. the addition of *āmur* "I saw" in rev. 2).

b) *The Intertextual Connections to the Epic of Gilgameš*

Besides the GTT, there are plenty more hypotexts for the UWV.⁴⁹ I want to focus on just one of these, the Epic of Gilgameš. For instance, one minor transtextual connection concerns the *šabbītu*, a scepter-like weapon wielded by Nergal in UWV: rev. 15. Such a *šabbītu* occurs only twice more in the cuneiform literature we know today, in Gilg. 12: 19 and 39.⁵⁰ A general, quite obvious thematic con-

43 See fn. 16 for literature.

44 See Genette 1997a, 9–47 for a definition and types of textual translongations.

45 Genette 1997a, 313–318.

46 Genette 1997a, 98; cf. on that also Hurowitz 2009, 133–135 (introducing the term "Zeidel-Prinzip" for a chiasmic rearrangement of a hypotext into a hypertext).

47 Genette 1997a, 103–111 and 309–313.

48 Genette 1997a, 353–358.

49 Besides the already mentioned pieces *ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and the Babylonian Theodicy one can find minor transtextual connections with Assyrian royal inscriptions (e.g. UWV: rev. 10 and Esh. 1019: 22–23), though this might in most cases be due to a shared "open pictorial language" (on the latter see Stierle 1985), or a shared idiolect, as can be seen in UWV: rev. 22–26, a passage clearly relying on the evolved idiolect of NA royal narratives.

50 Cf. Diekmann 2010, 85 (only a reference to one other occurrence of the *šabbītu*, given mis-

gruity between the two texts is the shared concern of both narratives with the netherworld and with the phenomenon of Death.⁵¹ Besides this broader thematic overlap, a transtextual analysis also shows that the Epic of Gilgameš is a direct hypotext for the UWV concerning that very aspect, i.e., Death. First of all, one should note the appearance of a strange figure with a specific status in (respectively, with specific connections to) the netherworld hierarchy in Gilg. 7: 165–188 and UWV: rev. 10.⁵² In both instances, the figure under discussion appears in a dream (Gilg. 7: 165, a *šuttu/šunātu* and UWV: rev. 1, MÁŠ.GE₆ = *tabrīt mūši*).

takenly as Gilg. 12: 20). Both in the UWV and Gilg. 12, the *šabbītu* is part of a larger complex of “Crime and Punishment”. In Gilg. 12: 19, Gilgameš advises Enkidu amongst other things not to carry a *šabbītu* in his hands while descending to the netherworld, yet in Gilg. 12: 39 we learn that Enkidu did not pay heed to any of the instructions given to him, and, beside various other transgressions, indeed took a *šabbītu* along with him while venturing down into the realm of the dead. All of this leads to Enkidu being prohibited to re-emerge from the netherworld. Enkidu and Kummay alike are transgressors of the netherworld’s entry regulations, a crime that calls for severe disciplinary measures. In Enkidu’s case, the *šabbītu* is involved in the initial transgression and thereby at least contributes to his punishment, while in the UWV the *šabbītu* is Nergal’s instrument of choice for punishing that puny interloper Kummay. The 12th tablet of the Epic of Gilgameš was well known in Assyria by the time the UWV was presumably written, cf. for example Nabû-zuqup-kēna’s copy of Gilg. 12 (see Frahm 1999; George 2003, 54; Frahm 2005). Following Frahm 1999 (passim) and Frahm 2005 (passim), the respective tablet was written on the 27th of Du’uzu (VI) 705 B.C., presumably very shortly after Nabû-zuqup-kēna had learned about the death of Sargon II on the battlefield in Anatolia. This scribal work of his also coincided with the “day of release” of the 1st millenium Dumuzi-festival celebrated from the 26th to the 29th of Du’uzu in Assyria and Babylonia. The copy itself might have served both ritualistic and divinatory needs, as it could well have been recited on that very festival, and at the same time might have helped Nabû-zuqup-kēna to learn about the status of Sargon’s *eṭemmu* which could not enter the netherworld because of the king’s body having been left on the battlefield unburied.

51 Cf. Gilg. 7–11(12).

52 I do not agree with the proposition of Streck (1999, 65, 130, 173–175 and 188) that this entity is the personification of Death (at least not for the UWV, where Death himself appears in anthropomorphic form in rev. 3). Although this very figure now under discussion does not perform any action at all in the UWV, its special status is made clear by the fact that its description is deliberately separated from those of the previously presented divine beings in rev. 2–9 by a preceding summarizing formula (⁹ [...] *In all, 15 gods were present. I saw them and saluted (them) in prayer.* ¹⁰ There was one man [...]). Additionally, the UWV’s description of the entity in question is immediately followed by a description of Nergal on his throne. This fact might imply a further special connection between those two beings, but at least clearly hints again at a special status of the discussed entity.

*Gilg. 7: 168–185*⁵³

¹⁶⁸ There was one man (*išten eṭlu*), his expression was grim (*ukkuḫ pānu-šu*). ¹⁶⁹ His face was like that of an Anzû-bird (*ana ša anzê pānu-šu mašlu*). ¹⁷⁰ His hands were the paws of a lion, his claws an eagle's talons. ¹⁷¹ ... ¹⁷² I struck him, so he sprung back like a skipping rope, ¹⁷³ he struck me and capsized me like a raft. ¹⁷⁴ Like a wild bull he trampled over me, ¹⁷⁵ poison he [*spattered over*]⁵⁴ my body. ^{176–181} ... ¹⁸² [He struck] me, he turned me into a dove, ¹⁸³ he bound my arms like (the wings of) a bird, ¹⁸⁴ to lead me captive to the house of darkness, the seat of Irkalla.

*UWV: rev. 10*⁵⁵

There was one man (*išten eṭlu*), his body black as pitch (*zumur-šu kīma ittê ṣalim*). His face was like that of an Anzû-bird (*ana ša anzê pānu-šu mašlu*). He was clad in red armor. In his left hand he carried a bow, in his right hand he wielded a sword. With his left f[oot (lit.: "pair of feet")] he [tr]am[pled on] a sna[ke].

UWV: rev. 10 clearly derives from *Gilg. 7: 168–185*.⁵⁶ The transtextual means employed are the usage of citation⁵⁷ (*išten eṭlu*) and allusions achieved by slight thematic (shared, but differently expressed detail of the motif of dark physical

53 Translation follows George 2003, 642–645.

54 Cf. Maul 2005, 106.

55 Translation follows Livingstone 1989, 72.

56 Sanders 2009, 158–159 with fn. 20. Yet, one has to be careful with his identification, as ingenious as it is, for hands and feet of this entity are described differently in both texts—while it has the paws of a lion and the talons of an eagle in *Gilg. 7: 170*, no such indication is given in *UWV: rev. 10*, where it is carrying a bow and a sword in his (supposedly human) hands. Also, what is "very dark" (without reference to a comparable phenomenon of darkness) in *Gilg. 7* is only the face of the entity, while in the *UWV* its whole body is as black as bitumen (which, of course, might also be an intensification). Yet, one is tempted to interpret the description in *Gilg. 7* in a more "moral" and non-referential context (cf. also *AHw s.v. ekēlu G* for the usage of this verb in emotional expressions), while *UWV* gives a much more descriptive, i.e. referential, account of the physical features of that being. Additionally, a (supposedly non-pejorative) descriptive comparison of a black colour of skin to bitumen can also be found in an inscription of Esarhaddon (Esh. 1019: 23), when Taharqa's family is described: [*šá*] *kī-ma šá-šú-ma GIM ESIR ṣal-mu UZU^{MES}-šú-[nu ...]*, "[Who]se skin/flesh, like his, was as black as pitch [...]" cf. Leichty 2001, 305.

57 On the intertextuality "citation" see Genette 1993, 10–11 with further readings.

features of the *etlu* in hypo- and hypertext)⁵⁸ and “orthographic” or phonetic transformations (Gilg. 7: 169 *ana ša anzê* vs. UWV: rev. 10 *ana ša anzî*).⁵⁹ The two examples alone should suffice to conclude that the scribe of the UWV was well acquainted with the Epic of Gilgameš.

Yet, another transtextual connection between UWV and the Epic of Gilgameš is even more significant. As noted above, the main connection of the UWV with the Epic of Gilgameš is the shared theme of Death. In both texts, the protagonists struggle to understand more of the posthumous sphere of Death and the netherworld. While descriptions of the underworld are well attested in cuneiform literature, texts dealing with the nature of Death himself are rare. The Epic of Gilgameš offers both, a tour of the netherworld in Tablet 12, and a statement on the nature of Death in an explicit denial of a possibility of perceiving Death in any sensory or mental way,⁶⁰ as related to Gilgameš by Utnapištim in Tablet 10 of the Epic:⁶¹

*Gilg. 10: 304–307 and 316–318*⁶²

³⁰⁴ No one sees Death, ³⁰⁵ no one sees the face [of Death], ³⁰⁶ no one [hears] the voice of Death: ³⁰⁷ (yet) savage Death is the one who hacks man down ... ³¹⁶ The abducted and the dead, how alike they are! ³¹⁷ They cannot draw the picture of Death. ³¹⁸ The dead do not greet man in the land (var.: Mortal man is imprisoned ...).

The UWV is the other text which also deals with both of those topics. It offers yet one more description of the netherworld (UWV: rev. 1–28), and like the Epic of Gilgameš it has something significant and very different to say about Death.

58 On the inter-/hypertextuality “allusion” and its various forms see Genette 1993, 10–11 and passim.

59 Due to the fact that Gilg. 7: 165–188 and UWV: rev. 10 have slightly different narrative settings (*šuttu/šunātu* vs. *tabrūt mūši*), one could also qualify this second hypertextual process more precisely as a “heterodiegetic transformation” (see Genette 1993, 403–423), achieved by a “(trans)stylizing” substitution” (cf. Genette 1993, 309–313 and 372–375).

60 Cf. Streck 1999, 131–132 with further reading.

61 According to Maul 2005, 108 it might be possible that Death is either metaphorically or literally acting in Gilg. 7: 261 by laying down Enkidu on his own death-bed; but cf. differently George 2003, 647 and 852 (with reference to MB Gilg. Megiddo: rev. 11'). In any case, there is no explicit description of Death in the Epic, although Maul's reading of Gilg. 7: 261 would ultimately suggest an underlying common, maybe anthropomorphic notion of Death.

62 Translation follows George 2003, 696–697 with fn. 17.

In order to elucidate the latter point, we have to go back to the entities seen by Kummay on his way to Nergal's throne. Among them is Death whose description is given in the authoritative format of the GTT:

*UWV: rev. 3*⁶³

[...] Dea[th] had the head of a *mušḫuššu*-dragon. His hands were human, his 'feet' (were those of a) 'X' [...].⁶⁴

While Utnapištim claims a general impossibility to describe Death as a key condition of humanity, the author of the UWV has transgressed that statement in quite a laconic and sober way. With his description of Death in the epistemic descriptive format known from the "Göttertypentext", he takes up a clear counter-position to the Gilgameš Epic, cleverly blending both hypotexts together in a very elegant way.⁶⁵

Comparative Interpretation

The hypotextual constellation of the UWV clearly points to a "narrative representation of knowledge". As curious as it may sound, the poetic set-up of this remarkable text can therefore be compared to the poetics of modern science fiction literature (henceforth SF).⁶⁶ In the last part of this paper I want to focus

63 Translation follows Livingstone 1989, 71.

64 There is another, older text which describes body parts of Death, that is Uduḫ-ḫul 4: 125': šu úš-a-kam giri úš-a-kam umbin ḫu-ri-in^{mušen}-ka / qa-at mu-ú-tu₄ še-[e]-pi mu-ú-tú [su-pur ú-ri-in-ni], "The hand and the feet of Death are an eagle's talons;" cf. Geller 2016, 155.

65 As we have already seen, the UWV has alluded to the Epic of Gilgameš before (even twice), so there are no grounds to claim that the Epic did not influence the description of Death in the UWV. The GTT still are the dominant hypotext for UWV: rev. 3, but with the double allusion to the Epic of Gilgameš earlier in the text it is clear that the Epic must almost inadvertently be considered as an (at least thematically) equally important hypotext. The Epic delivered the hypertextual topic, which in turn was contaminated by the author of the UWV with the format of the more dominant hypotext of the GTT, creating a so-called "Single-Text-Contamination" (see Genette 1993, 359–360).

66 Many attempts to define modern Science Fiction (SF) have been undertaken, yet most of them are genre-oriented and see modern science fiction as bound to a specific Western, post 16th/17th and 18th/19th century development of worldview (cf. Roberts 2007, 1–20; Milner 2012). Roberts (2007) understands modern science fiction in general as "distinct from theology, being natural and material where the latter is supernatural and spiritual".

specifically on that point by utilizing some aspects of modern cultural theories regarding Science Fiction as a literary genre. Of course, the UWV is not Science Fiction in the modern sense of spaceships, aliens and Captain Kirk.⁶⁷ Yet, as will be discussed below, the poetic mechanics of UWV: rev. 1–10 resembles those of modern SF narratives to a significant degree.⁶⁸

According to Darko Suvin, a (modern) science fiction narrative is “a fiction in which the SF element or aspect, the *novum* (something “new”), is hegemonic, that is, so central and significant that it determines the whole narrative logic—or at least the overriding narrative logic—regardless of any impurities that might be present.”⁶⁹ Furthermore, SF presents its *novum* embedded in an *imaginative narrative framework*⁷⁰ using *language-codes known and understandable* to the audience.⁷¹ Suvin defines *novum* in the following way:

His discussion of attempts to define science fiction leads him to his own interpretation of the rise of this literary phenomena: science fiction evolved as a “specific [...] version of fantastic literature: texts that adduce qualia that are not found in the real world in order to reflect certain effects back on that world”, a specificity that he sees rooted in “the Protestant Reformation, and a cultural dialectic between ‘Protestant’ rationalist post-Copernican still bears the imprint of the cultural crisis that gave rise to its birth, and that this crisis happened to be European religious one” (Roberts 2007, 3), yet admits that it is not necessary that “a distinctively modern conception of ‘science’ need underlie ‘science fiction’, given that ‘science’ more broadly conceived as a non-theological mode of understanding the natural world goes back a great deal further than the nineteenth century” (Roberts 2007, 4). Roberts’ approach was discussed by Milner (2012) who emphasizes that Roberts had “misrecognized the relevant cultural crisis”, which he himself locates with Max Weber’s *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* in the 18th and 19th century rather than two centuries before. Thus he concludes that “[t]he genre’s foundational dialectic is therefore not that between Catholicism and Protestantism, but rather between the Enlightenment and Romanticism” (Milner 2012, 142–143). Their two positions deal exemplary with SF as a *modern genre* of literature. In contrast, this paper will understand the phenomenon generally in its “soft” variant, i.e. as a not necessarily technologically oriented poetic process, that is a historically prefigured, yet “multichronic” way or technique of writing which departs from an epistemic object as the core of a narrative.

67 On the connections between Star Trek and the Epic of Gilgamesh see Heilmann and Wenskus 2006.

68 A note on SF narratives of classical times like those of Lucian and others: As I do not have the space to discuss the topic at length, I recommend on that matter in general Suvin 1979.

69 Suvin 1979, 70.

70 In modern SF, this is mostly achieved by the poetic means of a voyage or a catalyzer, cf. Suvin 1979, 71–72.

71 See in general Suvin 1979, 63ff.; cf. Aldiss and Wingrove 1986; Milner 2012; Spiegel 2008, 2007 and 2006.

"A *novum* of cognitive innovation is a totalizing phenomenon or a relationship deviating from the author's or implied reader's norm of reality. [...] clearly [...] is a mediating category whose explicative potency springs from its rare bridging of literary and extraliterary, fictional and empirical, formal and ideological domains, in brief form its unalienable historicity."⁷² In SF, the postulation and legitimation of the *novum* is always intertwined with the current (exact or "inexact") scientific methods.⁷³ Still following Suvin, the introduction of the *novum* also creates *estrangement*, for the *novum* transgresses the boundaries of a general semantic field as constituted by the cultural norms of the author. Yet, unlike in "naturalistic" prose narratives those boundaries are not iconic, but allomorphic, so that the *novum* in SF does not cross merely the cultural, but "higher" ontological norms. The *novum* thereby can be considered as having *ontolytic* qualities, with the effect that the overall character of a SF narrative should be considered as an *ontolytic* one too.⁷⁴ In contrast to Suvin, Spiegel (2006, 17–20) proposes not the *estrangement*, but the suggestion of a *compatibility* of a SF narration with the reality as its most important rhetoric features: "Auf formaler Ebene macht die SF primär nicht das Vertraute fremd, sondern das Fremde vertraut." Yet some kind of *estrangement* (*estrangement* via "recontextualization") generally plays a key role in SF for Spiegel (2006, 19): "Die Verfremdungswirkung der SF beruht [...] auf der Naturalisierung des Wunderbaren." "Naturalisierung" means for Spiegel (2006, 20) "das Normalisieren des Fremden" or "das Plausibelmachen des Wunderbaren" (2006, 22), with a general *estrangement* coming about as soon as any recipient of a piece of SF becomes aware of the "recontextualization" in effect (2006, 20), meaning the realization of something formerly unknown placed into an epistemic processable context.⁷⁵

72 Suvin 1979, 64.

73 Suvin 1979, 64–66; cf. *ibid.*, 66–68 for the inclusion of Humanities disciplines like sociology, linguistics and the like as an equally good or possibly even better "unexact" scientific basis for the presentation of the *novum*.

74 Following Suvin 1979, 70–71.

75 Additionally to this, Roberts (2007, 21–31) offers quite a useful "soft" description of (explicitly) ancient science fiction (ASF), at least regarding the works of classical Greek literature up to (not starting with) Lucian: "Ancient SF" is not a single-minded or 'pure' idiom: it mediates, on the one hand, scientific speculation and *voyages imaginaires*, and, on the other, religiously conceived fable" (*ibid.*, 29–30). In contrast to modern science fiction, ancient science fiction constitutes itself in a society where "there was no meaningful distinction between these categories ('theology' and 'science') in the first place". With Russell (1973, 72): "Both science and religious myth belong to the same range of elevated 'cosmic' subjects. They demand elaboration and magnificence, not bare factual statement."

In UWV: 1–10 we can witness a textual behavior quite similar to the traits of SF described above. First of all, we have a *novum*: the description of Death.⁷⁶ This *novum* is represented in an imaginative framework (Kummay’s “night-vision”). Furthermore, the description of Death is given in the authoritative format of the GTT, thus using a known and understandable language code. In sum, the description of Death in the UWV clearly aims at a transgressive dialogue with the Epic of Gilgamesh, on the one hand acknowledging the latter’s authority by integrating that special being from Gilg. 7 and the symbolism of the *šabbitu*-weapon in its own text, yet on the other hand contesting it at the same time in the matter of the understanding of Death.⁷⁷ All this fits nicely

Roberts therefore understands e.g. Plutarch’s περί του επιφαινόμενου τω κυκλώ της σεζήνης similarly as “a way of doing science via elaboration and invention, which is to say, it is SF” (2007, 23–26). Milner (2012) who is skeptical of such long-ranged histories of SF, misses any connection of the ancient texts discussed by Roberts (2007) to “our modern sense of science as technology”. He argues that on ground of the economic and technological organization of their respective societies “[...] neither Lucian nor any other classical author could ever have imagined science as productive of technologies” (Milner 2012, 142). Contrary to Milner’s “hard” understanding of SF as a modern technocratic artifact, I do not think that technologically oriented narratives are a necessary distinctive marker for the poetics of SF in antiquity—as long as the respective piece can be identified as being based on the current epistemic discourse, it similarly presents *nova* to its readers in a comprehensive way, while bringing forth Spiegel’s naturalization of the miraculous by means of transferring/inscribing epistemic elements of the real world into a literary environment that corresponds to Suvin’s “imaginative framework”.

76 As a critical note, one might add that UWV only describes something *relatively* new. I am not following Streck (1999, 65, 130, 174 and 188) who identified the entity that appears both in Gilg. 7: 168–175 and UWV: rev. 10 as the personified Death at least for the Epic. But as mentioned above, in Udug-ḫul 4: 125’ there is a different and probably older description of Death: šu úš-a-kam giri úš-a-kam umbin ḫu-rí-in^{mušen-ka} // qa-at mu-ú-tu₄ še-[e]-pi mu-ú-tú [šu-pur ú-ri-in-ni], “The hand and the feet of Death are an eagle’s talons” (cf. Geller 2016, 155). As the description in Udug-ḫul 4 is different from that of the UWV, one can argue for two distinctive traditions regarding the appearance of Death.

77 A short note on the composer of the text under study: The author of the UWV appears as a torn-apart individual—all the transgressive events “witnessed” in the text are countered by himself becoming pious in the “real world”. Yet, on a second thought the UWV is claimed to be the *namburbi* for the author, but was written down only AFTER he had made his way to the palace, his place of choice for expiating. One really has to admire that cunning move: The author allegedly accomplishes his own cleansing by writing down a piece of literature, yet that text openly contests age-old traditions while its main topic is a severe punishment for the attempt to gain access to knowledge not destined for mankind. Should he then not expiate again? This leaves one with a clear impression of the UWV as much more of a literary text than thought before. It strongly suggests to consider this text as nothing else than fiction—more precisely as science fiction.

with Suvin's theory, and also Spiegel's "Naturalisierung des Wunderbaren": As Death remains shrouded in the Epic of Gilgameš, the UWV treats him as nothing special in the company of equally numinous phenomena and entities. It presents Death as perceivable in the same way, and describable with the same epistemic tools as e.g. *māmītu*, the "Oath".

In the reading just proposed, the passage under discussion is a.) clearly epistemically oriented, b.) naturalizes the miraculousness of Death by describing it in a formally correct way and c.) transfers/inscribes epistemic elements of the real world (form and content of the "Gottertypentexte" combined with the question of the descriptiveness of Death taken from the Gilgameš Epic) into a literary environment that corresponds to Suvin's "imaginative framework" (the underworld). Suvin's *novum* is encountered not only once, but twice in the UWV: Firstly in the depiction of Death, and secondly in the confession of Kummāy that he does not know two of the netherworld gods by name, but is nonetheless able to give a formally correct and precise account of their features.⁷⁸ The discussion of an epistemic question and even the presentation of new epistemic objects (the unknown gods) finally creates d.) estrangement via becoming aware of the recontextualization of a *novum* (i.e. something formerly undescribable or unknown) into the formally correct describable universe of a *tabrītu*. An understanding of the UWV as the deliberate result of an epistemically oriented poetic process seems justified by this. Therefore, we suggest a reading of the UWV—at least the discussed passage—indeed as the Mesopotamian version of "Ancient Science Fiction".

As a final note, one could even take it a step further and consider a transtextual behavior like the one described above as an early testimony of Mesopotamian "ontological" thinking. The author of the UWV utilizes mimetic transtextual practices to establish and convey knowledge. By implementing established epistemic text formats, he (successfully) attempts to present author-

78 UWV: rev. 8–9: ⁸ [...] 2 DINGIR.MEŠ MU-šú-nu ul i-di 1-en SAG.DU ŠU.2 GİR.2 an-zu.MUŠEN ina KAB-šú [ŠU.2?...] ⁹ šá-[n]u-ú SAG.DU LÚ GAR AGA a-pi-ir ina ZAG-šú GIŠ.mi-i-tu na-ši ina KAB-šú in[a² m]ah²-ri-šú TA ŠID [X ...]⁸ "I did not know the names of two gods: The first had the head, hands and feet of Anzu, in his left [...]. ⁹ The second had the head of a human, he was crowned with a tiara, carried in his right hand a mace, in his left hand, before him ... [...]." Against Foster (2005, 832) I assume that the names were indeed unknown to Kummāy, and not that the unknown gods were "so appalling that Kummāy cannot even name them". Their described features (the first having head, hands and feet of Anzu, the second having a crowned human head and carrying a mace) are by no means more extraordinary than some of the features of the known gods, e.g. the two-headedness of "Total Evil".

itative knowledge about formerly incomprehensible phenomena within an imaginary context while using a language-code known and understandable to his audience. The naturalization of formerly tabooed phenomena is thereby achieved in a way that is also consistent with Mesopotamian textual tradition. If something similar to the famous lines from Parmenides' poem "On Nature" (II, 5 and III) would have been known in the late Neo-Assyrian empire, it would pose no problem to attribute the UWV to such a school of thinking:

II

[5] [...] ἡ δ' ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν τε καὶ ὥς χρεὼν ἔστι μὴ εἶναι, τὴν δὴ τοι φράζω παν-
απευθέα ἔμμεν ἀταρπόν· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν γνοίης τό γε μὴ ἔδν—οὐ γὰρ ἀνυστόν—
οὔτε φράσαις.

III

... τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ νοεῖν ἔστιν τε καὶ εἶναι.⁷⁹

II

[5] [...] The other, namely, that It is not, and that something must needs not be,—that, I tell thee, is a wholly untrustworthy path. For you cannot know what is not—that is impossible—nor utter it;

III

For it is the same thing that can be thought and that can be.

Translation by BURNET 1920, 129

As it unfortunately was not known in Assyria, one is only left to note the similarities between the poetic make-up of the above discussed part of the UWV and Parmenides' statement. The UWV bears witness to an emancipatory process of scholarly discussion in ancient Assyria of which we nowadays regrettably know too little and cannot venture safely beyond the point of making conjectures, however well supported they might be.

79 Diels 1897, 32–33 (Greek text and German translation); Tarán 1965, 32–44 (Greek text, English translation and commentary).

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The 34th Extract of the UGU Series from Babylon: An Edition of the Tablet BM 35512

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Introduction

The tablet BM 35512 (Sp III 19) belongs to the Spartali III collection of the British Museum.¹ Based on the palaeography, the tablet can be dated to the Late Babylonian period. It probably originates from Babylon.² Scurlock cited the tablet as a parallel text to *BAM* 147,³ BM 42272⁴ and K 2581.⁵ In this paper, I transliterate and translate the whole tablet, including parallels known to me.⁶

Description and Content of the Tablet

BM 35512 is a large fragment of a single-column landscape tablet. It has 13 prescriptions and one incantation on the obverse. On the reverse, there are

* I would like to thank to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the tablet. I am also greatly indebted to Gilles Buisson and Henry Stadhouders who read my transliteration and suggested corrections. I would like to express my special thanks to Strahil Panayotov who not only read and corrected my paper but sent photos and relevant articles to me. I am solely responsible for all remaining mistakes.

- 1 The catalogue of the Sp I–III collection will be published by Finkel in the *CBT* series. For the relationship between the Rm and Sp collections see van Driel 1989, 110–115.
- 2 According to the *CDLI* all cuneiform tablets from BM 35507 (Sp III 13) to BM 35511 (Sp III 17) and from BM 35514 (Sp III 20) to BM 35516 (Sp III 21) originate from Hellenistic Babylon.
- 3 BM 35512: rev. 11–14 = *BAM* 147: obv. 25–33 (Scurlock 2014, 720). Recently, Bácskay 2018, 147–148 and 153.
- 4 BM 35512: obv. 1–23 = BM 42272: 32–72 and BM 35512: obv. 24–26 = BM 42272: 74–77 (Scurlock 2014, 721). For a treatment of the tablet BM 42272 see Bácskay 2015 and Bácskay 2018, 121–139.
- 5 BM 35512: obv. 1–3 = K 2581: obv. 1–5 and BM 35512: obv. 14–19 = K 2581: obv. 7–19 (Scurlock 2014, 736). Recently, Bácskay 2018, 149–151 and 154.
- 6 The treatment of this tablet was part of my recent research on the phylacteries against fever. In my work, I identify 11 tablets, which include phylacteries against various forms of “heat” (*ummu*). The edition of all tablets was published in Bácskay 2018, 115–139.

5 further prescriptions, one incantation, two rituals, and a colophon with a catch-line. Prescriptions are separated from one another by horizontal rulings. Based on the colophon, the tablet is the 34th extract (*nishu*) of the series “If a man’s skull holds heat” (*šumma amēlu muḥḥašu umma ukāl*). Scurlock rightly observed that the text and the sequence of the prescriptions on the obverse are parallel to BM 42272, which is the 30th section (*pirsu*) of the same series.⁷ For this reason we can suppose that the broken part on the obverse contains at least six or seven prescriptions (three or four lines each) that can be found on BM 42272: rev. 34–40.

In the present state the tablet consists of at least four thematic units. All prescriptions on the obverse deal with “fever” (*ummu*). This part includes therapeutic treatment (ointment), fumigation (lines 14–13, 20, 23) and phylacteries (lines 5–10, 14–19, 21–27) accompanied by incantations (lines 1–3, 5–8, 14–19). All prescriptions on the obverse belong to the same sequence; the medical incipit (DIŠ NA KÚM DAB-su) was written in the first prescription and all the remaining prescriptions start with a ditto-sign (KIMIN).⁸ The reverse may have dealt with two different topics. The top of the reverse of our tablet is broken and I cannot identify the topic of the first three prescriptions (lines 1’–4’) but it supposedly contained more therapeutic prescriptions against fever-like diseases. In the remaining part of the tablet, I have identified three topics. The prescription in lines 5’–6’ deals with inflammation from heat-radiance (*ṣēta ḥamit*) and *lī’bu*-disease. I suppose that the next two fragmentary therapeutic prescriptions (lines 8–11) had a similar topic. Based on parallels, the prescription in lines 12’–15’ contained a substitute ritual against “permanent fever” (*ummu kayyāmānu*). The last section of the reverse includes a non-canonical Lamaštu incantation (lines 16’–17’) and its associated ritual (line 18’).

According to the colophon, the tablet had been copied from an original owned by the Dābibī family (*bul-tu GABA.RI É lā-da-bi-[bi ...]*). The name of the copyist in this line is broken off, but the last element of his genealogy is preserved at the beginning of the next line. According to that, he was a descendant of the Nappāḥu family (A¹⁶SIMUG). After the data about the owner and the scribe of the tablet comes the usual blessing formula (*ana balat napištišu* = “for the continuance of his life”) in the last line of the colophon, followed by the name Nā’id-Marduk whose genealogy is unfortunately broken off.⁹

⁷ Scurlock 2014, 721.

⁸ Although only the beginning of the second and the third prescription are preserved, the structure of the parallel sequence in BM 42271 is the same.

⁹ Nielsen (2011, 262, n. 157) states that the Nappāḥu kinship group was attested in five north Babylonian cities: Babylon, Borsippa, Dilbat, Kiš and Sippar, but I know only one tablet writ-

No duplicate of the whole text is known to me, but there are eleven manuscripts duplicating some part of BM 35512. Apart from the two Neo-, and Late Babylonian tablets (BM 35512 and BM 42272), all manuscripts come from Neo-Assyrian libraries in Assyria.¹⁰ Five tablets (*BAM* 146, *BAM* 147, *BAM* 148, *BAM* 151 and *BAM* 315) originate from the Kišir-Aššur library and another one (*BAM* 149) also comes from Aššur. Two tablets (K 2581 and *AMT* 63/2+19/2) belong to the Assurbanipal's library and one tablet (*STT* 144) originates from Sultantepe. Except for the Sumerian Lamaštu incantation and its associated ritual in lines rev. 16'–18' of our tablet, the texts of the two Babylonian tablets (BM 35512: obv. and BM 42272: obv. 32–rev. 33) follow each other closely with only a few small differences (like *ina* Ì.GIŠ in line 4 of ms. a versus *ina* Ì in ll. 37–38 of ms. b) and the order of the prescriptions is also the same. The Assyrian tablets represent a different text tradition. Although there are shorter and longer parallel passages to BM 35512, the order of the prescriptions does not follow the Babylonian tablet. *BAM* 149 is of specific importance because this small fragment contains parallels for both sides of BM 35512 and it could provide a connection between the “fever” prescriptions and Lamaštu texts.

I suppose that a sequence of “fever” prescriptions may have existed in the Neo-Assyrian period which presumably originated from Babylonia and were copied by Assyrian scholars like Kišir-Aššur. I do not know of any source showing that these “fever” prescriptions were incorporated into a standard medical series in the Neo-Assyrian period. I think it could be the reason why the order of the prescriptions is confused in Neo-Assyrian manuscripts and does not contain all prescriptions preserved on BM 35512 and BM 42272. These two Babylonian tablets testify that “fever” prescriptions became a standard component of the UGU series in the Neo- and Late Babylonian periods but the relationship between the *nišhu* and *pirsu* recension of this text remains unclear to me.

Finally, we have to refer to the close connection between “fever” and the demoness Lamaštu.¹¹ Apart from the reference that points to the use of Lamaštu incantations against fever and persistent fever in the standard Lamaštu incantation series, we can identify “fever” prescriptions from the Neo-Assyrian as well as Neo-, and Late Babylonian periods which mention a recitation of

ten by Nā'id-Marduk, a descendant of the Nappāhu family: 11.⁴AMAR.UTU A 16SIMUG = Nā'id-Marduk, a descendant of Nappāhu-family (Hunger 1968, No. 136 = *CT* 13 15: colophon 1–4). *CT* 13 15 (= 82-9-18, 3737) was found in Babylon and it contains the fourth tablet of *Enūma eliš*.

10 Note that K 2581 is also written in Neo-Babylonian ductus and the colophons of *BAM* 147 and *BAM* 148 mention that the tablets were copied from a Babylonian wooden board.

11 Farber 2014, 3 with references to earlier literature; Bácskay 2017, 49.

Lamaštu incantations as a part of the healing procedure.¹² Moreover, it is known that there are some cuneiform tablets in which the fever prescription was followed by a prescription against Lamaštu.¹³

Manuscripts

- a BM 35512
- b BM 42272: obv. 32–36 (= ms. a: obv. 1–3), 37–38 (= ms. a: obv. 4), 39–44 (= ms. a: obv. 5–8), rev. 1–4 (= ms. a: obv. 9–10), 5–9 (= ms. a: obv. 11–13), 10–19 (= ms. a: obv. 14–19), 20–21 (= ms. a: obv. 20), 22–23 (= ms. a: obv. 21), 24–25 (= ms. a: obv. 22), 26–27 (= ms. a: obv. 23), 28–29 (= ms. a: obv. 24), 30–31 (= ms. a: obv. 25), 32–33 (= ms. a: obv. 26)
- C BAM 315: i 32 (= ms. a: obv. 24), 33 (= ms. a: obv. 25), 34–35 (= ms. a: obv. 26), 38–41 (= ms. a: obv. 1–3)
- D K 2581: obv. 1–6 (= ms. a: obv. 1–3), 7–19 (= ms. a: obv. 14–19)
- E BAM 149: 3'–7' (= ms. a: rev. 16'–17'), 10'–13' (= ms. a: obv. 11–13)
- F BAM 147: obv. 25–33 (= ms. a: rev. 12–15), rev. 3' (= ms. a: obv. 24), 5'–25' (= ms. a: obv. 14–19)
- G BAM 148: obv. 25–33 (= ms. a: rev. 12–15), rev. 5 (= ms. a: obv. 24), 7'–27' (= ms. a: obv. 14–19)
- H BAM 151: obv. 13–14 (= ms. a: obv. 21), 15–17 (= ms. a: obv. 22)
- I AMT 63/2+AMT 19/2: ii 12'–13' (= ms. a: obv. 24)
- J BAM 146: rev. 17–22 (= ms. a: rev. 5'–7')
- K STT 144: rev. 23'–29' (= ms. a: rev. 16'–17')

12 BM 42272: obv. 36 // BM 35512: obv. 3 // BAM 315: i 41 (edited in Bácskay 2015 and Bácskay 2018, 121–139); BM 42272: obv. 42–43 // BM 35512: obv. 8 (edited in Bácskay 2015 and Bácskay 2018, 121–139); BAM 147: obv. 38–40 // STT 144: 19'–22' // RS 25.457 (the core text of STT 144 and RS 25.457 edited in Farber 2014, 273 without reference to relevant lines of BAM 147). A medical commentary from Hellenistic Uruk identifies Lamaštu as “fever”: ^dKAMAD.ME : *um-mu* [DUMU.M]Í ^d60 : ME : *um-mu* = “Lamaštu is fever (and) daughter of Anu, (because) ME means fever” (*SpTU* 1 27: obv. 25).

13 For example AO 17617: edge 1–rev. 4, edited by Labat (1960, 174–175 and Bácskay 2018, 42).

Transliteration

Obverse

a _{obv.} 1	DIŠ NA KÚM DAB-su úGAMUN ^{sar} ú ^r ka ¹ -man-tú ^r ú ¹ kam-ka-d[u ...]
b _{obv.} 32–33a	DIŠ NA [KÚ]M DAB-su ú ^r GAMUN ^{sar} ú ^r kam ¹ -man-tú ^ú kam-ka- du / úEME.UR.GI ₇ ŠIM. ^d MAŠ NITA u MUNUS ŠIM BABBAR šim[LI] ú ^{ur} HUR.SAG[s] ^{ar}
C _i 38–39a	DIŠ KIMIN úGAMUN úÁB. ^r DU ¹ [ú ⁿⁱ -k]ip-tú NÍTA u ^r MUNUS ¹ ^r šim ¹ GÚR.GÚR / šimLI
D _{obv.} 1–2	[...]sar ú[...] / [ú ⁿⁱ ?-kip?]-tu ₄ NÍTA u MUNUS SU ^{ur} UŠ [...]]
a _{obv.} 2	gišGEŠTIN.KA ₅ .A SIG ₇ KUŠ UZU.DIR.KUR.RA DIŠ ^{nš} SÚD ina Ì.GIŠ ̕I.̕I ana ^r uruduŠEN ¹ .T[UR ...]
b _{obv.} 33b–35a	gišGEŠTIN.KA ₅ . ^r A SIG ₇ ¹ / KUŠ UZU.DIR.KUR.RA DIŠ ^{nš} !(text: u) SÚD ina Ì.GIŠ ̕I.̕I ana ^r URUDUŠEN ¹ .TUR DUB ^{ak} EME.ŠID / TI-sa ana ŠÀ ŠUB-di ina DÈ ^r ŠEG ₆ ¹ [šal]
C _i 39b–40a	úGEŠTIN.KA ₅ .A in[a Ì.GIŠ] ^r DIŠ ^{nš} ^r ̕I.̕I ¹ ina ¹ URUDUŠEN.TUR (text: URUDU ina ŠEN.TUR) / [ta]-tab-bak EME.ŠID ana ŠÀ Š[UB ...]
D _{obv.} 3–4	[...] úUZU.DIR.KUR.RA DIŠ[^{nš} ...] / [... D]UB ^{ak} EME.ŠID DIN-su DAB [...]
a _{obv.} 3	GIM ip-ta-ru-ú E ₁₁ -ma ta-na-suk ^r tu-kàš ¹ -ša ÉN an ba-g[ul...]
b _{obv.} 35a–36	^r GIM ¹ ip-ta-ru-ú E ₁₁ -ma ta-na- ^r suk ¹ / tu-kàš-ša ÉN an ba-gul ki ba- ^r gul ¹ 3-šú ŠID-ma ŠÉŠ-su-ma DIN
C _i 40b–41	[kīma i]b-ta-aš-lu tú-še-la-am-ma / [ta-n]a-suk ŠED ₇ -ma ÉN [... k]i ba- ^r an ² -dul ana ŠÀ ŠID-nu EŠ-su
D _{obv.} 5–6	[...] ^r x ¹ E ₁₁ -ma ta-na-suk tu-kà[š-ša ...] / [ÉN? ŠID?]-ma ŠÉŠ.MEŠ-su (text: ŠÉŠ-su MEŠ)-m[a TI]
a _{obv.} 4	DIŠ KIMIN úan-ki-nu-te šimLI šimGÚR.GÚR šimGAM.MA DIŠ ^{nš} SÚD ina Ì.GI[Š ...]
b _{obv.} 37–38	DIŠ KIMIN úan-ki-nu-tú šimLI šimGÚR.GÚR šimGAM.MA DIŠ ^{nš} ^r ta-sàk ¹ [ina] ^r Ì ̕I.̕I / ŠÉŠ-su šum ₄ -ma EN.[TE].NA ina DÈ tu ^{be} -pí
a _{obv.} 5	DIŠ KIMIN SAḪAR SILA.LÍM.MA SAḪAR É ÉŠ.DAM SAḪAR ABUL SAḪAR KÁ É DINGIR SAḪAR KÁ É [...]

- b_{obv.} 39–40 DIŠ KIMIN SAḪAR SILA.LÍM.MA 'SAḪAR' É ÉŠ.DAM.MA
SAḪAR <<É>> ABUL SAḪAR KÁ É DINGIR / SAḪAR KÁ É
lúKURUN.NAM SAḪAR KÁ É lúMUḪALDIM¹⁴ SAḪAR KÁ É
lúKA.PÌRIG (text: muš)
- a_{obv.} 6 SAḪAR ^{giš}MÁ.DIRI.GA SAḪAR *kar-ri* DIŠ^{niš} *ta-šab-ba-aš ina*
Ì.GIŠ ḪI.ḪI ša lá 'la' [...] ¹⁵
- b_{obv.} 41 SAḪAR ^{giš}MÁ.DIRI.GA SAḪAR *kar-ri u né-bir*¹⁶ *ina* Ì.ḪI.ḪI Á
LAL.LA^{he-pí} šá ŠÀ-šá
- a_{obv.} 7 *ina* ^{sig}ÀKA NIGIN^{mi} *ana* IGI ^dUTU KEŠDA *tara-kas* Ì.GIŠ *u*
me-el-tú an-ni-tú ina UGU GIŠ 'x' [...] ¹⁷
- b_{obv.} 42a *u* MÚD-šá TI KEŠDA *tara-kas* ^{he-pí} *ina* UGU¹ (text: bad ka)
GIŠ.^{he-pí} 'BI' ŠID^{nu}
- a_{obv.} 8 ÉN ^dKAMAD.ME¹⁷ DUMU AN.NA 7-šú *ana* IGI ^dUTU *ana* ŠÀ
Ì.GIŠ ŠID^{nu} *mé-el-tú ina* G[Ú-šú ...]
- b_{obv.} 42b–44 ÉN ^dKAMAD.ME / DUMU AN.N[A] 7-šú *ana* IGI ^dUTU *ana* ŠÀ
Ì.GIŠ ŠID^{nu} *mé-el-tú ina* GÚ-šú GAR^{an} ù Ì.GIŠ *an-na-a* /
ŠÉŠ-su-ma DIN
-
- a_{obv.} 9 [DIŠ] 'KIMIN' ^úša-šu-un-tú ^úáp-ru-šú ^{giš}GEŠTIN.KA₅.A
ḪÁD.DU SÚD *ina* Ì.GIŠ ḪI.ḪI *ina* ^{na4}BUR ALGAM[EŠ ...]
- b_{rev.} 1–2 DIŠ KIMIN ^úša-šu-un-tú ^úáp-ru-šá ^{giš}GEŠTIN.KA₅.A ḪÁD.DU
SÚD *ina* Ì.GIŠ / ḪI.ḪI (*ina*) ^{na4}BUR ALGAMEŠ *tu-ba-ḫar-ma*
ŠÉŠ-su ^{sig}ḪÉ.ME.DA SÍG UR.MAḪ

14 I could only find the sequence SAḪAR KÁ É lúKURUN.NAM SAḪAR KÁ É lúMUḪALDIM in *LKU* 33: 28–29, but there are more fragmentary references such as ⁷[...] SAḪAR É lúNU.^{giš}KIRI₆ SAḪAR É.DIN.NA [...] ⁸[SA]ḪAR '...' SAḪAR É MÍ šá Û.TU (*BAM* 476: 7'–8'), or ⁶[... SAḪAR] É lúKURUN.NAM SIG [...] ⁷[... SAḪAR] É NU.^{giš}KIRI₆ SAḪA[R...] ⁸[... SAḪAR] É MÍ šá Û.TU (*AMT* 46/5: rev. 6–8).

15 Based on the parallel text BM 42272: obv. 41, Scurlock (2014, 413 and 427, note 13) interpreted the term as a corrupted syllabic writing of *šalālu*-reed: *ša-lal-la*.

16 I could identify the harbour dust and ferryboat dust sequence in one other text: SA[ḪAR *k*]ar-ri SA[ḪAR] *ne-bi-ri* (*KAR* 144: rev. 10 // K 3464+N 3554: rev. 14, edited in Panayotov 2013). A similar writing of ferryboat dust occurs in *STT* 281: iv 3 (SAḪAR *né-bir*).

17 My transliteration follows George's (2016, 76, note to No. 10a: i 8'–10') interpretation suggesting KAMAD as a new reading of DIM.

a _{obv.} 10	[...] 'DUR NU.NU úEME'.UR.GI ₇ úIGI- <i>lim</i> úLÚ ^{a-nu} úLAL ŠURUN dŠERISŠ [...]
b _{rev.} 3–4	SÍG MUNUS.ÁŠ.GÀR DIŠ ^{nš} DUR NU.NU 'ú'EME.UR.GI ₇ úIGI- <i>lim</i> úLÚ ^{a-nu} úLAL ŠURUN dŠERISŠ KI-šú-nu <i>ina</i> DUR NIGIN ^{mi} <i>ina</i> GÚ-šú [GAR ^{an-m}]a <i>ina-eš</i>
a _{obv.} 11	[... AN.K]I'(text: KI-DIŠ).NU.DI <i>ina</i> DÈ SAR-šú ANŠE.KUR.RA <i>pu-ḫa</i> [-la ...]
b _{rev.} 5–6	DIŠ NA MIN KÚM DAB-su <i>ḫal-^rlu^r-la-a-a</i> <i>ina</i> Ì ŠÉŠ-su [... <i>ina</i> D]È SAR-šú / ANŠE.KUR.RA <i>pu-ḫa-la</i> <i>ina</i> g ^{is} GIGIR ana GÛB LÁ-su-ma 'x' [x] šá GÛB
E _{10'–12'}	[... <i>ḫal-l</i>]u-la-a-a <i>ina</i> Ì Š[ÉŠ ...] ¹¹ [... <i>tu-q</i>]at-tar-šu ANŠE.KUR.R[A ...] ¹² [...] 'x' <i>bu-bu-ut</i> [g ^{is} GIGIR? ...]
a _{obv.} 12	[..... <i>tu-k</i>]àš-ša <i>tu-kaš-šad-ma</i> ANŠE.KUR.RA IR ŠUB-di-m[a ...]
b _{rev.} 7–8a	Ì.UDU LIBIR.RA <i>tu-kaš-ša tu-kaš-šad-ma</i> ANŠE.KU[R.RA IR? ŠU]B-di- ^r ma' / IR šu-a-ti ^{lu} GIG ŠÉŠ Ì.UDU
E _{13'}	[...] 'x' <i>tu-^rkaš^r-[šad ...]</i>
a _{obv.} 13	[.....] 'x' 2-šú 3-šú <i>tu-qat-tar-šú a-ḫu-ú</i> <i>ú-qat-ta</i> [r ...]
b _{rev.} 8b–9	u ₄ -um DAB-šú <i>ina</i> [DÈ ...] 2- ^r šú' / 3-šú <i>tu-qat-tar-šú a-ḫu-ú</i> <i>ú-qat-tar-šu-ma</i> TI [...]
E _{10'–13'}	broken
a _{obv.} 14	[.....sip-p]í <i>ana sip-pí</i> SAḪAR KUN ₄ IGI ^{ti} SAḪAR ša KI.T[A ...]
b _{rev.} 10–11	DIŠ KIMIN <i>ina</i> AN.[B]IR ₉ SAḪAR GIS[SU] 'u' [U]D.DA TI ^{qé} - <i>ma</i> ^{he-pí} 'x x x' / SAḪAR KU[N ₄] IGI ⁱ SAḪAR KI.TA MUNUS šá Ù.TU KUD ^{si} SAḪAR [...] 'ú'K[UR.Z]I ^{r sar}
D _{obv.} 7–10a	[DIŠ? KÚM? U ₄ 1]-KÁM DAB-su U ₄ -1-KÁM <i>ú-maš-šar-šú</i> <i>ina</i> AN.BIR ₉ DÛ.[DÛ.BI] / [SAḪAR GIS]SU u UD.DA TI- ^{qé} <i>si-i-ri</i> šá <i>sip-pi</i> <i>ana sip-p</i> [i] / [SAḪA]R KUN ₄ <i>maḫ-ri-ti</i> SAḪAR šá-pal <i>pí</i> (text: i)-sa-an-ni SAḪAR [...] / [úKUR.Z]I
F _{rev.} 5'–7a'	DIŠ KIMIN <i>ina</i> AN.BIR ₉ SAḪAR GISSU UD.DA TI- ^{qé} <i>si-ra</i> / šá <i>sip-pí</i> <i>ana sip-pí</i> SAḪAR KUN ₄ IGI ^{ti} SAḪAR ša KI.TA 'MUNUS' Ù.TU ⁱ KUD ⁱ (Köcher's copy: nin la šú)' / KI.MAḪ ^ú KUR.ZI
G _{rev.} 7'–9a'	[...] <i>ina</i> AN.BIR ₉ SAḪAR GISSU u UD.DA TI [...] / <i>ana sip-pí</i> [šá <i>sip-p</i>]í SAḪAR KUN ₄ IGI ^{ti} SAḪAR ša KI.TA [...] / [SAḪAR] KI.MAḪ ^ú [KUR].ZI

- a_{obv.} 15 [. T]I-sa ana
ŠÀ ŠUB^{di} E₁₁-ma ta-na-suk ana ŠÀ k[i-a-am ...]
- b_{rev.} 12–13 SÚD i[na] 'Ì'.BUR ҲI.ҲI na⁴BUR ALGAMESŠ ina DÈ ŠEG₆^{sal}
EME.ŠID TI-^rsa^r ana ŠÀ [ŠU]B^{r di} / E₁₁-[m]a ta-na-suk ana ŠÀ
ki-a-am ŠID^{nu} ÉN ki-i UD.DA KÚM^{im}
- D_{obv.} 10b–13a SÚD ina Ì.BUR ina BUR na⁴ALGAMESŠ ina DÈ ŠEG₆^{sal} / [...]
DIN-su ana ŠÀ ŠUB^{di} a-di i-ár-ru-u tu-kal-la / [...-m]a ta-na-suk
TU₆ ana lib-bi UR₅.GIM ŠID^{nu} / [ÉN ki]-i UD.DA e-me-em u
- F_{rev.} 7b'–10a' SÚD ina Ì.GIŠ.BUR ҲI.ҲI ina na⁴BUR ALGAMESŠ / DÈ ŠEG₆^{sal}
EME.ŠID TI^q TI-sa ana ŠÀ ŠUB^{di} / tu-tar-ra-ma ta-na-suk ana
lib-bi ki-a-am ŠID / ÉN ki-i UD.DA KÚM^{im} :
- G_{rev.} 9b'–12a' SÚD ina Ì.GIŠ.BUR ҲI.ҲI ina n^[a⁴...] / [ina] DÈ ŠEG₆^{sal}
EME.ŠID TI^q TI-sa ana ŠÀ ŠUB^[di] / [tu-tar]-^rra-ma ta^r-na-suk
ana lib-bi ki-a-am 'ŠID^r / 'ÉN ki-i^r [...] :
- a_{obv.} 16 [. ana] 'ZAG'.DU₈ la
i-qer-ru-bu mur-šu ana 'NENNI' [.]
- b_{rev.} 14–15a ki-^r i^r [GIS]SU lik-ša ki-i ZAG.DU₈^l(text:ga) ana ZAG.DU₈^l(text:
ga) 'la^r i-qer-ru-bu m[ur-š]u / NENNI [A NE]NNI a-a iq-rib-šú
ki-ma KUN₄^l(text: id+lu) [l]i- kab-bi-su-šú-ma ma-am-man
- D_{obv.} 13b–14 GIM GISSU lik-ši GIM súp-pi / [ana súp-p]i NU KU.NU mur-šu
NENNI A NENNI a-⟨a⟩ iq-rib-šú
- F_{rev.} 10b'–11' ki-i GISSU lik-šⁱ(text: ra) / ki-i súp-pí ana súp-pí [a-a i]q-ri-bu :
mur(text: bir)-šu a-a iq-ri[b-šú]
- G_{rev.} 12b'–13' ki-i GISSU lik-šⁱ(text: ra) / [ki-i] 'súp-pí ana súp-pí a-a iq-ri-bu :
mur(text: bir)-šu a-a iq-ri[b-šú]
- a_{obv.} 17 [.
pi-sa]-an-ni ana ur-ri-šú u ti-bi-^ršú la^r [...]
- b_{rev.} 15b–16 ki-ma KUN₄^l(text: id+lu) [l]i- kab-bi-su-šú-ma ma-am-man / a-a
[ir-š]i 'ki^r-ma pi-sa-an-na ana ur-ri-šú u ti-bi-šú la iz-zi-bu
mur-šu
- D_{obv.} 15–17a [GIM K]UN₄ li-kab-bi-su-šú-ma mam-ma-an a-a ir-ši / [GIM
pi-s]a-an-ni ana tu-ri-šú u te-bé-e-šú la iz-zi-bu / [...]
- F_{rev.} 12'–14a' GIM KUN₄ li-[kab-bi]-su-šú-ma ma-am-ma-an a-a ir-ši / GIM
pi-sa-an-ni ana ur-ḫu-šú u ti-bi-šú la iz-zi-bu / GIG
- G_{rev.} 14'–16a' [GIM K]UN₄ li-kab-bi-su-šú-ma ma-am-ma-an a-a ir-[ši] /
[GIM] pi-sa-an-ni ana ur-ḫu-šú u ti-bi-^ršú^r la iz-zi-[bu] / [GIG]

a _{obv.} 18	[..... ÉLLAG-s]u a-a i-ni ¹ TU ₆ .ÉN ÉN 7-šú ana ŠÀ ŠID-ma ¹ ŠÉŠ-su ¹
b _{rev.} 17–18a	a-a in-né-zí[b k]i-ma mi-tu la i[n]-nu-ú ÉLLAG-su GIG ÉLLAG-su / a- ¹ a ¹ i-ni ¹ TU ₆ .ÉN ÉN 7-šú ana ŠÀ ŠID-ma ŠÉ[Š-s]u
D _{obv.} 17b–18	a-a in-né-zib GIM BAD NU BAL-u ÉLLAG-su / mar-šu [...] 7-šú ana ŠÀ ŠID-ma ŠÉŠ-su
F _{rev.} 14b'–16'	a-a in-né-zib GIM ^{lu} BAD la in-nu-u ÉLLAG-su / GIG ÉLLAG-su a-a i-ni ¹ TU ₆ .ÉN É.NU.RU / 7-šú ana ŠÀ ŠID ^{nu} -ma ŠÉŠ-su
G _{rev.} 16b'–18'	a-a in-né-zib GIM ^l [^u BA]D la in-nu-u ÉLL[AG-su] / [ÉLLAG]-su a-a i-ni ¹ TU ₆ .ÉN É.NU.[RU] / [7-šú ana ŠÀ] ŠID ⁿ [^u -m]a ŠÉ[Š-su]
a _{obv.} 19	[..... ina GÚ]- ¹ šú GAR ¹ -ma TI ^u
b _{rev.} 18b–19	EME.ŠID TI-ma / ana l[ib-b]i ŠUB ^{di} ina TÚG GE ₆ ¹ KÁ ¹ -š[ú KEŠD]A ina GÚ-šú GAR-ma DIN
D _{obv.} 19	[... EME].ŠID TI-su ina ^{si} SAG.KUD ŠUB TÚG.GE ₆ KÁ-šú KEŠDA ina GÚ-šú GAR ^{an}
F _{rev.} 24'–25'	EME.ŠID TILLA-su SAG.DU ^{nu-uš} -šá ana ŠÀ ŠUB ^{di} / ina TÚG GE ₆ KÁ-šá KEŠDA-ma ina GÚ-šú GAR ^{an}
G _{rev.} 26'–27'	[EM]E. ŠID TILLA-su SAG.DU-[...] / [...] K]Á-šá KEŠDA -ma ina [GÚ-šú ...]
a _{obv.} 20	[.....] ¹ PEŠ ₁₀ . ¹ [^d]ÍD ina DÈ tu-qat-tar-šu-ma TI ^u
b _{rev.} 20–21	DIŠ K[IMIN] ÌUDU ÉLLAG GU ₄ GE ₆ A.GAR. ¹ GAR ¹ M[AŠ].DÀ SI DÀRA.MAŠ GÌR.PAD.DU NAM.LÚ.U ₁₈ .LU / NAGA.[SI] PEŠ ₁₀ . ^d ÍD ina DÈ [t]u-qat-tar-šú-ma TI
a _{obv.} 21	[.....] ina ^{sig} ÀKA
b _{rev.} 22–23	DIŠ KI[MIN] ¹ IGI-ešra SAḪAR KI.TA MUNUS ¹ šá ¹ Ò.TU pár-sat É NIM lab-bi- ¹ ni ¹ / ina Ì.GIŠ ina ^{sig} ÀKA
H _{obv.} 13–14	[DIŠ KIMIN] ^u ḪAR.ḪAR SAḪAR KI.TA ¹ MUNUS šá Ò.TU pár- sat / [x?] ¹ x ¹ ina Ì ŠÉŠ-su ina ^{sig} ÀKA NIGIN ina GÚ-šú GAR ^{an}
A _{obv.} 22	[.....] ¹ EME.UR.GI ₇ ina KUŠ
B _{rev.} 24–25	DIŠ KIMIN AŠ ša ¹ NIM ¹ i-bar-ru ḫal-lu-la-a-a NIM UR.GI ₇ / ^u EME.UR.GI ₇ ina Ì.GIŠ ina KU[Š]

H _{obv.} 15–17	[.....] AŠ ša NIM <i>i-bar-ru</i> : <i>ḫal-lu-la-a-a</i> NIM UR.GI ₇ / [...] ^ʾ x ^ʾ NÍTA u MUNUS ŠURUN ANŠE GE ₆ PAP.ḪAL ANŠE / [<i>zap</i>]- ^ʾ pi ^ʾ ANŠE šá 15 u 15 ^o ^u EME.UR.GI ₇ <i>ina</i> KUŠ
a _{obv.} 23	[.....] S]ÍG.ŠAB <i>ina</i> DÈ SAR-šú
b _{rev.} 26–27	DIŠ KIMIN ^u ₅ - <i>ra-an-nam</i> É NIM < <i>lab-bi-ni</i> > túgNÍG. ^ʾ DÁRA.ŠULÁL ^ʾ <i>ina</i> GÚ-šú BAR MUŠ / <i>um-mì</i> GÍR.TAB ZÀ.ḪILI ^{sar} túgNÍG.DÁRA.ŠULÁL SÍG.ŠAB <i>ina</i> DÈ SAR-šú
a _{obv.} 24	[.....] <i>ina</i> ^{síg} ÀKA
b _{rev.} 28–29	DIŠ KIMIN SÍG UGU.DUL.BI GÌR.PAD.DU NAM.LÚ.U ₁₈ .LU <i>ina</i> KUŠ <i>ina</i> GÚ-šú GAR ^{an} / DIŠ KIMIN AŠ ša ^ʾ NIM ^ʾ <i>i-bar-ru</i> <i>ina</i> ^{síg} ÀKA
C _i 32	DIŠ KIMIN AŠ TI ša NIM [...]
I _{ii} 12'–13'	DIŠ KIMIN SÍG UGU.DUL.BI ^ʾ GÌR ^ʾ .PAD.DU NAM.LÚ. ^ʾ U ₁₈ . ^ʾ [LU] / <i>tur-ár</i> SÚD <i>ina</i> [GÚ-šú GAR ^{an}]
F _{rev.} 3'	[... UGU.D]UL.BI GÌR.PAD.DA NAM.LÚ.[U ₁₈ .LU ...]
G _{rev.} 5'	[...] SÍG U[GU]. ^ʾ DUL ^ʾ .BI GÌR.PAD.DU NAM.[LÚ.U ₁₈ .LU ...]
a _{obv.} 25	[.....] <i>ina</i>] Ì.GIŠ
b _{rev.} 30–31	DIŠ KIMIN GE ₆ PAP.ḪAL ANŠE GE ₆ PAP.ḪAL ANŠE.KUR.RA <i>kur-ra</i> ^ʾ šá ^{lú} _ʾ AŠGAB <i>ina</i> KUŠ DÙ.DÙ / <i>u</i> ^u áp- <i>ru-šá</i> <i>ina</i> Ì.GIŠ
C _i 33	DIŠ KIMIN GE ₆ ANŠE <i>kur-ra</i> šá AŠGAB [...]
a _{obv.} 26	[.....] <i>ina</i>] KUŠ
b _{rev.} 32–33	DIŠ KIMIN BAR MUŠ GÌR.PAD.DU NAM.LÚ.U ₁₈ .LU <i>um-mì</i> GÍR.TAB túgNÍG.DÁRA.ŠULÁL ^{na4} <i>kut-pa-a</i> / ^{na4} <i>mu-ša</i> ^u ša- <i>šu-un-tú</i> <i>ina</i> [KU]Š
C _i 34–35	DIŠ KIMIN BAR MUŠ EMEME.DA GÍR.TAB GÌR.PA[D.D]U N[AM.LÚ]. ^ʾ U ₁₈ .LU ^ʾ / túgNÍG.DÁRA.ŠULÁL ^{na4} <i>kut-pa-a</i> ^{na4} <i>mu-ša</i> ^ʾ x ^x ^ʾ
a _{obv.} 27	[.....]

Reverse

a _{rev.} 1'	[.....]
a _{rev.} 2'	[.....] 𐎶𐎵𐎶 DE SAR-𐎶𐎶𐎶
a _{rev.} 3'	[.....] GIŠ
a _{rev.} 4'	[.....] Š]ÉŠ.MEŠ-su-ma DIN
a _{rev.} 5'	[..... e-l]e-nu UZU.MEŠ-šú ŠED ₇ .MEŠ
J ₁₇₋₁₈	DIŠ NA UZ[U-šú KÚM.ME]Š ŠED ₇ .MEŠ NINDA GU ₇ KAŠ NAG-ma / [i]-𐎶𐎶𐎶-ru i-t[a-n]a-áš e-le-u-na UZU.MEŠ-šú ŠED ₇
a _{rev.} 6'	[..... li]-𐎶𐎶𐎶-bu DAB-su
J _{19-20a}	[u ša]p-la-nu e-š[e-e]n-ta-šú šar-ḫat NA BI / [UD.D]A TAB.BA -ma l[i]-'-ba TUKU
a _{rev.} 7'	[..... šam-ba-l]il-tu ₄ ina Ì.GIŠ ŠÉŠ.MEŠ-su-ma DIN
J _{20b-22}	ana TI-šú úGAMUN / 𐎶𐎶𐎶kam-man-ta ú[kam]-ka-da úEME.UR.GI ₇ / ú[SULL]IM ina Ì [ŠÉ]Š-s[u] ina-eš
a _{rev.} 8'	[.....] 𐎶x x 𐎶 KÚM GI.MEŠ ina A.MEŠ ta-maḫ-ḫa-aḫ tu-kàš-ša-šú-𐎶ma ¹ DIN
a _{rev.} 9'	[.....] 𐎶x ¹ -di ina ŠU ^{II} it-ta-na-aš-mid
a _{rev.} 10'	[..... G]IG ana GIG-su NU GÍD.DA úan-ki-nu-te úak-tam SÚD
a _{rev.} 11'	[.....] 𐎶x ¹ GUR.GUR-šú-ma TI ^{ut}
a _{rev.} 12'	[.....] TI ^{qé} A.MEŠ PA ₅ ḪI.ḪI lúGIG 𐎶tu ¹ -kap-par NU DÙ ^{uš} ina MAŠ.SÌLA GÙB-šú NU mim-ma lem-nu SAR ^{ár}
F _{obv.} 25-27a	DIŠ NA KÚM ka-a-a-ma-na DAB-su IM PA ₅ TI ^{qé} / ina A PA ₅ ḪI.ḪI SU lúGIG tu-kap-(par) NU DÙ ^{uš} / ina MAŠ.SÌLA GÙB-šú NU mim-ma lem-ni SAR

G _{obv.} 25–27a	[...] 'x x' [...] / [...] 'A' PA ₅ 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 SU [...] 'tu ¹ -k[ap-par ² ...] / [ina MAŠ.SÌ]LA GÙB-šú NU m[im-ma lem]-ni SA[R]
a _{rev.} 13'	[..... U ₄ -1-KA]M 'túgGÚ'.È U ₄ -1-KAM 'túgBAR.SIG U ₄ -1-KAM ta-maḥ-ḥaṣ NÍG.[À]R.RA BAPPÍR MUNU ₅ ZÌ.'DA ² '
F _{obv.} 27b–29	SÍG pu-ti / 'GU ₄ ' UDU.ḤÁ TI ^{qé} TÚG U ₄ -1-KÁM 'túgGÚ'.È U ₄ -1-KÁM / [.....] U ₄ -1-KÁM ta-maḥ-ḥaṣ NÍG.À.RA 'BAPPÍR ² '
G _{obv.} 27b–29	[...] / [... UDU].ḤÁ TI ^{qé} TÚG U ₄ -1-KÁM 'túgGÚ'.È [...] / [...] U ₄ -1-KÁM 'ta ¹ -maḥ-ḥaṣ NÍG.À.R.[RA ...]
a _{rev.} 14'	[.....] 'U ₄ '.GURUM.MA ana IGI 'dUTU tu-dan-šú-ma ana EDIN È-šú-ma ana 'dUTU ŠÚ.A IGI-šú GAR[an ²]
F _{obv.} 30–31	[..... se-p]í tàra-kás ina U ₄ .GURUM.MA ana IGI ['dUTU] / [... ED]IN È-šú ana 'dUTU.[ŠÚ.A]
G _{obv.} 30–31	[...] 'x' ina se-pí tàra-kás ina U ₄ .GURUM.MA ana [...] / [tu ² -d]a ² -an-šu-ma ana 'EDIN' È-šú ana [...]
a _{rev.} 15'	[.....] 'gišKIŠI ₁₆ ' KEŠDA-su-ma ZÌ.SUR.RA ^a NIGIN-šú ana EGIR-ka NU IGI.BAR KASKAL šá-ni-t[ú ...]
F _{obv.} 32–33	[.....] 'gišKIŠI ₁₆ tu-[ra-kas-su-ma] / [.....] NU IGI.BAR 'SILA' [...]
G _{obv.} 32–33	[IGI-šú GAR-m]a KI 'gišDÌḤ u 'gišKIŠI ₁₆ tu-[...] / [ZÌ.SUR.R]A ^a 'NIGIN-šú' ana EGIR-šu NU IGI.BAR 'x' [...]
a _{rev.} 16'	'én' 'd ¹ kamad-me dumu an-na 'dḥendur-sag-gá <nam> tar-tar-dir-e ¹⁸ : dingir gíd-gíd-a-ni 'sa ¹ -ùr-ra 'd ¹ [ḥendur-sag-gá tar-tar nam-zu]
E _{3'-4'}	[én 'd ¹ kamad-me dumu an-n]a : 'dḥendur-sag-gá [...] / [dingir gíd-gíd-a-ni sa-ù]r-ra 'dḥendur-sag-g[á tar-tar nam-zu]
K _{rev.} 23'–26'	én 'd ¹ kamad-me [du]mu an-na / 'dḥendur-sag-gá <nam> tar-tar-e-d[è] / [dingir g]íd-gíd-a-'ni' sa-ùr-ra / ['dḥendur-s]ag-gá tar-tar 'nam ¹ -zu
a _{rev.} 17'	a ze-eb ḥuš nam ḥé-éb-bé 'dḥendur-sag-gá 'den-líl 'den-me-šár-ra ku ₄ 'x x' [...]

18 I interpreted TAR.TAR.DIRE as a corrupted form of TAR.TAR.RE.DÈ.

E _{5'-7'}	[a ze-eb ɸuš] nam ɸ[é-éb-bé] / [dɸendur-sag-gá ^d e]n-líl-lá ^d e[n-me-šár-ra] / [...] 'x ¹ ti 'x x ¹ [...]
K _{rev. 27'-29'}	[a ze-eb ɸuš] nam ɸ[é-éb]-bé / [dɸendur-sag-g]á ^d r en-líl ¹ [d ^d en-m]e-šár-ra / [...]-'x tu-x ¹ [x] 'x tu ₆ ¹ -én
a _{rev. 18'}	KA.INIM.MA DIŠ NA KÚM DAB-su ina ^r na4 ¹ KIŠIB SAR-ár ina GÚ-šú GAR-an-ma [...]
E _{8'-9'}	[..... K]ÚM DAB-su ina ^{na4} [.....] / [.....]-ma [...]
a _{rev. 19'}	DIŠ GIG ina SU LÚ È-ma 'pa-ni ¹ -šú u IGI.MEŠ-šú MÚ.MEŠ di-ig-la k[a-bit ...]
a _{rev. 20'}	34 nis-ɸu DIŠ NA UGU-šú KÚM ú-kal bul-ɸu GABA.RI É ¹ dà-bi-[bi ...]
a _{rev. 21'}	A ^{lú} SIMUG ana DIN ZI.MEŠ-šú u DIN ZI.MEŠ šá I ^d .AMAR.UTU DUMU [...]

Translation

Obverse

¹If a man has been seized by heat, ²you pulverize together ¹cumin, *kammantu*-plant, *kamkadu*-plant, “dog’s tongue”-plant, male and female *nikiptu*-plant, “white aromatic”, *burāšu*-juniper, *azupīru*-plant, ²fresh “fox-vine”, mushroom peel. You mix (them) in oil, you pour (them) into a bronze *tamgussu*-vessel, you throw a live lizard into it (and) boil (the medicine) on charcoals. ³When (the medicine) overflows, you lift (it) out and remove (the lizard), cool (the medicine) (and) recite the incantation “The Sky is destro[yed, the Earth is destroyed” three times, then you salve him and he will get well.

⁴If ditto, you crush together *ankinūtu*-plant, *burāšu*-juniper, *kukru*-aromatic, *šumlatū*-aromatic, [you mix (them)] in oil, [salve him ...] {var.: If it is winter, you (boil)^{broken} (them) on coals}.

⁵If ditto, ⁶you collect together ⁵dust from the crossroads, dust from a tavern, dust from the city gate, dust from the gate of a temple, dust from the gate of [the brewer’s] house, [dust from the gate of the cook’s house, dust from the gate of the incantation priest’s house], ⁶dust from the ferry-boat, dust from the harbour {var.: dust from the harbour and ford}, you mix (them) in oil ... [...]

{var.: you take the wing of an owl, its ^{broken}, its heart and its blood}, ⁷you wrap it in a tuft of wool, tie a knot before Šamaš {var.: tie a knot ^{broken}}, (you place?) this oil and phylactery on the [...] -tree {var.: recite (the incantation) over the ^{broken} tree} (and) ⁸recite the incantation “Lamaštu the offspring of Anu” before Šamaš seven times over the oil (and) you place the phylactery around his neck and salve him with this oil, then he will get well.

⁹If ditto, you dry *šašuntu*-plant, *aprušu*-plant, “fox-vine”-tree, crush (and) mix (them) with oil (and) cook (them) in *algamešu*-stone vessel, then salve him.

¹⁰You twine together red wool, lion hair (and) hair of a female kid into yarn. [You wrap] “dog’s tongue”-plant, “heals-a-thousand”-plant, *amīlānu*-plant, *aš-qulālu*-plant, “ox-dung” with them in the yarn, then [you place] (it) around his neck (and) he will get well.

¹¹[If ditto?], {var.: If a man has been seized by heat for a second time} you salve him with a *ḥallulāya*-insect (mixed) with oil, (then) you fumigate over him *ankinūtu*-[plant] on charcoals. [You harness] a male horse to a wagon {var.: to the axle of the wagon} on the left side and ¹²you cool down [¹¹the left side of the horse] ¹²with rancid (lit.: old) tallow. You drive (the horse) and the horse will sweat, then you salve the ill man with its sweat (and) with tallow. ¹³On that day when (the illness) seized him you fumigate him two (and) three times over charcoals [...]. (If) a stranger fumigates [him (and) he will get well].

¹⁴If ditto {var.: [If a heat one day] seizes him (and) another day releases him}, you take dust from shady and sunny (places) at midday, ¹⁵you crush ¹⁴plaster from both doorjambs, dust from the front threshold, dust from under the woman who has ceased giving birth {var.: dust from beneath the drainpipe}, dust from the grave and *samīdu*-plant, ¹⁵mix (them) in oil of *būru*-pit, you boil (the medicine) over charcoals in a vessel of *algamešu*-stone. You put a live lizard into it {var.: you take a live lizard, put it into it}. You lift (the medicine) out and remove (the lizard), (then) recite (the incantation) over it as follows: Incantation—he is as hot as sunlight, ¹⁶may he be cool as a shade! As doorjamb does not approach doorjamb, do not let the illness approach to So-and-so, son of So-and-so. ¹⁷May there be no one who treads upon him like a threshold! As one may abandon the drainpipe/basket to its roof {var.: path, knot} or to “rising/lifting”(?), ¹⁸so may ¹⁷the illness ¹⁸not be abandoned!¹⁹ As death does

19 Contra CAD T 390 s.v. *tibu*. The translation of this sentence was suggested by M. Geller.

not move (lit. does not change his kidney), the sick man cannot move aside (lit. does not change his kidney). Incantation formula. You recite the incantation seven times over (it) and you salve him.¹⁹ You take a live lizard {var.: lizard} and put it into (it) {var.: you put a live lizard into it / you put a live lizard into it, its head first}. You tie up its (i.e., the reed tube) opening with a black textile and you put it around his neck {var.: you put it around his neck and he will be cured}.

²⁰If ditto, you fumigate him over charcoals (mixed with) tallow from the kidney of a black ox, dung of a gazelle, stag's horn, "bone-of-mankind", "horned-*uḫūlu*"-plant, *kibrītu*-sulphur, and he will get well.

²¹If ditto, "heals-a-twenty"-plant, dust from under the woman who has ceased giving birth {var.: *ḥašū* plant, dust from under a woman who has ceased giving birth}, "nest-of-*labbinu*-fly" (mixed) with oil: (you wrap them) in a tuft of wool {var.: you salve him and you wrap (them) in a tuft of wool and place (it) around his neck}.

²²If ditto, "fly-catching spider", *ḥallulāya*-insect, flea, "dog's tongue"-plant {var.: "fly-catching spider", *ḥallulāya*-insect male and female ..., excrement of black donkey dung, thigh of donkey, bristles from the right and left (side) of a donkey}: (you wrap them) in leather.

²³If ditto, *urānu*-plant, "nest-of-*labbinu*-fly", soiled rag: (you place it) around his neck, (and) fumigate him with scales of a serpent, mother scorpion, *saḥlū*-cress, soiled rag, combed-out hair.

²⁴If ditto, hair of monkey, "bone-of-mankind" {var.: you dry and crush hair of monkey, "bone-of-mankind"}: (you wrap them) in leather, place (it) around his neck. If ditto, "fly-catching spider": (you wrap them) in a tuft of wool.

²⁵If ditto, black (hair from) the upper leg of a donkey, black (hair from) the upper leg of a horse and "leatherworker's fungus": you wrap (them) in leather and (anoint him) with *aprušu*-plant (mixed) with oil.

²⁶If ditto, scales of a snake, "bone-of-mankind", mother scorpion, soiled rag, black frit, *mūšu*-stone, *šašuntu*-plant: (you wrap them) in leather.

²⁷If ditto, you wrap horse hair, lion hair, wolf hair, black dog hair in leather, place (it) around his neck, (and fumigate him) with *nīnū*-plant (and) *saḥlū*-cress

over *nikiptu* coals, (then) anoint him with a (pounded?) coral (mixed) in oil, and he will get well.

Reverse

¹[...]

²[...] you fumigate him.

³[... you ...] ⁴[...] you anoint him repeatedly and he will get well.

⁵[If a man's flesh is constantly hot (and then) cold, he eats bread, drinks beer but vomits. He is worried all the time], his flesh is cold [ab]ove ⁶[and his bone is inflamed below. This man is inflamed with heat-radiance and *li*'*bu*-disease has seized him. ⁷[In order to cure him: (you pulverize) cumin, *kamantu*-plant, *kamkadu*-plant, "dog's-tongue"-plant, *šambal*]*il*tu-plant, rub him (with these plants mixed) with oil, and he will get well.

⁸[...] ... you warm/it is hot, you soften reed in water, cool him (with it), and he will get well.

⁹[...] he binds (it) continually in (his) hands, ¹⁰[... that man] is ill [with ...], in order that his illness does not last long, you crush *ankinūtu*-plant, *aktam*-plant ¹¹[you ...] repeat it and he will recover.

¹²[If ditto] {var.: If someone has been seized by "permanent heat"}, you take canal clay, mix (it) with canal water, wipe the ill man {var.: ill man's body}. You make a substitute figurine (of the patient), (and) on its left shoulder you write "figurine of any evil". ¹³You take hair from the forehead of an ox (and) a sheep. You weave (them) into an everyday garment, an everyday cloak (and) an everyday turban. ¹⁴You arrange ¹³*mundu*-groat, beer bread, malt, flour. ¹⁴[...] In late afternoon you initiate litigation before Šamaš, then take (the figurine) out in the steppe and you place (the figurine) in front of the setting sun. ¹⁵You tie it with *bal*tu-plant and *ašāgu*-plant, surround it with a magic circle. Do not look behind you. [You take] another way [...].

¹⁶Incantation. Lamaštu, child of the god Anu, Ḫendursag, who determines (the fate), the god who drags the *šēšū*-net, [Ḫendursag who determined wisdom].

¹⁷... indeed, you determine (lit. say) the fate. Ḫendursag, Enlil (and) Enmešarra ... [...].

¹⁸It is the wording of the incantation (for removing the disease) “If a man has been seized by heat.” You write (this incantation) on a cylinder seal, place (it) around his neck and [he will get well].

¹⁹If a sore comes out on a person’s body, and his face and eyes are inflamed, his eyesight is he[avy ...].

²⁰34th extract from (the series) “If a man’s skull holds heat,” medical prescriptions. According to the original tablet from the house of Dābi[bī]. [The tablet was written by ...], ²¹descendant of Nappāhu, for his well-being and for the well-being of Nā’id-Marduk, son of [...].

Notes

The prescriptions of the tablet have been discussed earlier by myself (Bácskay 2015, 12–24 and Bácskay 2018, 115–119, 121–139, 146–158, 181–186).

Rev. 12’–15’: This prescription includes a substitute ritual: making a substitute figurine by using canal clay, then making an offering before Šamaš and eliminating the substitute figurine in the steppe as well as an admonition not to look back, which is a motif found in Namburbi rituals.²⁰ The substitute figurines in medical texts served as a representation of demons or ghosts. A figurine of “any evil” was commonly used in the prescription against illnesses caused by ghosts.²¹ Although I do not know of an actual parallel of the ritual, clay figurines

20 The use of substitute ritual against diseases caused by ghosts or demons is well known. For substitutes in the prescriptions against ghosts, see Bottéro 1983, 179–182; Scurlock 2006, 49–56, Nos. 10–16, 115, 119–120, 131, 218–221, 226, 228–232. For substitute rituals in Lamaštu texts, see Farber 2014, 146–147, 150–151, 154–155, 162–163, 192–195, 206, 236, 288–289, 306–313. The use of substitute figurines as a representation of the demon can also be found in other medical texts, like *BAM* 234: obv. 13, “You make a male and female figurine of *māmītu* demon from the clay of the clay pit, [write] his name on (its) left shoulder.”

21 For these rituals with the figurine of “any evil”, see *KAR* 267: 1–30 and duplicates, edited by Scurlock (2006, 352–358, No. 119); *BAM* 323 and duplicates, edited by Scurlock (2006, 507–509, No. 218; 2014, 692–701); *KAR* 32: 1–44 and duplicate, edited by Scurlock (2006, 510–514, No. 219). In the ritual of *KAR* 267: 1–30, the figurine of “any evil” is equivalent to the figurine of the confused state ghost (*eṭemmu ḥayyātu*), and the ritual described in *KAR* for four names (Namtar, “any evil”, *asakku* and the Roaming ghost) was written on the same substitute figurine.

with similar clothing can also be found in other substitute rituals.²² A drawing of a figurine of “any evil” has been preserved on a Late Babylonian tablet published by I. Finkel.²³

Rev. 16'–18': The Sumerian incantation is also attested on a fragment from Sultantepe (*STT* 144: rev. 23'–29').²⁴ There is another parallel of the incantation on a small fragment from Aššur (*BAM* 149: 3'–7'). Based on these parallels, the text of the incantation can be revised and completed. The *Glossenkeil* in BM 35512 refers to the end of the lines on the original tablet, which agrees with the line sequence of the other two manuscripts. Although a large part of the text of the incantation can be completed, there are several problems with the interpretation. In line 16', I interpret the term **tar-tar nam-zu** as a variant for **nam tar**. I could not find any other parallel for this form of **nam tar**. On the other hand, we can interpret **nam-zu** also as “your fate”. In line 17', the meaning of the sentence **a ze-eb huš nam ḥé-éb-bé** is not quite clear to me. I interpreted the verb **ḥé-éb-bé** as a precative *marû* form of **dug₄** (to say) and suppose that the meaning of **nam dug₄** is similar to **nam tar**. The **ze-eb** can be interpreted as an Emesal form of **dug₃** (good, sweet) but the meaning of this passage remains obscure to me.

In this incantation, Ḥendursag takes precedence over Lamaštu. However, the amount of Ḥendursag incantations is much lower than the Lamaštu incantations and I do not know any other medical incantation which includes the name of both deities.²⁵ Ḥendursag is Erra's herald but his medical role is not known to me. In his recent article, A. George argued that Ḥendursag and Išum can be interpreted as light of a torch or firebrand which leads people home at night.²⁶ I assume that the occurrence of Ḥendursag in a fever text can be hypothetically explained by the symbolic association of light/fire with fever.²⁷

22 *KAR* 66: obv. 1–19 and *STT* 251: 7–15.

23 The drawing can be found on the unpub. tablet BM 47701. In his article, Finkel (2011, 340, Fig. 6) published only the drawing of the figurine. For another drawing, see Zilberg and Horowitz 2016.

24 Farber 2014, 273.

25 Cunningham (1997) mentions four Old Babylonian Sumerian Ḥendursag incantations (Nos. 85, 88, 125a and 194), two of which have parallels in OB forerunners to the standard Udug-ḥul series (Geller 1985, 32–33 and 42–43). For Ḥendursag in early incantations in general, see Cunningham 1997, 53–54. Apart from those incantations, Ḥendursag and Išum were mentioned in the incantation LÚ DUMU DINGIR-ŠÚ, “He is a man, son of his god,” which is attested on Tablet 5 of the series *Muššu'u* (Böck 2007, 199).

26 George 2015, 4–5.

27 The connection can also be based on the homonymy of the name Išum (a masc. form of *išātum*, “fire”) and “fire” (*išātu*), which is the literary or symbolic term for fever.

Hence, the appearance of Ȝendursag in the context of fever would imply that the malign “fire” attacking the patient’s body was to be extinguished with the help of a deity associated with the benign aspects of fire.

The use of cylinder seals inscribed with an incantation against Lamaštu occurs on the first tablet of the canonical Lamaštu series,²⁸ and the same incantation and ritual has also been extracted in the LÚ.TUR.ȜUN.GA series.²⁹ This type of amulet is also attested archaeologically; a cylinder-shaped clay amulet inscribed with the Lamaštu incantation was discovered in a Persian grave at Ugarit.³⁰

Rev. 19': The catchline of the tablet occurs in two therapeutic prescriptions (AO 11477: 56–57 and *AMT* 84/6: ii 5'–7')³¹ and the 33rd tablet of the diagnostic omen series (*SpTU* 4 152: obv. 4).³² I present here a score transliteration of the relevant texts.

- a BM 35512: 46
 b AO 11477: 56 (Heeßel 2000, 366; Geller 2007, 11 and 17)
 c *AMT* 84/6: ii 5'–6' (Heeßel 2000, 366; Geller 2007, 11–17)
 d *SpTU* 4 152: obv. 4 (von Weiher 1993, 81 and 84; Fincke 2000, 141, 146 and 239; Heeßel 2000, 353 and 359; Geller 2007, 11 and 17; Scurlock 2014, 231 and 235)
- a₄₆ DIŠ GIG *ina* SU LÚ È-*ma* 'pa-ni'-šú u IGI.MEŠ-šú MÚ.MEŠ *di-ig-la*
k[a-bit ...]
 b₅₆ DIŠ GIG *ina* SU LÚ È-*ma* pa-nu-šú u IGI¹¹-šú MÚ.MEŠ-š[ú ...]
 c_{ii 5'–6'} DIŠ GIG *ina* SU NA 'È' [...] 6'ù DIRI a-šu-^rú' [...] [...]
 d_{obv. 4} [DIŠ pa]-nu-šú u IGI.MEŠ-šú MÚ.MEŠ^{ha} *di-ig-la ka-bit* u DIRI [...] ³³
a-šu-ú MU.'NI'

28 The nine names of Lamaštu (in lines 1–8) should have been written on a cylinder seal placed around the neck of a baby (Lamaštu 1: 9–10). For an edition of this text see Farber 2014, 68–70 and 144–145.

29 6' [ana ^dKAMAD.ME ana] LÚ.TUR NU TE^e na⁴KIŠIB I[M DÙ^uš] 7' [ÉN ^dkamad-me dum]u an-na MU šá 1^{en} ana UGU S[AR *ina* GÚ-šú GAR] (BM 134780: 6'–7'; Farber 1989, 116, § 44 and Farber 2014, 199).

30 Farber 2014, 273.

31 For editions of the tablet AO 11447, see Labat 1959 and Geller 2007. The tablet *AMT* 84/6 is a small fragment of a multi-column tablet dealing with prescriptions against *simmu* sore and probably other skin problems. It has not been edited yet.

32 For editions of the tablet, see von Weiher 1993, 81–88; Heeßel 2000, 353–374 (Ms. A); Scurlock 2014, 231–240.

33 The surface of the tablet *SpTU* 4 152 is damaged between DIRI and a-šu-ú in this line.

If a sore comes out on a person's body, and his face and his eyes are inflamed, his eyesight is heavy and ...,³⁴ its name is *ašû*-disease.

Rev. 20'–21': The general formula *ana balaṭ napištišu* (= "for the continuation of his life") is well attested in Late Babylonian colophons,³⁵ but the colophon of BM 35512 repeats the formula. I have not found a similar form, but another colophon with Nā'id-Marduk, descendant of the Nappāḫu family mentioned earlier, contains the following formula: *ana balaṭ napištišu ana balaṭ bītišu* = "for the continuance of his life and the endurance of his house", which might account for the repetition of the formula in BM 35512.

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Von Weiher and Geller transliterate the line without indicating any broken passage but I think that the presence of now missing cuneiform signs in the gap cannot be excluded. Cf. Fincke 2000, 146, n. 1106.

- 34 The cuneiform sign DIRI was interpreted as *malû* ("voll") by von Weiher (1993, 84). Heeßel interpreted that sign as a logogram for *neqelpû* ("to drift, to sail downstream") and translated it hypothetically as "unstetig sein" (Heeßel 2000, 359 and 366). Fincke (2000, 146) also discussed the reference under *neqelpû* mentioning two references related to a diagnostic text for epilepsy (discussed in Stol 1993, 98), and she interpreted the term as "dahingleiten". Geller (2007, 17, n. 104) likewise interpreted DIRI as *neqelpû* and translated it as "flottant", referring to the suggestions of Fincke and Heeßel. Recently, Scurlock edited the text and she interpreted the term in a similar way too: "(his eye) drifts downstream" (2014, 235). On the other hand, the sign was transliterated as SA₅ and translated as "(his vision) is red" in ORACC (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cams/gkab/corpus>, accessed 22 June 2017).
- 35 Hunger 1968, Nos. 92–93, 106 (Uruk); 126, 129, 135–136, 138–140a (Borsippa); 151, 157, 180 (Babylon); 188 (Dēr).

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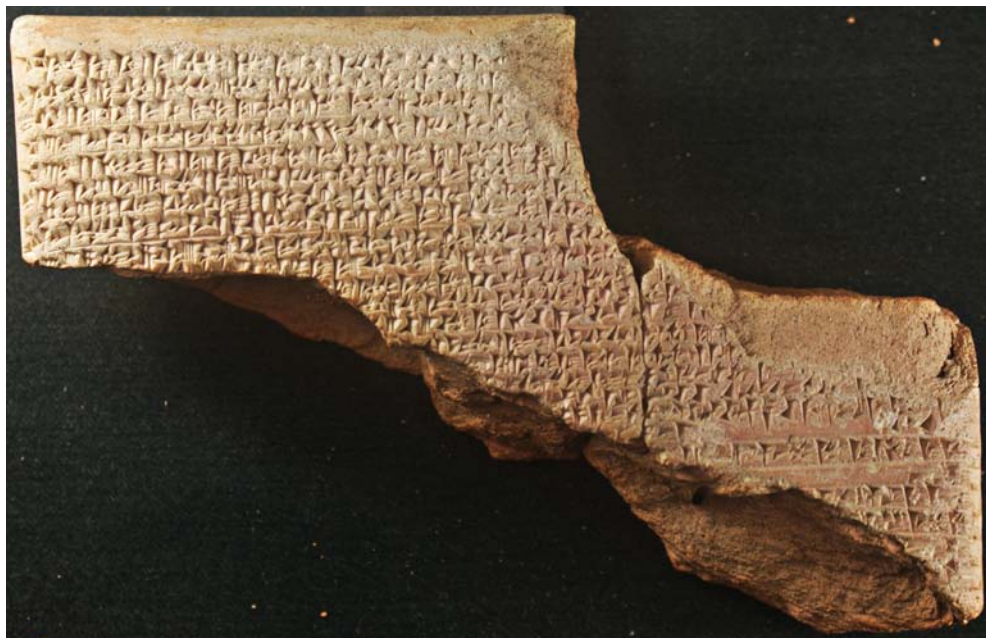


FIGURE 6.1 *BM 35512, obverse*
 PHOTO A. BÁCSKAY

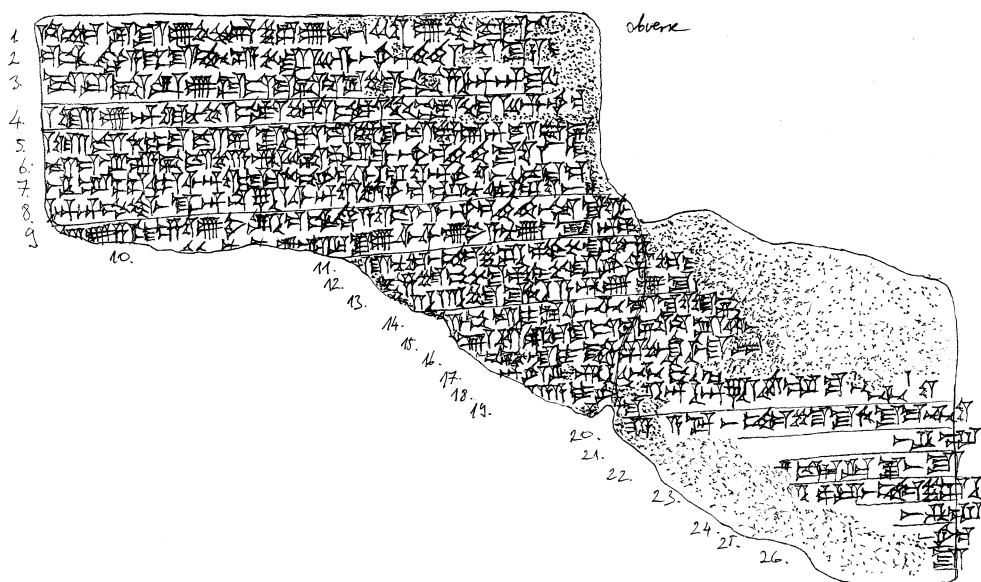


FIGURE 6.2 *BM 35512, obverse*
 COPY A. BÁCSKAY



FIGURE 6.3 *BM 35512, reverse*
PHOTO A. BÁCSKAY

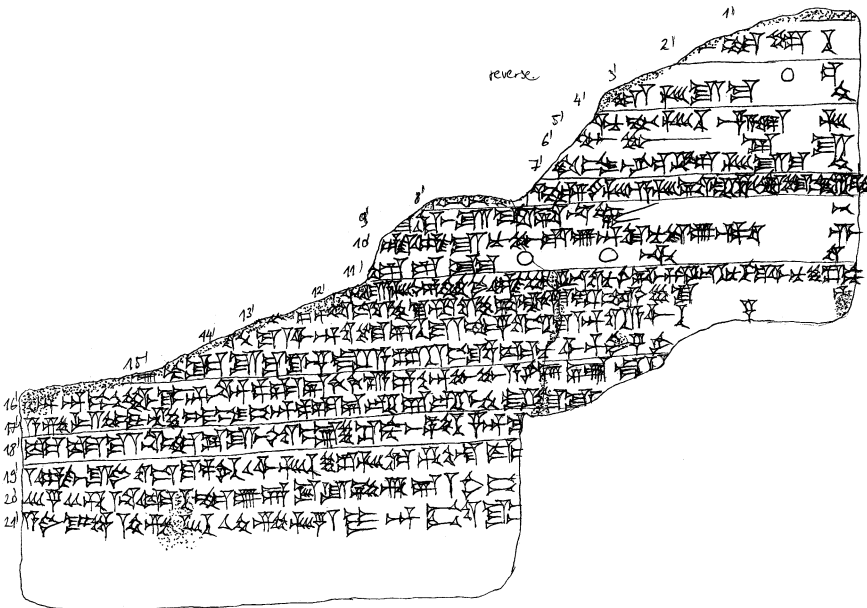


FIGURE 6.4 *BM 35512, reverse*
COPY A. BÁCSKAY

Budge's *Syriac Book of Medicines* after One Hundred Years: Problems and Prospects

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In 1894, while traveling through Mesopotamia to collect antiquities for the British Museum, Ernest Wallis Budge found himself in Alqosh, a village with a rich Christian heritage located around thirty miles north of Mosul.¹ He encountered there a learned resident in possession of a small library of manuscripts, one of which, a twelfth-century medical compendium, caught his eye. Despite being incomplete, the manuscript clearly excited Budge, who arranged, at his own expense, for a copy to be made. This copy, now manuscript BL Or. 9360,² was subsequently published by Budge as the famous *Syriac Book of Medicines* (*SBM*), with an English translation and accompanying materials.³

The *SBM* consists of three distinct parts. The first part, ff. 1b–211a, moves in successive chapters down the human body, beginning with the head and ending with the kidneys. Each chapter contains anatomical and pathological discussions, numerous passages of which are best described as “thematic abridgements” of the works of Galen, combined with medical recipes.⁴

The second part, ff. 211b–261a, contains various astrological omens, some basic astrological and calendrical knowledge, definitions of measures and weights, forecasts for the year, hemerologies and other devices relating to health and good fortune. This part has received very little attention, but has recently been analysed by Rudolf in her doctoral dissertation.⁵

1 For a brief but excellent introduction to Alqosh and its Christian heritage, see Coghill 2003, 2–4. At the time of writing, Alqosh remains comparatively unscathed by the militant *Islamic State*, largely due to the protection of the Kurdish Peshmerga.

2 See Brock 2011, 101.

3 Budge 1913. For Budge's account of his discovery of the manuscript, see Budge 1913 (vol. 1), xxxvii and xl–xli.

4 See Bhayro 2013 and 2015.

5 See Rudolf 2014.

The third part, ff. 216b–285a, defines itself as an excerpt from a *spr smmn' r'ny'*, “Book of Local Medicines”. Adam Becker, following Richard Gottheil and Jessie Payne Smith, would translate the book's title as “Book of Topical Medicines”, i.e. asserting that *smmn' r'ny'* is equivalent to Greek *phármaka katà tópus*.⁶ There are several problems with this. The phrase *phármaka katà tópus* in this context refers to the place affected and in need of treatment, i.e. the affected part of the human body.⁷ In this context, therefore, a Syriac adjective derived from the noun for “place” in the sense of “earth”, “land” or “region” is entirely unsuitable. Syriac has perfectly good and well recognized equivalents to Greek *tópos*, including *tr'*, which was used for Hebrew *mqwm* and Greek *tópos* from the very earliest phases of Syriac translation, and *dwkt'* which was used for *tópos* in medical contexts along the lines suggested by Becker for *r'ny'*.⁸ Conversely, *r'* and *r'ny'* have no such medical use for “topical”. Finally, as Becker himself admits, this idea goes back to a misunderstanding on Gottheil's part,⁹ which was then picked up by Payne Smith for the supplement to her father's lexicon.¹⁰

We would suggest that the interpretation “Book of Local Medicines”, in the sense of medicines pertaining to or originating from the region of the writer, is correct, especially given the wider picture—namely, the persistence of the indigenous medical system in the face of the repeated encroachments of rival foreign systems.¹¹ An excellent proof for the persistence of these medical tradi-

6 See Becker 2005, 184–188.

7 See Liddell and Scott 1996, 1806. Hence the derived form *topikós*, which in a medical context means “topical, i.e. of medicines and medical treatments applied locally”—see Durling 1993, 312.

8 See, for instance, the example given in Schleifer 1926b, 173.

9 See Gottheil 1899, 187; Becker 2005, 185–186.

10 Payne Smith 1927, 38.

11 For which, see Bhayro 2015. Becker is clearly offended by Budge's translation “Book of Medicines of the Country (i.e. native medicines)”, particularly the parenthetical use of the term “native”—see Budge 1913 (vol. 2), 656; Becker 2005, 184–185. For Becker, not only is this incorrect philologically, but it also represents all that is reprehensible in colonial and Orientalist writers. Indeed, before proceeding to make the case for the prosecution against Budge, Becker asserts that “the philological tools for explaining Budge's odd rendering of ‘native’ are spent” (Becker 2005, 187). In making this assertion, Becker explicitly dismisses the philological evidence, which he himself lists (Becker 2005, 187, n. 52), that supports understanding *r'ny'* in the sense of “local”—e.g. Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *m' d'r'*, “the local populace” (Sokoloff 2002, 77). He dismisses such evidence on the basis of it being “thin” and coming “primarily from comparative linguistic material” and, therefore, apparently of little value (n. 52). We are left, therefore, in the curious situation of being asked

tions is the fact that these prescriptions are translated into modern varieties of Aramaic, which are still spoken today.¹² The “Book of Local Medicines” contains recipes for specific ailments, again beginning at the head and moving down the human body, as well as some medico-magical traditions and local botanical information.¹³ Again this third section has received comparatively little attention.

Following these three parts, there is a list of plants in alphabetical order, accompanied where possible by explanations and Arabic glosses (ff. 285a–289b), and a colophon (ff. 289b–290a). Shortly after the publication of the *SBM*, Immanuel Löw published some notes on the list of plants, which followed an earlier review of the whole work by Carl Brockelmann.¹⁴

For most of the one hundred years since its publication, the *SBM* did not fare particularly well. This is in part due to the general lack of interest among both Syriacists and medical historians in the Syriac medical traditions.¹⁵ There are, however, more nefarious reasons, namely certain scholarly prejudices that dominated the field, particularly at the turn of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ A good example of the latter is provided by William Wright, erstwhile professor of Arabic at the University of Cambridge, who, at the very start of his account of Syriac literature, gave the following damning assessment that displays both the racism and anti-Semitism that was ubiquitous in his day:

to reject evidence that is philological, and then to accept that no such philological evidence exists. To add insult to injury, Becker (having rejected Budge's philologically sound translation) asserts that Budge was probably unaware of why it has a sound philological basis, and suggests that Budge has replicated what other British colonialists perpetrated in respect of the Indian cast system. We would suggest that Budge's use of the term “native”, as a parenthetical gloss for “of the country”, need not be seen as nefarious—indeed, it is a pretty good, although perhaps dated explanation (notwithstanding his clear prejudices, for which see below). Overall, the tone of Becker's article, which includes references to British involvement in Iraq following the demise of the Ottoman Empire and George W. Bush, reflects the anti-Bush hysteria that dominated US campuses in the first decade of the twenty-first century, combined with a slightly nuanced form of Said's *Orientalism*. It is hoped that the critique of Budge and others offered here is more balanced.

12 See Mūšé 1993.

13 For example, see the two gynaecological recipes from f. 270b, both of which use terminology that is purely oriental (i.e. of Syriac, Akkadian or Middle Persian origin), with no Greek loanwords present—these are discussed in Bhayro forthcoming a.

14 See Löw 1916; Brockelmann 1914.

15 See Bhayro 2005, 149–152.

16 For discussions of how these prejudices perpetuated an historic injustice and reverberate even in contemporary scholarship, see Bhayro forthcoming b and c.

We must own—and it is well to make the confession at the outset—that the literature of Syria is, on the whole, not an attractive one. As Renan said long ago, the characteristic of the Syrians is a certain mediocrity. They shone neither in war, not in the arts, nor in science. They altogether lacked the poetic fire of the older—we purposely emphasize the word—the older Hebrews and of the Arabs. But they were apt enough as pupils of the Greeks; they assimilated and reproduced, adding little or nothing of their own.¹⁷

It is clear that, for Wright, the only virtuous content in Syriac literature was that which was inherited from the Greeks.

This very same prejudice is clear in Budge's own treatment of the *SBM*, particularly in the way he distinguished between the first part, with its use of Galen, and the second and third parts. Regarding the first part, Budge wrote:

The first section of the Book of Medicines consists of Lectures upon Human Anatomy, Pathology, and Therapeutics, to each of which is added a series of prescriptions of the most detailed character... These Lectures were translated from Greek into Syriac by a Syrian physician, who was probably a Nestorian, and who was well acquainted with Greek and Syriac; and he may well have been attached to one of the great Medical Schools... The style of the Syriac is fluent and good, and exhibits everywhere the touch of a master hand.¹⁸

In contrast to Budge's glowing introductory discussion of the first part, which runs to over six pages, his introductions to the second and third parts are as brief as they are dismissive. We quote them here in full:

The second section of the Book of Medicines is astrological in character, and was included in the manuscript by some student or scribe who could not free himself from the trammels of the beliefs of some of his contemporaries. Not satisfied with the medical system of Hippocrates he had recourse to omens, portents, spells, divinations, and if so whether the unborn child would be a boy or a girl. As a complete summary of the contents of this section, and a translation, are given further on nothing more need be said about it here.

17 Wright 1894, 1–2.

18 Budge 1913 (vol. 1), v.

The third section contains four hundred prescriptions, many of them of a most extraordinary character; these must have been written by “physicians” who were both ignorant and superstitious. These prescriptions have, however, some value, for they illustrate the folk-lore of a part of Mesopotamia, and preserve a number of popular beliefs and legends about birds, animals, magical roots, &c. The curious enquirer will find many parallels to them in statements made in medieval “Bestiaries”.¹⁹

It is clear, therefore, that both Wright and Budge approached Syriac literature with very similar prejudices—given that Budge studied under Wright at Cambridge, this is not such a great surprise.²⁰

The same impression of an incoherent collection is suggested by Budge’s depiction of the acquisition of the manuscript, where he speaks of:

a “Book of Medicine” according to the great Greek physicians, which was in use in the hospitals of Edessa and Nisibis in the early centuries of the Christian Era; a Book of Medicine compiled from the works of native authors, and from ancient Babylonian and Assyrian sources.²¹

A compelling argument for the intentional collocation of the texts—except for philological proof (see below)—is the contrastive analysis of the material as a compilation with other medical compilations. Rudolf has identified a genre in late medieval Greek medical literature that is quite similar to the arrangement of the *SBM*, the so-called *iatrosófia*, which were collections of academic Greek medical texts, mostly of Galenic origin, and “non-academic” folk-recipes.²²

Perhaps the most valuable work to date on the *SBM*, following the two initial efforts by Löw and Brockelmann, is that published by Joel Schleifer in a series of articles between 1926 and 1946.²³ In these articles, Schleifer, continuing the process started by Brockelmann, identified and analysed in great detail numerous Galenic elements contained in the first part of the *SBM*.

It is fair to say that the data collected by Brockelmann and Schleifer remain very much underexploited. A recent demonstration of this is provided in Véronique Boudon-Millot’s otherwise exemplary edition of Galen’s *Art of Medicine*,

19 Budge 1913 (vol. 1), xi.

20 Becker 2005, 182.

21 Budge 1920, 237.

22 See Rudolf 2014, 179.

23 See the list given in the Bibliography below.

in which the Syriac fragments preserved in the *SBM* are subjected to a problematic treatment despite the excellent analysis already offered by Schleifer over seventy years earlier.²⁴ Rather than point the finger at Boudon-Millot and her colleagues, however, it is clear that the blame for this very much lies with the peculiar history of Syriac scholarship in the decades following the publication of the *SBM*, in which the Syriac sciences have been either neglected or, when not neglected, mainly used negatively to make comparisons with the apparent success of the so-called “Graeco-Arabic” translation movement.²⁵

A happy exception to this trend can be found in the work of Philippe Gignoux, who has published several studies on the *SBM* and Syriac *materia medica*, with a particular focus on terms of Iranian origin. Another important contribution made by Gignoux is his identification of other manuscripts whose content is similar to that of the *SBM* (see below), two of which he used along with the *SBM* in the production of his lexicon of Syriac *materia medica*.²⁶ What is still missing, on the other hand, is an analysis of the recipes. Is it possible to relate this material to the Arabic *ḥawāṣṣ* genre, which is what Budge in all likelihood meant by “Bestiaries” (see above)?²⁷ A fascinating discovery was the identification of a recipe against hair loss preserved in the *SBM* with a fragment of a recipe book from Turfan.²⁸ Most recently, Alexey Muraviev has incorporated the *SBM* in his excellent treatment of the early history of Syriac medicine.²⁹ Furthermore, Bhayro has tried to contextualize the *SBM* in terms of the history of both the medical and astral sciences in the ancient and medieval Near East, with an emphasis on their resilience, and to bring their study out of the shadows of their Greco-Roman counterparts.³⁰

At first sight the material leaves quite a heterogeneous impression behind—astrometeorology, hemerologies, forecasts for the success of a marriage, and a mythological account of the formation of clouds and eclipses seem to have little in common. However, they all share a divinatory element, which in turn links them to popular medicine. This sort of divination can be described as

24 Compare Boudon-Millot 2000, 232, with Schleifer 1926a, 107; see also the discussion in Bhayro 2013, 128–133.

25 See Bhayro forthcoming b and c.

26 See the list given in the Bibliography below; see also the account in Brock 2011, 101–102.

27 This genre contains prescriptions arranged according to body parts of animals. Each body part is described in respect of its potential versatility for recipes. In some cases Dreckapotheke-recipes are also included. See Raggetti forthcoming.

28 Maróth 1984.

29 Muraviev 2014.

30 In addition to these studies already mentioned, see also Bhayro forthcoming d.

astral divination, which means a simplified form of Greek astrology.³¹ Frequently, another divinatory method is admixed, like gematria-like calculations based on the name of a sick person or their mother, or the day of the week—a widespread method in Late Antique divination.³²

Brockelmann agreed with Budge in his evaluation of the material as resembling Babylonian omen texts. This in turn raised the question, regarding similar material in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, of whether there was a common Aramaic divinatory lore rooted in old Mesopotamian astral-divination practices.³³ The problem of the absence of any word-to-word translation is ubiquitous in the study of Mesopotamian to Greek and Mesopotamian to Aramaic transmission of knowledge.³⁴ It is beyond question that there was some kind of transfer of knowledge from cuneiform to Aramaic sources, as Babylonian calculations (e.g. in the Aramaic Levi document) or astronomical elements (e.g. in the Book of Enoch) show.³⁵ However, for the widespread genre of divination and its “omen-like” derivations, it must be admitted that it was very easily adaptable and flexible. Due to its popularity it was transmitted, restructured and rephrased over centuries.³⁶ These traditions entered the present age, resulting in printed editions like the Arabic *malḥamāt*-tradition.³⁷

Some sources of this second part are undoubtedly of Greek origin, like the astrometeorological material that corresponds to Theophrastus *On Weather Signs*.³⁸ Other sources are hard to identify as the material appears in different corpora (in Mandaic, Arabic, Hebrew and Greek) that themselves are difficult to trace and date.³⁹

31 E.g. *nativities*, which are a simplified form of the horoscope. While a horoscope has to be very exact and take into account the location of every planet etc. at the precise time of birth, nativities are a generalised form of forecasting pertaining to all who are born under a specific zodiacal sign; see Rochberg 2004, 98 ff.

32 The accumulation of methods was probably intended to amplify their effect. For the earliest comments on this collection by Baumstark and Van de Vyver, see Rudolf 2014, 17–18.

33 See Greenfield and Sokoloff 1989; Greenfield and Sokoloff 2000.

34 A question also addressed by Geller; see Geller and Bohak 2013.

35 See Ben-Dov 2008.

36 E.g. the astrometeorological material can be arranged according to seasons/months, signs indicating bad/good weather, or the resulting weather conditions; see Sider and Brunschön 2007, 30.

37 See Rudolf 2014, 207; Fodor 1974.

38 See Rudolf 2014, 210.

39 See Rudolf 2014, 195–214.

A further problem is the lack of studies on Syriac astrological and divinatory terminology. For example, there are different lists of planetary names, one of which is closer to the Mandaic and Akkadian names, while the other represents a Syriacized form of the Greek names. Thus the impression emerges that several traditions were absorbed into a common Syriac repository. It may seem straightforward to separate the Eastern from the Western, or the older from the younger, material due to the names utilised. Nevertheless, this is clearly not the case. For example, the effect of the interaction of different planets, as described in a passage that uses the more "conservative" planetary names (*SBM*, 505), is known from Greek astrology, namely Vettius Valens *Anthology* I,21.⁴⁰

So much for the past one hundred years. What of the way forward?

As mentioned above, Budge's edition was based on a single copy of the text. Unfortunately the original manuscript is not extant for examination, so it seems impossible to decide whether the whole manuscript was a coherent compilation written by one hand or if the texts should be treated separately. In his introduction, Budge gives a short description of the original manuscript:

Its size was quarto, and it was bound in the ordinary thick, brown leather covers of the period. It was, unfortunately, incomplete. Three or four quires at the beginning, and three or four in the middle, and several leaves at the end of the manuscript, were wanting. From a few of the leaves portions had been torn away. During the short examination of the manuscript which I was permitted to make I found nothing that showed where, when, or by whom it had been written. Its size and general appearance suggested that it had been copied in some monastery on or near the Tigris, in which it had formed part of the library, for had it been intended for the private use of some monk, the manuscript would have been of smaller size.⁴¹

A definite answer to the question of the character and originality of the compilation could be provided by an evaluation of all extant manuscripts and an analysis of how they vary. Was the compilation fixed or variable? Were certain parts considered more important? A critical edition would not just address the philological questions, therefore, but could also help to illuminate the textual history of a group of texts that are very much neglected.

40 See Rudolf 2014, 260.

41 Budge 1913 (vol. 1), xl.

In the introduction to his lexicon, Gignoux wrote:

L'édition serait en effet à refaire, mais comme elle était basée sur un seul manuscrit qui apparemment a complètement disparu, l'entreprise est vouée à l'échec.⁴²

While the situation is not as bleak as Gignoux suggests,⁴³ the need for a new edition is very clear.

We propose to pursue this in three parts because, as we shall outline momentarily, each part of the *SBM* presents distinct problems. But simply reediting BL Or. 9360 is not in itself sufficient. There are other manuscripts that should also be treated as part of the same project. We suggest a critical edition with Budge's copy as the main text, which offers the variations found in the manuscripts presented below as apparatus. The following list of manuscripts will explain why each part merits its own treatment.

Berlin Ms. or. fol. 319 has striking similarities with Budge's edition: the same two chapters are missing at the beginning of the text, and lacunas are to be found in the same passages. The same is true for its marginal notes and vocalization. The text is not the same, however, as the edited *SBM*. Some of the recipes are missing, and the second astrological part is completely omitted except for the table with Old Syriac numerals (*SBM*, 446). The list of plant names is richer in content, but has less Arabic glosses. Assfalg, in his description of the manuscript, assumed that it must have shared the same *Vorlage* with the *SBM*.⁴⁴

Manuscript N-Dsém (J1833) was recorded by Scher and described as three disjointed collections. It was copied in 1883 from a manuscript in Alqosh. The entry in his catalogue allows us to accept that this represents another copy of the *SBM*—at least for the first and last parts. The first part, again, misses the first two chapters, and the third part is likewise introduced with the same title *spr smmn' r'ny'*, "Book of Local Medicines". The selective description Scher

42 Gignoux 2011a, 9.

43 Indeed, there is much reason for optimism, such as the recent award of a major AHRC grant to publish the Syriac Galen Palimpsest—see Bhayro, Hawley, Kessel and Pormann 2013. Furthermore, one of the aims of the ERC-funded *Floriental* project, based in Paris under the leadership of Robert Hawley, is to place the Syriac *materia medica* in its Near Eastern context with reference to other lexicons (e.g. Akkadian, Arabic etc.), as well as to publish BL Add. 14661. If all goes according to plan, the next few years should witness the publication of many Syriac medical texts.

44 See Assfalg 1963, 140; Rudolf 2014, 24.

offers in his catalogue impedes an evaluation of the second part. Besides the titles of passages, which should accord with the corresponding passages in the *SBM*: “Notice sur les jours du mois de tamouz [...], compte des litrés et des mithqals” etc.,⁴⁵ he mentions a book of dreams. Dream interpretation was very common in Late Antique medical therapy but is, surprisingly, ignored by the compiler of the *SBM*'s second part.

For John Rylands Library syr. 44 (18th–19th cent.), Coakley, in his catalogue, already suggests allocations for several passages with their disconnected counterparts in the *SBM* that stem exclusively from the second part, e.g. “the five planets and their computation” (= *SBM*, 486–487), “on which day there is moonlight” (= *SBM*, 530), “when you want to go east” (= *SBM*, 471).⁴⁶

British Library Ms. or. 4434 (fol. 93v–108r) contains a collection of recipes corresponding more or less to the third part of the *SBM*. Fol. 1v–93r, in its iatromathematical approach, is reminiscent of the *SBM*'s second part. Around twenty passages have been identified by Rudolf as the West Syriac equivalent of passages incorporated into the *SBM*.⁴⁷ These passages are complemented by various types of divination pertaining to wealth and sickness, the evil eye, marriage etc.,⁴⁸ but also prayers and dream divination.

Gottheil's article on Syriac folk medicine cites no more than eight out of sixty-six folios of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. Syriaque 325.⁴⁹ These sixty-six folios cover the entire third part of the *SBM*, but no more. The manuscript was copied near Alqosh in 1888, just a few years before Budge's copy was made. The same applies to Urm 81, a manuscript dating to the nineteenth century, which contains the third part of the *SBM*. As for two other manuscripts with folk medical prescriptions from the same library, we have to regret the fact that they were destroyed in a fire.⁵⁰ Another difficulty we encounter is the inaccessibility of the manuscripts in the private collections that were mentioned by Al-Jeloo.⁵¹ Finally, there is also Harvard Syr. 132 and Mingana Syr. 559,⁵² and Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate 6/1 (Damascus).⁵³ Furthermore, Gignoux identified

45 Scher 1906, 79.

46 See Coakley 1993, 169–170.

47 See Rudolf 2014, 27–30.

48 For a partial edition, see Furlani 1918.

49 For which, see Gottheil 1899; see also Bhayro 2005, 151 (n. 18); Rudolf 2014, 24.

50 The catalogue is the last remnant testifying to the past wealth of the library; see Sarau 1898.

51 See Al-Jeloo 2012.

52 For which, see Brock 2011, 101–102.

53 For which, see Brock 2011, 101.

two more manuscripts (BN ms. Syriac 423 and Mingana Syr. 594A),⁵⁴ and Brock recalls another two in Leuven.⁵⁵

As stated above, each distinct part of the *SBM* presents a different set of issues and challenges. For the first part, the main issue is the presence of thematic abridgements of earlier Syriac translations of Greek texts, principally Galen, but also Dioscurides. An example of how such passages should be treated, with reference to the earlier work of Budge and Schleifer, has been published.⁵⁶ As so little is known about the scientific translation technique of Sergius and his circle in the sixth century, a systematic analysis of all the parallel Greek and Syriac passages should be undertaken—in other words, the immense contribution of Schleifer needs to be analysed and properly disseminated.

For the second part, we suggest to add the intertextual material in Hebrew, Mandaic and Arabic as an appendix. Even for some of the Syriac passages it would make more sense to edit them separately, because the arrangement of passages is quite incongruent by contrast with other manuscripts of the “same” text, as is the case with the Pseudo-Dionysian cosmology.⁵⁷

For the third part, the main issue is the terminology employed within, and the origins of, each remedy. Again, examples of how these recipes should be analysed have been given.⁵⁸ Paying close attention to the use of Iranian, Akkadian, and Greek loanwords, as well as Syriac terms, it should be possible to discern (with a varying degree of certainty) the origins of the practical medical lore contained in this part.

The interaction of Greek, Babylonian and Aramaic medical traditions that we encounter in the *SBM* very much represents the broadly conceived field of interest covered by Mark Geller. Without his encouraging and curious manner these questions would have never arisen.

54 For which, see Brock 2011, 102; see also Gignoux 1998–1999; Gignoux 2009a; Gignoux 2009b; and the introduction to Gignoux 2011a.

55 For which, see Brock 2011, 102; see also entries 21 and 22 in De Halleux 1987, 45–46.

56 See Bhayro 2013.

57 See Rudolf 2014, 199; Furlani 1917; Kugener 1907.

58 See Bhayro 2013; Bhayro forthcoming a.

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An Old Babylonian List of Sheep Body Parts (BM 29663)

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BM 29663 is a small and fully preserved tablet, apart from some damage to a few lines on the reverse. It is written in Old Babylonian script, and therefore it is to be dated to the Old Babylonian period. The tablet is categorized as “a lexical list(?)” at the British Museum website, but in fact, more precisely, it is a list of sheep body parts and inner organs.¹ As will be demonstrated, this is a learned composition that shares its contents with the Ritual of the Diviner, the *šumma immeru* omen series, and, in general, extispicy literature. The list

* The author wishes to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for kindly granting him permission to publish the tablet. I have studied the tablet in the British Museum during February 2015. I extend my thanks to Zsombor Földi who brought the tablet to my attention and who assisted further in correctly reading the first line of the reverse of the tablet (entry 19). I also thank Uri Gabbay, Takayoshi Oshima, Nathan Wasserman, and Avi Winitzer for their comments and suggestions; naturally all responsibility for the article lies with the author. The study of the tablet is part of my ongoing research project on the *šumma immeru* omen series, supported by an ISF Grant, No. 360/12. A monograph dedicated to the series and related texts is forthcoming. Abbreviations follow the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*.

1 It is found at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx under 29663. And see also Sigrist et al. 2006, 229: “Lexical list; parts of a sheep; Larsa script; 1+2 cols.” Földi kindly provided me with two references to the tablet in the literature: Stol (2007, 675; a review of Sigrist et al. 2006), who remarked that “Marcel Sigrist showed me his transliteration: it is full of rare words and has no parallel. A text written *ad hoc*?” However, as will be demonstrated, this is not entirely the case. And Richardson (2010, 241, n. 80), who wrote that Marcel Sigrist has “brought to my attention a comparison between BM 29663, an unpublished Ur III list of anatomical terms; cf. YOS 13 [Author’s note: correct to YOS 10] 47–49, where only a minority of terms are shared.” Richardson is certainly correct in his observation, but it is more than a minority of terms that are shared with YOS 10 47–49 (the *šumma immeru* omen series); the dating of the tablet to the Ur III period is not likely, firstly, because almost the whole text is written in syllabic Akkadian, and secondly, its contents have parallels with other Old Babylonian compositions. Note that I have neither utilized nor received any notes or transliterations made by M. Sigrist, although I have received from him (via e-mail) an approval to publish the text because he has no intention to do so.

is apparently a unique specimen without parallel. However, a rather broken Akkadian-Hittite list found in Boğazköy/Ḫattuša, *KBo* 1.51, shows some similarity to BM 29663. This opens the way to discuss the possibility that there was a tradition of compiling lists of sheep body parts, whose purpose apparently was to aid the diviners during their apprenticeship and practice.

The tablet contains eighteen entries on its obverse. Its reverse is divided into two columns: col. ii contains likewise eighteen (or perhaps nineteen) entries, but col. iii is shorter, having only ten entries. In total, the tablet holds forty-seven or forty-six entries. Each entry in the list is marked by a single wedge (“u”), apart from the last six entries of the list on col. iii. The edition and copy of the tablet will be followed by a translation and a lexicographical commentary, and then a discussion. In order to facilitate our treatment of this composition, the lexical entries in the text are numbered independently of the line numbers of each column.

Edition

Obverse col. i

- | | | |
|-----|-----|--|
| 1) | 1. | UDU |
| 2) | 2. | <i>qá-aq-qá-du</i> |
| 3) | 3. | <i>ki-ša-a-du</i> |
| 4) | 4. | <i>na-ap-ša-at</i> UDU |
| 5) | 5. | <i>ki-im-šum</i> |
| 6) | 6. | <i>is-rum?</i> /[<i>r</i>] <i>u?</i> |
| 7) | 7. | <i>la-ar-sí-nu</i> |
| 8) | 8. | [<i>k</i>] <i>i-ša-al-lu</i> |
| 9) | 9. | <i>ku¹-ru</i> |
| 10) | 10. | <i>ni-im-šu</i> |
| 11) | 11. | <i>ša-ḫa-tum</i> |
| 12) | 12. | <i>pu-qù-un-nu</i> |
| 13) | 13. | <i>zi-ib-ba-tum</i> |
| 14) | 14. | <i>qí-in¹-na-tum</i> |
| 15) | 15. | <i>i-ir¹-tum</i> |
| 16) | 16. | <i>ka-as-ka-s</i> [<i>úm</i>] |
| 17) | 17. | [<i>n</i>] <i>a-a-a-ba-at</i> |
| 18) | 18. | <i>ku-nu-uk</i> UDU |

Reverse, col. ii

- 19) 1. *ra¹-pa-aš-t[u]m*
 20) 2. *[ki-is]-lum*
 21) 3. *x x x*
 22) 4. *x x x (empty line?)*
 23) 5. *[(x)] a²-lum*
 24) 6. *ṛt¹-mī-ṛit¹-t[um]*
 25) 7. *še-lum*
 26) 8. *ṭù-li-mu*
 27) 9. *kàr-šum*
 28) 10. *ri-qí-tum*
 29) 11. *ḥa-ab-šu-tum*
 30) 12. *ṛku-ku-ud¹-ru*
 31) 13. *[sà-ar-k]a-at*
 32) 14. *[ku-ku]-ba-tum*
 33) 15. *s[u]-ṛru¹-mu-um*
 34) 16. *qí-ṛir¹-[b]u*
 35) 17. *šu-ṛuḥ¹-ḥu*
 36) 18. *ba-am-tum*
 37) 19. *ša-ša-al-lum*

Reverse, col. iii

- 38) 1. *šu-up-tum*
 39) 2. *šu-pa-at šu-up-ṛtim¹*
 40) 3. *šu-ut-ṛqú¹*
 41) 4. *ḥi-im-šum*
 42) 5. *il-la-ab-bu¹-ṛḥu¹*
 43) 6. *ka-li-tum*
 44) 7. *ka-li-it bi-ir-ki*
 45) 8. *pu-ug-lu*
 46) 9. *ur-ḥu-du*
 47) 10. *na-ap-ša¹-ṛru¹*



FIGURE 8.1 *BM 29663, obverse*



FIGURE 8.2 *BM 29663, reverse*

Translation and Lexicographical Commentary

1. UDU → *immeru*, “sheep”. Written logographically in this text.
2. *qá-aq-qá-du* → *qaqqadu*, “head”. The spelling with *ga* = *qá* is common to Old Babylonian; see the examples in *CAD* Q 104–105.
3. *ki-ša-a-du* → *kišādu*, “neck”, “neck region”.
4. *na-ap-ša-at* UDU → *napšat immeri*, “sheep’s throat” (*CAD* N/1 304a).
5. *ki-im-šum* → *kimšum*, “hock” (*CAD* K 373–375).
6. *is-rum*?/[*r*]u² → *isrum*, “part of the leg”. The second sign of the two-sign word is possibly “*rum*”, but one can consider also a very partly preserved “*ru*” sign. The identification of this body-part has not yet been settled, although it is clear that it is to be associated with the lower region of the animal leg.² Although the *isrum* does not appear in the *šumma immeru* series, this body-part opens the *bārūtu* series of the diviner. It is equated in a commentary (K 3978+; see n. 12) to the *larsīnu*, “hoof” (No. 7), although both terms should be considered distinct body-parts. The mention of the two body parts, one following the other in this text, supports an anatomical connection between the two; further discussion in Cohen 2016, 88–89.
7. *la-ar-sí-nu* → *larsīnu*, “hoof” (*CAD* L 103); further discussion in Cohen 2016, 88–89.
8. [*k*]i-ša-al-lu → *kišallu*, “tarsal calcaneus” (*CAD* K 434–435). Although usually translated as the astragal bone, it is more likely that the term refers to the tarsal calcaneus or tarsal bone. Unlike the astragal, this bone can be seen and felt on the outside of the animal’s leg.
9. *ku¹-ru* → *kurū*, “short-(bone)”(?), *kurru* “body part” (*CAD* K 565)(?). The reading of the first sign as “*ku*” is difficult: consider it an incomplete sign. If this reading is accepted, however, compare this term with *kurītu*, “shin” (*CAD* K 560). The word *kurru* is found in *TDP*, 236, Tablet KIMIN 1: 49–50, in sequence with the backbone (*ešenšēru*), the hips (*qablū*) and buttocks (*qinnātu*).
10. *ni-im-šu* → *nimšu*, “sciatic nerve”, “sinew” (*CAD* N/2 235; *CAD* Š/2 309; Starr 1983, 64).
11. *ša-ḥa-tum* → *šaḥātu*, “inner leg”(?). The reading is not certain. The term is not recognized from other sources as a sheep body part. However, according to *CAD* Š/1 84, *šaḥātu* can mean the arm-pit (cf. Hebrew

2 Heeßel 2012, 52; cf. *CAD* I–J 203 (“a part of the exta”).

beit-sehi) of humans, and the wing of a bird.³ Hence it is reasonable to assume that the term meant the inner leg of the sheep, given the context. The following term may be anatomically related to it.

12. *pu-qù-un-nu* → *puqunnu*, “leg-part”(?), “back of the knee”(?). The reading of the signs in this entry is not secure. The word is possibly related to *pūqu*, a term which may be understood as the back (of a human) knee, according to Heeßel 2000, 30, n. 48, and not “buttocks”, per *CAD* P 514. See further discussion on *pūqu*, Foxvog 1989, 170–171.
13. *zi-ib-ba-tum* → *zibbatum*, “tail” (*CAD* Z 100–102).
14. *qí-in¹-na-tum* → *qinnatum*, “anus”, “rear” (*CAD* Q 254).
15. *i-ir¹-tum* → *irtum*, “chest”, “breast bone” (*CAD* I–J 183–188).
16. *ka-as-ka-s[úm]* → *kaskasum*, “breast bone”, “xiphoid process” (*CAD* K 244; Heeßel 2012, 43).
17. *na-a-a-ba-at* → *nayyabat* (*nayyabtu*), “floating rib” (*CAD* N/1 151–152). The term is in the bound form, because its rectus may be understood as *šēli*, “(of the) rib”, the *kaskasi*, “(of the) breast bone”, or even the *imмери*, “(of the) sheep”, although it is not expressed.
18. *ku-nu-uk* UDU → *kunuk immerim*, “sheep vertebra” (*CAD* K 543, 547–548). *Kunukku*—a (cylinder)-seal—is borrowed as a body part because of its resemblance to the vertebrae. The term can be expressed also as *kunuk ešenšēri*, “vertebrae of the spine” (*CAD* E 343–344).
19. *ra¹-pa-aš-t[u]m* → *rapaštum*, “loins” (*CAD* R 152). The term is not found in extispicy, as far as can be ascertained, but it is known from omen and medical literature. It is treated as a single body part in the *šumma izbu* series; see, e.g., De Zorzi 2014, 578 (§ 84’), and 61 (with text citations). The term apparently can stand as a euphemism for the male organ. Note that it is written logographically either as GIŠ.KUN (“wood”-tail) or ÚR.KUN (“thigh”-tail).
20. [*ki-is*]-*lum* → *kislum*, “transverse process” (*CAD* K 425). The first two signs are lost, except for faint traces. The restoration of *kislum* is supported by the clear ending *-lum* and by the fact that *kislu(m)* follows *kunuk ešenšēri*, “vertebrae” (No. 18) in the sequence of body parts as recorded by the *šumma immeru* omen series; see below.
- 21–22 Lost or unclear.
23. *a²-lum* → *alum*?, “body part”(?). The reading of the line is not secure (the sign “a” may as well be “2”). Because of the condition of the tablet, it is also unclear if there is a sign before “a”. If not, there remains

3 Also Heeßel 2000, 152, 157 (Tablet 15: 30–31).

the question why the word was not aligned to the left of the column like in the other entries. UR₅-RA=*hubullu* 15: 32–33b (*MSL* 9, 7) provides an equation of UZU.GÚ.MUR with *urudu*, “trachea”, and of UZU.SAG.GÚ.MUR with *qaqqadu*, “head”. In the lexical list, both Sumerian terms are equated with *a-lu-ú*. Hence, one may suppose that in UR₅-RA=*hubullu*, *a-lu-ú* was some body part related to the head or throat region. Is this the word we are facing in the entry before us? The problem with accepting such an interpretation is that in this section the list appears to focus on the ribs and rib cage.

24. *l̄-mi-l̄-it̄-t[um]* → *imittum*, “shoulder”, “part of (animal or human) body” (*CADI*–J 125). The reading is very conjectural because of the condition of the tablet. Moreover, the term does not appear as a body part worthy of separate observation in extispicy literature.
25. *še-lum* → *šēlum*, “rib” (*CAD* Š 124–126).
26. *ṭù-li-mu* → *ṭulīmu*, “spleen” (*CAD* Ṭ 124–125). The term is spelled here as in a few Old Babylonian extispicy compositions (e.g., *YOS* 10 41: 15; *YOS* 10 11: ii 24), with *du* = *ṭù*. In the HAR-GUD tablet explicating UR₅-RA=*hubullu* 15 (*MSL* 9, 35 and 37), the entry [UZU].ŠĀ.GIG is equated to Akkadian *šagikkum* (wr. ŠU-*kum*, where ŠU is a notation that means “read as the Sumerian column”), which in turn is equated to *ṭulīmu*.
27. *kàr-šum* → *karšum*, “rumen”, “first stomach” (*CAD* K 223–224; Starr 1983, 92 ff.). The spelling with *qar* = *kàr* is found in the Ritual of the Diviner; see below.
28. *ri-qí-tum* → *riqītu*, “omasum”, “third stomach” (*CAD* R 367–368; Starr 1983, 92 ff.). The term is known in extispicy and other learned texts as the sheep’s stomach and in medical texts as the human stomach. Compared already by Moran (1967) to the term *rqyṭh* found in the Palestinian Targum, which translates Hebrew *qēbā*.
29. *ḥa-ab-šu-tum* → *ḥabšutum*, “stomach-part”, “reticulum”(?) (*CAD* H 18). This is a stomach part of the sheep which is rarely mentioned; see below.
30. *ku-ku-ud¹-ru* → *kukkudru*, “abomasum”, “fourth stomach” (*CAD* K 500; Starr 1983, 92 ff.).
31. [*sà-ar-k*]*a-at* → *sarkat(u)*, *sarqat(u)*, “duodenum” (*CAD* S 178; Starr 1983, 92 ff.). Another term in the construct state. The rectus is probably to be understood as *kukkudri(m)*, because the duodenum leaves the abomasum. However, the rectus may also be *išdi* (SUḪUŠ), “base”; consider K 3667+: iii 13’–14’: BE *ku-ku-ud-ru sar-qat* SUḪUŠ *ri-qí-tum* / BE *sar-qat ri-qí-tum*, “The abomasum (equals) *sarqat* of the ‘base’ of

the omasum / the *sarqat* (equals) the omasum.” Other interpretations are possible, but further research is required here; for K 3667+, see n. 12.

32. [ku-ku]-*ba-tum* → *kukkubatum*, “stomach-part”, “reticulum”(?) (CAD K 499). Note that half of the word is restored, but the signs [...]-*ba-tum* are clear. In the HAR-GUD commentary to UR₅-RA=*hubullu* 15: 68 (MSL 9, 35), *kukkubatum* is equated to the *pī karši*, “reticulum”, but also to *kukkubānu ša šaḥī*, “a pig’s stomach”.
33. s[u]-^rru⁻-*mu-um* → *surummum*, “intestinal tract”, “rectum”, (CAD S 416; Starr 1983, 93). The first two signs are almost completely obliterated, but the ending *-mu-um* is clear, hence it is obvious what the body part should be. There is some discussion regarding this body part, although it is clear that it is a part of the sheep’s digestive system; De Zorzi 2014, 543 (§ 107), 558.
34. qí-^rir⁻-[b]u → *qerbū*, “intestines”, “small intestine” (CAD Q 226; Starr 1983, 92 ff.). The first two signs are almost completely missing, but the distinctive tail-ending of the “*bu*” sign is rather clear, hence the choice of *qerbū*.
35. šu-^ruḥ⁻-*ḥu* → *šuhḥu*, “part of the intestine”, “caecum” (CAD Š/3 206–207; Starr 1983, 92 ff.).
36. *ba-am-tum* → *bamtum*, “ribs”, “side of the body” (CAD B 78–79).
37. ša-ša-*al-lum* → *šašallum*, “back”, “back muscles”. CAD Š/2 168–170, translates *šašallu(m)* as the tendon of the hoof or heel, but it can be argued that this is a term for the back or back muscles; see Cohen 2016; George 2013, 144.
38. šu-*up-tum* → *šuptum*/*šubtum*, “inner part” (CAD Š/3 184–185; Starr 1983, 94). The term remains unidentified.
39. šu-*pa-at* šu-*up-^rtim⁻* → *šupat*/*šubat* *šuptim*/*šubtim*, “inner part” (Starr 1983, 94). The term is unidentified.
40. šu-*ut-^rqú⁻* → *šutqu*, “cleft”, “esophagus”(?) (CAD Š/3 404; George 2013, 144).
41. ḥi-*im-šum* → *ḥimšum*, “omentum” (CAD H 192; Foxvog 1989, 171).
42. il-*la-ab-bu⁻ḥu⁻* → *illabuḥu*, “bladder” (CAD E 89–90, where alternative spellings can be found, e.g., *elibbuḥu*, *ellambuḥu*, *illibbuḥu*, *libbuḥu*, etc.). The last sign, barely preserved, may be -^rḥi⁻, and not the expected -*ḥu*.
43. *ka-li-tum* → *kalitum*, “kidney” (CAD K 74–76).
44. *ka-li-it* bi-^rir-*ki⁻* → *kalīt birki*, “testicles” (CAD K 74).
45. *pu-ug-lu* → *puglu*, “unclear body part”. CAD P 476 suggests to translate the term as a part of the sheep’s liver but this is far from certain. This is

the only attestation known to me of this word, apart from its appearance in YOS 10 36: iv 10–17. See the discussion below.

46. *ur-ḫu-du* → *urḫudu*, “trachea” (CAD U–W 267–269).
 47. *na-ap-ša'-ru* → *napšāru*, “uvula” (CAD N/1 317).

Discussion

Forty-six or forty-five body parts of the sacrificial sheep are listed in BM 29663. The list begins with the entry UD U, “sheep”, apparently as its title: the logogram is aligned to the right of the line. The first body part is the head, followed by the neck or neck region and throat (Nos. 2–4). Then come the parts of the leg and the rear end of the sheep (Nos. 5–14). The chest area and rib cage with the vertebrae are listed next (Nos. 15–25). The list follows with inner and stomach parts of the sheep (Nos. 26–35).⁴ The sheep’s frame, the back muscles, as well as some unidentified body parts occupy the next entries (Nos. 36–41). The list closes with the bladder, kidney, testicles, and three body parts in the region of the throat (Nos. 42–47).

The remarkable character of the tablet is revealed when we notice that the terms it lists are neither chosen nor arranged arbitrarily. These are body parts of the sacrificial sheep that were studied and analyzed by the diviner during the practice of extispicy. They occur in two main sources—the Ritual of the Diviner and the *šumma immeru* omen series—as well as in a few other divination compositions.⁵ Some of the items given in the list also appear in Tablet 15 of the canonical version of the lexical list UR₅-RA=*ḫubullu* that provides over three-hundred lexical entries for body parts.⁶ However, enough terms in our list are typical of, if not unique to, divination literature (e.g., *isrum*, *larsīnu*, *šutqu*). Moreover, the order of the body parts in BM 29663 is dependent on

4 The details will be presented below, but for now it can be pointed out that the knowledge the ancients had about the working of the sheep’s stomach is nicely illustrated by the next few lines (from an incantation; KAR 165 10–12): *pū ana karši karši ana riqi[tī] riqītu ana arkat inam[din] imaqqut piqannu(a.gar.gar)-ma sassatu imah[ḫar]*, “The mouth (delivers the food) to the rumen, the rumen to the omasum, the omasum del[ivers] to the rear; dung falls out and the grass receives it.” After Moran 1967, 179.

5 The Ritual of the Diviner = Starr 1983. There is no edition of the Old Babylonian recension of *šumma immeru* (Goetze 1948 = YOS 10 47–49); see for now Cohen 2007 and 2016; George 2013, No. 22; Heeßel 2012, Nos. 83 and 85; Meissner 1933 and also Glassner 2009 and 2011.

6 UR-RA₅=*ḫubullu* 15 (MSL 9, 1–30).

the rather well-established order of the inspection of the sacrificial sheep for divinatory purposes. This suggests that the list in front of us originated in the milieu of the diviner. Of course, this is not to deny that the lexical list tradition that enumerates (sheep) body parts, such as UR₅-RA=*hubullu* 15, was influenced by divination terminology. However, what makes BM 29663 (and *KBo* 1.15, as will be discussed below) distinct from the lexical tradition is the omission of the Sumerian/logographic column, found in almost all types of lexical lists.

The Ritual of the Diviner informs us that the inspection of the sacrificial sheep began with the head region, with the diviner standing at the rear of the sheep with its head away from him. The same procedure is evident in the *šumma immeru* omen series. And there, with the start of the inspection, the diviner proceeded to examine the eyes, ears, mouth, tongue, jaw, teeth, nose, temple, nape, cheek, and trachea. The next organs to be inspected were the lower parts of the sheep and its leg parts. Compare the following table (numeration of the body parts in *šumma immeru* and the Ritual of the Diviner follows their sequence in the texts and not the line numbers):

BM 29663		<i>šumma immeru</i>		Ritual of the Diviner	
2	<i>qá-aq-qá-du</i>	1	[<i>re-ša-šu</i>]	1	<i>re-eš im-me-ri-im</i> head
3	<i>ki-ša-a-du</i>	2	<i>ki-ša-as-sú</i>		neck
4	<i>na-ap-ša-at</i> UDU			2	<i>na-ap-ša-at im-me-ri-im</i> throat
5	<i>ki-im-šum</i>				shin
6	<i>is-rum</i>			9	<i>is-ra-am</i> (as offering) leg-part
7	<i>la-ar-sí-nu</i>	7	<i>la-ar-sí-nu</i>		fetlock
8	<i>ki-ša-al-lu</i>	6	<i>ki-ša-lum</i>		tarsal
9	<i>ku¹-ru</i>				leg part
10	<i>ni-im-šu</i>	3	<i>ni-im-šu-šu</i>	5	<i>nim-šu</i> sciatic nerve
11	<i>ša-ḥa-tum</i>				back of knee
12	<i>pu-qù-un-nu</i>				body part
13	<i>zi-ib-ba-tum</i>	4	<i>zi¹-ib¹-ba-as-sú</i>	4	<i>zi-ib-ba-tum</i> tail
14	<i>qí-in¹-na-tum</i>	5	<i>qí-in-na-tum</i>		anus
15	<i>i-ir¹-tum</i>	8	<i>irtum</i> (GABA)	3	<i>i-ir-tum</i> breast
16	<i>ka-as-ka-s[ú]m</i>	9	<i>ka-as-ka-sú</i>	8	<i>ka-as-ka-su-um</i> xiphoid
17	<i>na-a-a-ba-at</i>	11	<i>nayyabātu</i> (KAK.TI)		floating rib
18	<i>ku-nu-uk</i> UDU	12	<i>ku-nu-uk e-še-em-še-ri-im</i>	6	<i>ku-nu-uk e-še-em-še-ri-im</i> vertebra
19	<i>ra¹-pa-aš-t[u]m</i>				loins
20	[<i>ki-is</i>]-lum	13	<i>ki-is-li</i>	7	<i>ki-is-ri</i> (for <i>kislu</i>) trans. process

BM 29663	<i>šumma immeru</i>	Ritual of the Diviner
21–23	lost	
24	^r i ¹ -mi- ^r it ¹ -t[um]	
25	še-lum	10 še-lum rib-cage

The twenty-one body parts listed in BM 29663 are parallel with thirteen items in *šumma immeru*, and with nine in the Ritual of the Diviner. Note that three body parts present in *šumma immeru*, *šuburru*, “rear”, *naglabu*, “shoulder bone”, and *ešmētum ša singaggaritum*, “reed-dam bone”, are missing from BM 29663.⁷ The body part *isrum* is missing from the *šumma immeru* omens, although present in the Ritual of the Diviner as a ritual offering at the closing of the ritual (l. 136). We can mention that the first chapter of the great *bārūtu* series was called *isru*: it consisted of four tablets, dealing with the *isru*, the *kunukku* (vertebra), *sikkat šēli* (the ribs), and the *kaskasu* (breastbone or xiphoid process).

The body part *kinšu* (No. 5) does not appear in the Old Babylonian recension of *šumma immeru* but it appears (as *kinšu*) in the later Neo-Assyrian version of the series, in fact in its opening line:⁸

§ 1 [šumma immeru uz]nā kurri pū uznā huṭṭimmi kinši šupur šalim 14 tīrā-nūšu

§ 1 [If a sheep, (its) ea]rs are short and it is black in regard to the mouth, the ears, snout, the hocks, the nail-hoof(s), it will have 14 intestine coils.

Three body-parts of the list remain without counterparts (Nos. 9, 11 and 12) and their exact meaning remains conjectural at this point.

The next section in BM 29663 is concerned with the area and parts of the stomach; see figs. 8.3 and 8.4.⁹ The following correspondence with the Ritual of the Diviner can be observed.

7 For *ešmētum ša singaggaritum* ← ^{*}(e)šem-qān-irritim, “reed-dam bone”, perhaps the metatarsus, see Cohen 2016. The etymology offered by Militarev and Kogan 2000, 96–98 (on the basis of *AHw* 1039), is therefore incorrect: the bone-part has nothing to do with Hebrew *gorgeret* and other Semitic cognates, and is definitely not to be located in the throat region.

8 See for now Meissner 1933.

9 The identification of the body parts related to the sheep’s stomach follows Starr 1983, 92–95; see also Moran 1967; Goetze 1948, 8–9; Hussey 1948.

BM 29963		Ritual of the Diviner	
26	<i>tù-li-mu</i>		spleen
27	<i>kàr-šum</i>	1	<i>kàr-šum</i> rumen
28	<i>ri-qí-tum</i>	2	<i>ri-qí-tum</i> omasum
29	<i>ḥa-ab-šu-tum</i>		stomach-part
30	<i>ku-ku-[ud]-ru</i>	3	<i>ku-ku-ud-rum</i> abomasum
31	<i>[sà-ar-k]a-at</i>	4	<i>sà-ar-ka-at</i> duodenum
32	<i>[ku-ku]-ba-tum</i>		reticulum
33	<i>[su]-^rru¹-mu-um</i>	7	<i>su-ru-mu-um</i> rectum
34	<i>qí-^rir¹-[b]u</i>	5	<i>qí-ir-bu</i> small intestine
35	<i>šu-^ruḥ¹-ḥu</i>	6	<i>šu-ḥu-um</i> caecum

There is a correspondence of seven terms out of ten between the two compositions. Some of these stomach parts appear together in UR₅-RA=*ḥubullu* 15: 99–127 (*MSL* 9, 9–10); for example, *surummu* (l. 119) and *sargatum* (l. 124).¹⁰ Two terms in BM 29663, however, lack correspondence with the Ritual of the Diviner. One of them, *kukkubātum* is so far apparently only attested in the lexical tradition; see above under No. 32. The other, *ḥabšutum*, apart from our tablet, appears in two sources.¹¹ The first is K 3978+: iii 62 (with a parallel text, K 3667+: iii 12), a commentary dedicated to Chapter 1 of the *bārātu* that lists some stomach parts we have met above. It gives the following equation: BE *ḥab-šu-tum pi-i kar-ši*, “the *ḥabšutum* (equals) the reticulum”.¹² As is typical of such commentaries, the equation was provided to illuminate a particular difficulty, and therefore, it need not imply that the two parts were indeed identical.

The second source where *ḥabšutum* is found is a lexical-like bilingual (Akkadian-Hittite) tablet from Boğazköy/Ḫattuša, *KBo* 1.51. The term, written *ḥa-ab-sú-[tum]*, is found with additional body parts, some of which we have encountered already; note *KBo* 1.51: ii 13'–18':

10 Sheep stomach parts are also listed in *malku=šarru* 5: 6–16 (Hrůša 2010, 108–110, 250–251).

11 According to *CAD* H 18.

12 The commentaries K 3978+ and K 3667+ are as yet unpublished; following citations given in *CAD* R 367, and S 416, and my study of the tablets in the British Museum. The commentary also deals with other body parts we have been concerned with, for example, the *isru* and *larsīnu*; see for now Starr 1992; Frahm 2011, 42–47; Cohen 2016.

Akkadian	Hittite	
<i>tù-li-im-mu</i>	^r lu ¹ -[...]	spleen
[<i>k</i>]a-li-tù	ta[l-...]	kidney
<i>kar</i> {ras.} -š <u>u</u>	[...]	rumen
<i>ba-^ran¹-t[ù]</i>	[...]	breast
<i>ri-iq-qí-[tù]</i>	[...]	omasum
<i>ḥa-ab-sú-[tù]</i>	[...]	stomach-part

The nature of *KBo* 1.51 will be discussed below. What can be said for now is that the *ḥabš/sutum* was certainly a part of the sheep's stomach. The root of the term may be helpful for identifying its anatomical location. *Ḥabšutum* is a nominal derivation of *ḥabāšu*, “to chop up” (*CAD* Ḥ 9); and *ḥabšu* means “chopped straw” or “chaff” (*CAD* Ḥ 18). Perhaps, then, *ḥabšutum* refers to the abomasum, the final stomach, where the *indigesta* arrives already “chopped” or partly digested. Other possibilities are to be kept in mind of course.

The next items of BM 29663 refer to lower regions of the sheep body, but they cannot be precisely identified. They find matching items in the two texts, familiar by now, although note that it is the Sealand Dynasty omen compendium related to the *šumma immeru* omens that supplies a term (*šašallu*) absent from the Old Babylonian recension.¹³

BM 29963	Sealand Dynasty Compendium	Ritual of the Diviner	
36 <i>ba-am-tum</i>	2 <i>ba-am-tum</i>	2 <i>ba-am-tum</i>	breast
37 <i>ša-ša-al-lum</i>	4 <i>ša-ša-al-lu</i>	5 <i>ša-ša-al-lum</i>	back muscle
38 <i>šu-up-tum</i>	3 <i>šu-up-tum</i>	3 <i>šu-up-tum</i>	body part
39 <i>šu-pa-at šu-up-^rtim¹</i>		4 <i>šu-pa-at šu-up-tim</i>	body part
40 <i>šu-ut-^rqú¹</i>	1 <i>šu-ut-qú-um</i>	1 <i>šu-ut-qu</i>	cleft/oesophagus
41 <i>ḥi-im-šum</i>			omentum

13 George 2013, No. 22. In the Sealand Dynasty omen compendium the order of the body parts is *šutqu*, *bantu* (*bamtum*) and *šašallu*.

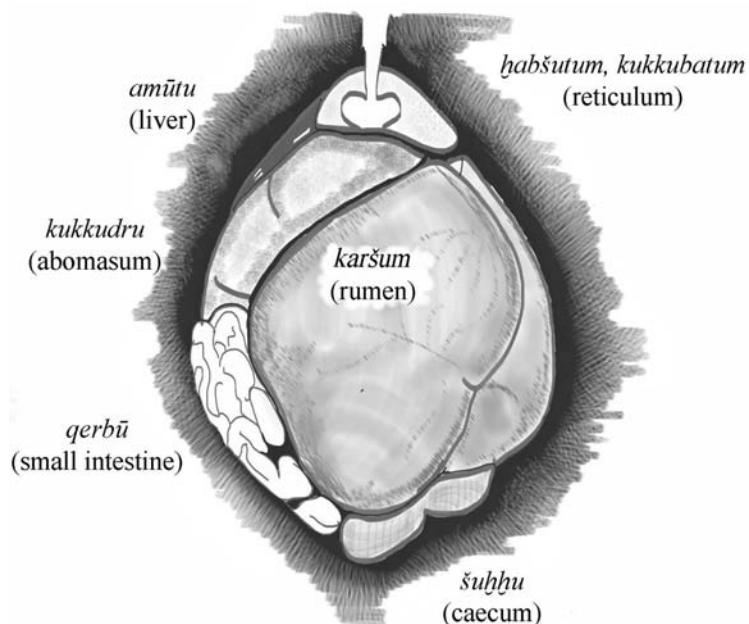


FIGURE 8.3 *The sheep stomach from the diviner's point of view*
 AUTHOR'S DRAWING, BASED ON SISSON AND GROSSMAN 1953,
 482, FIG. 408

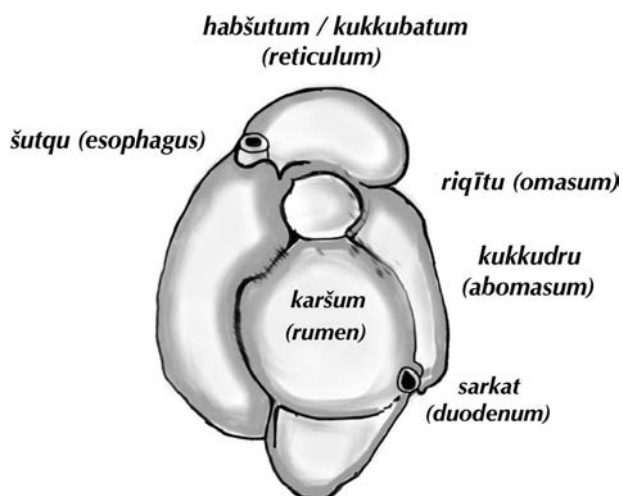


FIGURE 8.4 *The sheep stomach from the right side*
 AUTHOR'S DRAWING, BASED ON SISSON AND
 GROSSMAN 1953, 480, FIG. 406

The list under consideration ends now with seven more inner body parts. First come the bladder, kidney, and testicles (Nos. 42–44): these are also found in the Ritual of the Diviner (Text C, l. 20': *il-la-bu-ḫa-am*; main text, l. 69: *ka-li-tum*, *ka-li-it bi-ir-ki-im*). The kidney is only found in the Middle Babylonian *šumma immeru* recension (found at Assur).¹⁴ The bladder and testicles are so far missing from the *šumma immeru* omens.

Then come three more body parts, but only two are identifiable—*urḫudu*, “trachea” and *napšāru*, “uvula” (Nos. 45–47). Only the *urḫudu* appears in the *šumma immeru* omens. The third body part, *puglu*, is said to be a part of the liver (CAD P 476), but because the closing two items are related to the throat region, it is worth considering locating it around the same place. Support for the anatomical association between the three body parts comes also from an extispicy compendium, YOS 10 36. The last column of the compendium is concerned with the trachea and uvula, and then follow four omens dealing with the *puglum*, only to return to the trachea again. One omen reads as follows (YOS 10 36: iv 10): D1Š *pu-ug-lum* Á.Z1 *ta-ri-ik ša li-ša-ni-ia i-na ma-a-tim it-ta-na-al-la-ak*, “If the *puglum* is dark to its right, my informer will roam the land.” One wonders if the *ša lišāni*, “informer” (lit. “the one of the tongue”) of the apodoses was not promoted by an association with the mouth region and its parts.¹⁵ At any rate, one can perhaps consider a gland in the sheep’s mouth as a candidate for the meaning of *puglum*.

As was demonstrated here, the list under consideration was neither a composition produced *ad hoc* nor one that had brought together a random collection of body parts, although undeniably some are rare or unknown. Rather, BM 29663 reproduced information that was dependent on scholarly knowledge generated by diviners, reflected in other compositions as well, such as the Ritual of the Diviner and the *šumma immeru* series, as well as omen compendia. Nonetheless, can it be asked if this list was a completely independent creation?

Obviously, if the lexical tradition is taken into account, notably UR₅-RA=*ḫu-bullu* 15, *malku*=*šarru* 5: 6–16, and the Assur Practical Vocabulary: 906–930 (Landsberger and Gurney 1957–1958), it can be observed how specific anatomical terms associated with divination were incorporated into lexical lists and provided with their Sumerian counterparts, and on occasion, with additional Akkadian synonyms.

14 Heeßel 2012, 262, No. 83: rev. 12.

15 The term *ša lišāni*, however, appears in other omens that are not related to the mouth region; e.g., Heeßel 2012, 257, Nos. 80–82: §§ 42–43.

Another reflection of divinatory practices in non-extispicy texts can be seen in the Manual of Sacrificial Procedure, published by Foxvog (1989).¹⁶ This is a learned short bilingual (Sumerian and Akkadian) composition that seemingly provides instructions for the slaughter and dismemberment of the sacrificial sheep. The body parts are dealt with in a list-like fashion (although the text is not a lexical list, having verbs in the imperative). They are: *qaqqadu* (“head”), *šerānu* (“nerves”), *šupru* (“hoof”), *zibba(tum)* (“tail”), *imittum* (“shoulder”), *himšum* (“omentum”), *šelum* (“rib”), *qerbu* (“intestines”), *riksu* (“sinews”), *karšum* (“rumen”), *takaltum* (“stomach”, “exta”), *rikis libbi* (“ligaments”), and *šīrum* (“flesh”, “meat”). The composition is reminiscent of our tablet, although it is less comprehensive in its treatment of body parts.

The closest parallel I could find to the tablet we are discussing here comes from the archives of Ḫattuša. *KBo* 1.51 (published in autograph in 1916) is a bilingual Akkadian-Hittite list. It has been designated in the literature as a vocabulary, and its entries duly cited in the dictionaries. T. Scheucher, who recently edited the text in his 2012 dissertation (pp. 674–679), has observed that this is the only lexical list from Ḫattuša displaying an Akkadian-Hittite format, without the Sumerian column. Moreover, he has stated that the body parts listed in the tablet are likely the sheep’s than a human’s (pp. 283 and 384). With that I fully concur. But can we take *KBo* 1.51 one step further and argue that it continues the same tradition encountered in BM 29663 and reflected in the *šumma immeru* omens and the Ritual of the Diviner? *KBo* 1.51 begins with listing body parts associated with the head region. Although very poorly preserved (only the “eye” and the “ear” remain; they are given in Hittite), column i may have been concerned, like the *šumma immeru* omens, with the head region. Column ii continues with the inner parts: the mention of the stomach parts (see above) leaves no doubt that the list deals with sheep body parts indeed. Column iii lists a few body parts, as well as terms for the slaughtered corpse of the sheep; and column iv is completely broken. The closeness of *KBo* 1.51 to the list under study is evident, although it obviously was not the direct forerunner upon which the Ḫattuša vocabulary was modelled. Since the Ḫattuša vocabulary exhibits a typical Late Old Babylonian/Middle Babylonian feature (nasalization, *bantu* ← *bamtu(m)*; col. ii 16’; see n. 13), it can be assumed that the text was transmitted after the Old Babylonian period.

16 Note that the three tablets published by Leichty and Guinan (2014) and George (2013, No. 43) are not related to the practices of divination but are rather administrative documents; see the comments by George (2013, 281–284).

The data at hand are, as usual, miserably poor. However, we may assume on the basis of the texts introduced here that there existed a tradition of presenting a list of sheep body parts in order to assist the diviners in their work, first in Babylonia, and then upon transmission, in Ḫattuša, and perhaps also elsewhere. After all, it is not to be forgotten that extispicy was practised in the so-called “Western Periphery” with the aid of liver models and omen compendia, and that the *šumma immeru* omen series was studied at the Hittite capital, as well as on the outskirts of its empire—at Emar.¹⁷ What may have started as an exercise text or a sort of aide-memoire may have developed over time into a scholarly composition that was part and parcel of the training of novice diviners, and which made its way to zones beyond the core area of Babylonia.

Addendum: A complete treatment of the tablet KBo 1.51 will be given by the author in a forthcoming publication.

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¹⁷ See, lastly, De Vos 2013; Cohen 2007.

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Putting Theory into Practice: Kišir-Aššur's Expertise between Textual Knowledge and Practical Experimentation

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I met Mark Geller in 2003 for the first time, when I was starting to work on my PhD project. Following the advice of my teacher, Miquel Civil, I spent a summer in London making my way into the study of ancient Mesopotamian medicine under Mark's supervision. Mark has always proved to be approachable, kind, and extremely enthusiastic about interdisciplinary research and the humanities in general. It is with great pleasure that I offer this piece of research to him to celebrate his 70th birthday, in the hope that it might entertain him.

The present article analyzes the activity of the *mašmaššu* Kišir-Aššur as the copyist of texts on healing within the "Haus des Beschwörungspriesters" in Assur.¹ By focusing on the particular case offered by a recipe to treat gall (*martu*) and forms of jaundice (*aḥḥāzu*, *amurriqānu*), which is attested three times in three different tablets from Assur (*BAM* 186, *BAM* 188, *BAM* 189), two of which bear the name of Kišir-Aššur, I explore the reasons that led to the repeated copying of this medical prescription within the "Haus des Beschwörungspriesters". Through the analysis of formal and textual differences between the three witnesses I argue, on the one hand, that diversity in language and formulation in each version of the recipe is to be understood in connection to different textual

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1 For a general overview on Kišir-Aššur's career, see *PNAE* 2/1 623–624 s.v. 26. For further bibliographical references, see the final section of this article.

aims;² and on the other hand, I submit that at least one case (*BAM* 186) may be taken as an empirical text that proves Kišir-Aššur's activities as a healer giving voice to the results of his personal experience.

An Overview of Tablets *BAM* 186, *BAM* 188, and *BAM* 189

The recipe under discussion concerns the preparation of a lotion or a washing (*marḥāšu*), which is attested in the tablets VAT 8277 (*BAM* 186),³ A 266 (*BAM* 188) and A 200+252 (*BAM* 189).⁴ *BAM* 186 is a one-column portrait tablet that contains three remedies overall concerning *aḥḥāzu* and *amurriqānu* (*BAM* 186: 1–12), on the one hand, and *ḥimiṭ šēti* fever (*BAM* 186: 14–23, 24–31), on the other hand. *BAM* 188 is a landscape tablet that contains this single recipe,⁵ while *BAM* 189 consists of two narrow columns of text with no colophon and gathers at least six different remedies, although it is hard to say because of the damaged sections, aiming at treating a range of conditions such as shivering, *šimmatu* paralysis, *rimūtu* paralysis, *šaššaṭu* disease, hand of the ghost, hand of curse (*māmītu*), hand of kingship, an ill anus, and sorcery (*BAM* 189: i 6'–11').⁶

Both *BAM* 186 and *BAM* 188 bear the name of Kišir-Aššur, with the title “*maš-maššu* of the Assur temple” (*mašmaš bīt Assur*), in the colophon, while *BAM* 189 has none. Specifically, the recipe under discussion is found in *BAM* 186: 1–12, *BAM* 189: iv 1–16, and *BAM* 188: 1–10. It is worth mentioning that in *BAM* 186 the remedy aims at counteracting both *aḥḥāzu* and *amurriqānu*, while *BAM* 188 states only *aḥḥāzu*, and *BAM* 189: iv 1–16 reads gall (zē / *martu*), *aḥḥāzu*, and *amurriqānu*.

2 See Maul 1994, 96–97 for thoughts on the same *namburbû* ritual being written in different styles as expression of differences in textual aim and use. For a recent analysis of the relationship between the shape, content and function of Early Akkadian tablets bearing incantations, see Wasserman 2014.

3 The tablet was previously published in copy by E. Ebeling as *KAR* 187. Another recipe contained in *BAM* 186 (*BAM* 186: 24–33), aiming at treating *ḥimiṭ šēti* fever, finds a further duplicate within the “Haus”. The fragmentary *BAM* 187 duplicates the first lines of the remedy before breaking.

4 Probably to be applied as a clyster. See *CAD* M/1 279–280 s.v. *marḥāšu* for further examples.

5 *BAM* (vol. 2), xx–xxi.

6 *BAM* (vol. 2), xxi.

TABLE 9.1 *A general overview of the contents in BAM 186, BAM 188 and BAM 189*

<i>BAM 186</i>	<i>BAM 188</i>	<i>BAM 189</i>
Obv. 1–12 Prescription to treat <i>aḥḥāzu</i> and <i>amurriqānu</i>	Obv. 1–10 Prescription to treat gall, <i>aḥḥāzu</i> and <i>amurriqānu</i>	Obv. i 1'–12' Prescription to treat a number of different ailments
Obv. 13 Rubric: “lotion of oils for <i>ḥimiṭ ṣēti</i> ”	Obv. 11–13 Colophon	Obv. i 13'–17' Prescription, aim not preserved
Obv. 14–Rev. 4 Prescription to treat <i>ḥimiṭ ṣēti</i>		Obv. ii 1'–9' Prescription, aim is unpreserved (unclear whether it is the follow-up of the remedy in obv. i 13'–17')
Rev. 5–12 Prescription to treat <i>ḥimiṭ ṣēti</i>		Obv. ii 10'–16' Prescription, aim not preserved or unspecified
Rev. 13–15 Colophon		Rev. iii 1–8 (rest broken, with some traces of signs) Prescription, aim not preserved
		Rev. iv 1–16 Prescription to treat <i>aḥḥāzu</i>

The Recipe

Transliteration and Translation

TABLE 9.2 BAM 186, BAM 188, and BAM 189

BAM 186: 1–12	BAM 189: iv 1–16	BAM 188: 1–10
(1) 2 GÍN ^{sim} GÚR.GÚR 2 GÍN ^š [^{im} LI]	(1) ^{giš} [GÚR.GÚR ²]	(1) DIŠ NA lu ZÉ lu aḥ-ḥa-zu
(2) 2 GÍN ^{sim} BAL ½ GÍN ^{sim} [MAN.DU]	(2) ^{giš} LI	(2) lu a-mur-ri-qa-nu GIG ana TI-šú
(3) 2 GÍN GIDUG ₄ 1 GÍN ^{giš} ú[r-nu-u]	(3) ^{giš} BAL	(3) ^{sim} GÚR.GÚR ^{sim} LI ^{sim} BAL
(4) ½ GÍN ^ú KUR.KUR 1 GÍN ^ú GEŠTI[N.K]A ₅ .A	(4) ^{giš} MAN.DÙ	(4) ^{sim} MAN.DU GIDUG ₄ ^ú ur-nu-u
(5) ʿx (x) x x x x ʿ ½ GÍN ^ú ka[r-šú]	(5) GIDÙG	(5) ^ú KUR.KUR ^ú GEŠTIN.KA ₅ .A ^ú kar-šú
(6) ½ GÍN ^ú LAGAB 2 GÍN ^ú tar-muš ₈	(6) ^ú ur-nu-u ⁷	(6) ^ú LAGAB ^{giš} tar-muš ₈ ^{giš} IGI-lim
(7) 1 GÍN ^ú IGI-lim 1 GÍN ^ú IGI.NAM	(7) ^ú KUR.KUR	^{giš} IGI.NAM
(8) 2 GÍN ^{ir} -ru-u ina KAŠ ŠEG ₆ -šal	(8) GEŠTI[N.K]A ₅ .A	(7) ^ú ir-ru-u 14 Ú.MEŠ an-nu-ti
(9) Ì LÂL ana IGI ŠUB-di ana DÚR-š[ú]	(9) kar-[šú]	(8) mal-ma-liš LAL ina KAŠ SAG ŠEG ₆ -šal
(10) mar-ḥa-šu ʿxʿ [] ʿuʿʿ []	(10) kar [] ʿxʿ ⁸	(9) ina UL tuš-bat ina še-rim ta-ša-ḥal
(11) ana aḥ-ḥa-zi u a-mur-ri-ʿqaʿ-[ni]	(11) AŠ ⁹ tar-muš ₈	(10) Ì.GIŠ LÂL ana IGI ŠUB-di ana DÚR-
(12) da-mi-iq lat-ku	(12) AŠ IGI-lim	šú DUB
	(13) AŠ IGI.NAM	(Colophon, ll. 11–13: a-na ša-bat e-pe-ši
	(14) AŠ ^{ir} -ru-u	^m ki-šir-aš-šur MAŠ.MAŠ bit aš-š[ur] ḥa-
	(15) PAP 14 mar-ḥaš	an-tiš is-su-[ḥa]) ¹⁰
	(16) aḥ-ḥa-zu	

BAM 186: 1–12

Two shekels of *kukru*, two shekels of [juniper], two shekels of *ballukku*, half a shekel of [suādu], two shekels of *sweet reed*, one shekel of *u[rnû]*,

7 CAD U–W 234–235 s.v. *urnû*, “a mint plant”.

8 Did the scribe copy twice the same line? According to parallels, the substance employed should be ^(w)LAGAB.

9 Note the use of AŠ in Uruanna. Kinnier-Wilson (2005, 48), in dealing with the series Uru-anna, follows Köcher’s hypothesis and interprets the sign as *pīrištu*, “secret”, which would indicate a secret name of the plant in question. Its use in a practical text as BAM 189, however, makes this interpretation doubtful.

10 “In order to apprehend the procedure, Kišir-Aššur, *mašmaššu* of the Assur temple, copied (it) quickly.”

half a shekel of *atā'īšu*, one shekel of [fox] vine,, half a shekel of le[eks?], half a shekel of *būšānu* plant, two shekels of *tarmuš*, one shekel of *imḥur-līmu*, one shekel of *imḥur-ešrā*, two shekels of *irrû* you will cook in beer. You will throw oil (and) honey to it, [you will pour (it)] in his anus; lotion [] ... [] against *aḥḥāzu* and *amurriqānu* [] it is good, tested.

BAM 189: iv 1–16

[*Kukru*], juniper, *ballukku*, *suādu*, sweet reed, *urnû*, *atā'īšu*, fo[x v]ine, lee[ks?], *tarmuš*, *imḥur-līmu*, *imḥur-ešrā*, *irrû*: a total of 14 (plants), lotion for *aḥḥāzu*.

BAM 188: 1–10¹¹

If a man is ill with bile, *aḥḥāzu* or *amurriqānu*, in order to cure him: *kukru*, juniper, *ballukku*, *suādu*, sweet reed, *urnû*, *atā'īšu*, fox vine, leeks (?), *būšānu*, *tarmuš*, *imḥur-līmu*, *imḥur-ešrā*, *irrû*. These 14 plants you weigh in equal parts, you cook (them) in premium beer; you let it stay under the star(s); in the morning you sieve (it). You will throw oil (and) honey to it, you will pour (it) in his anus.

A Note on Jaundice

Texts confirm the main symptom characterizing both *aḥḥāzu* and *amurriqānu* is the presence of yellowness or greenness (SIG₇ / [w]arqu, “green”) in specific parts of the body (eyes, tongue, face, etc.), the colour yellow-green being a trait that also characterizes bile (ZÉ / *martu*).¹² The condition *aḥḥāzu* is associated with the demonic entities Lamaštu and Labāšu. In fact, the term *aḥḥāzu* literally means “the Packer”, which puts the emphasis on the demonic nature and the evil activities attributed to the aetiological entity causing the disease.¹³

11 For an alternative translation, see Böck 2009, 122.

12 As for ZÉ / *martu*, in the present context it seems to be alluding to bile and not to the gall bladder. See CAD M/1 297–300 s.v. *martu* A, “gall bladder; gall, bile”; esp. 298–299 b, for gall in medical texts. A revealing text concerning the purge or expulsion of bile out of the body is the Neo-Assyrian letter SAA 10 217.

13 CAD A/1 185–186 s.v. *aḥḥāzu*. Note the etymology of *aḥḥāzu*: *aḥāzu*, “to take, marry, acquire; learn” (CAD A/1 173–183 s.v. *aḥāzu*); Farber 2004, 122–123 and 130–131. For the activities and capacities attributed to demons, see Couto-Ferreira 2007; Verderame 2017.

According to the Kuyunjik tablet *BAM* 578, which follows SA.GIG entries to define both ailments, the distinction between the two conditions (at least from a symptomatic viewpoint) would be the presence of blackness in the root of the tongue in *aḥḥāzu*,¹⁴ and the wasting away (or the peeling or flaking) of flesh in *amurriqānu*.¹⁵

DIŠ SU-šú SIG₇ IGI-šú SIG₇ u GI₆ SUḪUŠ EME-šú GI₆ aḥ-^rḥa¹-[z]u MU.NE,
 “If a man’s skin / body is yellow, his face is yellow and / or black, the root of his tongue is black: its name is *aḥḥāzu* (prescription follows in line 27).”¹⁶

BAM 578: iv 26–27

DIŠ NASU-šú SIG₇ pa-nu-šú SIG₇ ši-ḥat UZU TUKU-a a-mur-ri-qa-nu MU.NI,
 “If a man’s body / skin is yellow, his face is yellow, and he suffers from wasting of flesh: *amurriqānu* jaundice is its name.”¹⁷

BAM 578: iii 7

Scholars have interpreted differently the distinctions between the two conditions.¹⁸ P.B. Adamson took the difference to be one of degrees of severity: “This term [*amurriqānu*] also describes jaundice and is not readily differentiated from *aḥḥāzu*, but *amurriqānu* appears to be less severe than *aḥḥāzu* although occasionally it too was fatal” (Adamson 1993, 157). Martha Haussperger, on her part, states that *amurriqānu* would be the “normal jaundice”, while *aḥḥāzu*

14 Note that the set of symptoms attributed to *aḥḥāzu* (normally written ^(d)DÍM.ME.LAGAB in diagnostic series) in particular sections of the SA.GIG series tends to focus mainly on febrile states, see examples in Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 141–142. See also Scurlock 2014, 11 for a discussion on the use of SA.GIG entries in therapeutic texts. For a brief comparison of jaundice diagnostics in both cuneiform sources and the Hippocratic corpus, and the apparent similitudes between the two, see Stol 2004, 77.

15 CAD A/2 91–92 s.v. *amurriqānu*. On the condition *šiḥḥat šēri*, see CAD Š/2 414–415 s.v. *šiḥḥatu*, esp. 2 “flaking, peeling off”.

16 The text parallels SA.GIG 33: 93 (Heeßel 2000, 357). For this line, see also Haussperger 1997, 208 and Scheyhing 2007, 125.

17 The text reproduces SA.GIG 33: 92 (Heeßel 2000, 357). After a horizontal ruling, a great number of different simple-based recipes to treat *amurriqānu* follow (*BAM* 578: iii 8–24), written in a single block of text. For a recent edition of *BAM* 578, see Scurlock 2014, 505–528, with previous bibliography. Sections of *BAM* 578 (*BAM* 578: i 1–13, iii 4–30, and iv 16–47) have also been edited in Scheyhing 2007, 122–126.

18 Adamson (1993), as well as Scurlock and Andersen (2005, 140–142), apply retrospective diagnosis with some problematic identification. In their analyses, the authors try to identify the different types of infection that may have caused the appearance of jaundice.

would be the jaundice caused by the demon *aḥḥāzu* (Haussperger 1997, 207–208).¹⁹ Barbara Böck also highlights aetiological differences between *amurriqānu* and *aḥḥāzu*, with the former being mainly caused by the hand of Gula, and the latter, by the homonymous demon (Böck 2014, 148): “Most interesting is the juxtaposition of yellow discoloration associated with Gula which is the main symptom of *amurriqānu* jaundice and *jaundice* caused by the *Aḥḥāzu* catcher-demon which Ancient Babylonians attributed to Ninurta’s hand” (Böck 2014, 74).²⁰ In the specific case we are dealing with here, however, no reference to the cause of the illness is made.

All three conditions (bile, *aḥḥāzu*, and *amurriqānu*) are closely related to *suālu*, and keep appearing in the *suālu* series.²¹ The three ailments are quoted in the same tablet in a number of instances, plus it is not infrequent to prescribe the same *materia medica* for the treatment of all three conditions. They were perceived and understood as diseases of the insides.²² Note in this regard, for instance, how the tablet *BAM* 578, which deals extensively with all three conditions, begins with remedies for ailments of the insides, and *suālu* seems also to relate to the lungs and the entrails. Note also the line *BAM* 578: iv 27, which states “the *aḥḥāzu* of his insides will be put in order.” In our case, the fact that the same recipe can be used to counteract gall, *aḥḥāzu* and *amurriqānu* suggests that, at least as far as the sources discussed here are concerned, all three ailments were understood to present rather similar symptomatology, both being treatable and probably of equal gravity.

On the *materia medica* Employed

The prescription gives instructions on the use of fourteen plants that are well attested in ancient Mesopotamian pharmacology: ^{šim}GÚR.GÚR (*kukru*),

19 For more on liver, bile and jaundice-related diseases, see Haussperger 2001; Böck 2014, 122–128.

20 Böck also claims that *aḥḥāzu* and *amurriqānu* were mainly dealt with using plants that pertained to the realm of Gula. See Böck 2014, 138–139, 148–151 and 174 for full discussion; cf. Steinert 2014.

21 *CAD* S 340, “phlegm, cough with phlegm”. The Kuyunjik *suālu* tablet *BAM* 578 gathers remedies against *aḥḥāzu* in *BAM* 578: iv 28–46, with references to the body being yellow/green (SIG₇) as symptom in *BAM* 578: iii 7, iv 16, and passim. The condition *amurriqānu* is dealt with in *BAM* 578: iv 1 ff.

22 See, for example, *BAM* 52; *BAM* 159 (Parys 2014, 67: cols. i and ii, see §§ 10–14, reconstructed); Labat and Tournay 1945–1946.

^{šim}_{LI} (*burāšu*), ^{šim}_{BAL} (*ballukku*), ^{šim}_{MAN.DU} (*suādu*), G1.DUG₄ (*qanû ṭābu*), ^ú_{urnû}, ^ú_{KUR.KUR} (*atā'īšu*), ^ú_{GEŠTIN.KA₅.A} (*karān šēlebi*), ^ú_{karšu}, ^ú_{HAB} (*būšānu*), ^{giš}_{tarmuš}, ^{giš}_{IGI-lim} (*imḥur-līmu*), ^{giš}_{IGI.NAM} (*imḥur-ešrā*), ^ú_{irrû}.²³ I have not been able to identify any further duplicates outside the “Haus”, although several recipes to treat jaundice-related and other ailments make use of particular clusters of the *materia medica* appearing in *BAM* 186 and duplicates. That is the case of the sequence ^{šim}_{GÚR.GÚR} (*kukru*), ^{šim}_{LI} (*burāšu*), and ^{šim}_{BAL} (*ballukku*)²⁴ that opens the prescription,²⁵ as well as the cluster formed by *tarmuš*, *imḥur-līmu* and *imḥur-ešrā* plants,²⁶ all of which are attested in the medical corpus in general. As stated above, a number of the healing ingredients employed in the preparation of the recipe are clearly identified as being efficacious in the treatment of forms of jaundice in herbals and lists of simples. Thus, an Assur tablet of the herbal Uruanna reads [^ú *a-mur*]-*ri-qa-nu* = ^ú_{bu-ra-šu} (Köcher 1955, text 11: i 1). The same plant is also effective to treat gall, as *BAM* 578: i 22 attests: ^{šim}_{LI} ^ú *É ina* KAŠ NAG, “*burāšu* plant, plant for gall, to drink in beer.” In another herbal, *atā'īšu* is identified as a plant useful against *amurriqānu* jaundice when pounded and drank in beer: [x x] ^ú_{HU} ^ú_{KUR.KUR} = ^ú *MIN* (*a-mur-ri-qa-nu*) = ^š_{U.BI.AŠ.Á[M]} (= ^{SÚD} [*ina*] KAŠ [NAG]) (Scheil 1916, 37: 28).

A recipe in *CT* 14 48 to treat *aḥḥāzu* also makes use of five of the plants appearing in our recipe: ^ú_{tar-muš₈} ^ú_{IGI-lim} ^ú_{IGI.20} / ^ú_{kar-šu₁₄} ^{šim}_{LI} / ^r_x ^x₁

23 For specific contextual uses of each term, see *CAD* S 338–340 s.v. *suādu*; *CAD* Q 88–89 s.v. *qanû* 2b, “sweet reed”; *CAD* U–W 234–235 s.v. *urnû*, “a mint plant”; *CAD* A/2 480–481 s.v. *atā'īšu*; *CAD* K 201–202 s.v. *karān šēlebi*; *CAD* K 212–214 s.v. *karašu* B, “leeks”; *CAD* B 350–351 s.v. *būšānu*; *CAD* T 238–239 s.v. *tarmuš*; *CAD* I–J 118–120 s.v. *imḥur-līmu*; *CAD* I–J 117–119 s.v. *imḥur-ešrā*; *CAD* I–J 182–183 s.v. *irrû* A. For a discussion of the *materia medica* employed in *BAM* 159 and other medical texts to treat different forms of jaundice, see Parys 2014, 43–44. A summary of the *materia medica* employed in *BAM* 578 to counteract *aḥḥāzu* and *amurriqānu* can be found in Böck 2014, 125–126, fn. 106.

24 *CAD* B 64–65 s.v. *ballukku*, also used together with *burāšu* and *kukru* (for example, in *BAM* 3: iv 15, to prepare a fumigation for the ears). In *AMT* 50/3: 8–10, the plant G1.DUG.GA (*qanû ṭābu*), “sweet reed”, which is also employed in the prescription under discussion, is added to the trio to treat a respiratory affliction.

25 *CAD* K 500–501 s.v. *kukru*; *CAD* B 326–328 s.v. *burāšu*, “juniper”; *CAD* B 64–65 s.v. *ballukku*. According to *CAD* K 501, *kukru* is also often used together with *burāšu* and *šumalû*.

26 See, for example, *BAM* 434: iv 25 and 51, and *BAM* 434: iii 71, where the same sequence is employed against witchcraft; Labat 1960, 170, tablet AO 17618: 1–3, within a recipe to treat the hand of the ghost; and Labat 1960, 171–172, tablet AO 17624: 1–3, in a treatment against wind (IM); Finkel 2000, 185, text 28: i 1–3, in a list of plants, and so on. For a note on particular healing plants being cited in threesomes, see Kinnier-Wilson 2005, 47; Worthington 2009, 75–77.

aḥ-ḥa-zi (Rm 328: rev. iv 7–9). A good number of the ingredients employed in the prescription, therefore, turn up in the specialized medical literature as useful in the treatment of forms of jaundice, including gall problems, as well as of internal ailments in general. Theoretically speaking, Kiṣir-Aššur would have relied on well-known, perhaps largely implemented, plant-based healing substances that were known to be efficacious against icteric conditions. We might wonder, then, whether Kiṣir-Aššur combined many of these other recipes to create (or improve) his own recipe.

Same Remedy, Different Wording: On the Functions of Medical Writing

As already pointed out, the prescriptions under discussion are formulated in three rather distinct ways. Of all three witnesses, *BAM* 186 is the only manuscript that gives the exact quantities of each substance to be used, with the aim of the recipe stated at the end (line 11).²⁷ The two-column tablet *BAM* 189 offers a more synthetic list-like version, leaving aside determinatives and showing, in general, a more abbreviated form. The structure it follows has a long list of *materia medica* with the aim of the recipe (to treat *aḥḥāzu*, in this case) synthetically presented at the end, although it omits giving quantities. For its part, *BAM* 188, which is a memo-type, landscape tablet bearing just this one remedy, offers a closer redaction to what we could consider the standard formulation and wording of most pharmacological prescriptions, namely a description of the medical condition (DIŠ NA “if a man” + symptoms, in lines 1–2), followed by the instructions on the *materia medica* to be employed, and how to prepare it (lines 3–10). In all three texts the *materia medica* is listed in the very same order, even though *BAM* 186: 5 presents a broken space with traces of signs where a further ingredient could be included. Both *BAM* 186 and *BAM* 188 bear the name of Kiṣir-Aššur,²⁸ who excerpted the recipe “in order to apprehend the procedure” (*ana šabāt epēši*).

Further differences between the three witnesses are the following: As already noted, *BAM* 188: 1 specifies the remedy is also useful against ZÉ / *martu*; also noteworthy is the heterogeneous use of determinatives throughout the tablets (for instance, ^{šim}BAL in *BAM* 186 and *BAM* 188 against ^{gis}BAL in *BAM* 189;

27 For an alternative translation of *BAM* 186: 1–12, see Geller 2010, 113–114. For some considerations on the measurements of drugs in cuneiform medical texts, see Finkel 2000, 146–147.

28 For the colophon in *BAM* 186 see Hunger 1968, 70–71, § 201.

^ú*tar-muš*₈ in *BAM* 186: 6 against ^g*is*^{tar-muš}₈ in *BAM* 189: 6). On the other hand, line 9 of *BAM* 188 gives further instructions on the preparation of the remedy (“you let it stay under the star[s],” “you sieve [it]”) with respect to *BAM* 186. Instructions on drug preparation are absent from *BAM* 189. Besides, *BAM* 189 shows traits of dictation, visible in the use of homophones in the writing of some plant names (^g*is*^{MAN.DÙ} instead of ^g*is*^{MAN.DU}, *GI.DÙG* instead of *GI.DUG*₄). The term *PAP* “total” is absent from *BAM* 188.

At this point, there are two questions that arise loudly and clearly: why did Kišir-Aššur copy the remedy more than once? Can we track down a chronology of copying within the group constituted by these three tablets? Attending to internal traits of composition, the first in time seems to be *BAM* 188. The main reason to sustain this hypothesis lies in lines 7–8: 14 *Ú.MEŠ an-nu-ti mal-ma-liš LAL*, “you will weigh these fourteen plants in equal parts,” which clearly contrasts with the evidence provided by *BAM* 186, where the proportion among the *materia medica* employed varies. Thus, *BAM* 186 instructs one to use half a shekel each of ^{šim}*MAN.DU*, ^ú*KUR.KUR* and ^ú*LAGAB*, one shekel each of *urnû* and ^ú*IGI.NAM*, two shekels each of ^{šim}*GÚR.GÚR* and ^{šim}*LI*, and so on. The inclusion of the exact amount of each ingredient in *BAM* 186: 1–12 suggests the aim of accurately instructing on the preparation of the remedy in question. *BAM* 186, therefore, represents the testing and improvement of the recipe in *BAM* 188. In fact, it is worth noting the inclusion of the reference *damiq latku*, “(the remedy) is good, proved,” in *BAM* 186: 12,²⁹ that is, in the only recipe that reports the exact measurements of the *materia medica*. In view of that, the use of the first person in *BAM* 186’s second prescription (*BAM* 186: 18), in the expression *Ì.MEŠ aš-bu-uš*,³⁰ “I have collected (18) oils,” represents an unusual trait in cuneiform texts reporting recipe-making that would confirm *BAM* 186 to be a sort of empirical text revealing Kišir-Aššur’s activities as healer and experimenter.

BAM 188, therefore, would exemplify the standard formulation of healing recipes as we find them in most serialized works, characterized by the

29 For an overview of proved remedies, see Leichty 1988. See *CAD* L 111–112 s.v. *latāku*, “to test, to try out; to check (measurements, calculations), to check on work in progress; to question, to put to a test”, esp. 112 for examples from healing contexts. Specific examples of proved remedies can be found in Finet 1954, 135: 20, 17 and 29 (Old Babylonian letter from Mari); *BAM* 95: 4 and duplicates; *BAM* 168: 81 and duplicates (for both see Geller 2005, 128, text 21, remedy against flatulence); *BAM* 3: iv 22 (tested poultice to treat the eyes); and *passim* in medical texts.

30 See *CAD* Š/1 6–8 s.v. *šabāšu*, “to collect, gather”. The verb is well attested in the first person, although most examples quoted in *CAD* regard the collection of taxes.

description of symptoms or ailment, a list of *materia medica* (often without specifying quantities), its preparation and application. On the contrary, *BAM* 186 points to familiarity and proficiency with the technicalities of therapeutic preparations: for instance, it omits references to letting it stay overnight and sieving the *materia medica*, although it gives general hints on how to concoct and apply the remedy.

What about *BAM* 189? The absence of a colophon makes it difficult to ascertain Kišir-Aššur's authorship of the tablet. Should it be placed within the sequence of the witnesses' textual production, it may be situated between *BAM* 188 and *BAM* 186, if we take it to be a sort of memory aid to help in the gathering of the *materia medica* or in the preparation of the recipe. However, it might very well have been written after *BAM* 186, perhaps by Kišir-Aššur himself as a memory aid, or by another practitioner interested in learning the procedure or putting it into practice.³¹

Why did Kišir-Aššur write *BAM* 186? Was it to be used for his own reference in order to be able to prepare the pharmacological remedy? Or was the tablet written down to help someone in the process of learning? Was the remedy perhaps jotted down so as to send it to someone that needed specific instructions on how to prepare the recipe? When Kišir-Aššur wrote down *BAM* 186 and *BAM* 188, he was a *mašmaššu* at the top of his career, meaning that whatever the specific aim these tablets may have had, they should have been related to the practice of an advanced and well-established practitioner. This said, we do have evidence of the range of functions and purposes small format tablets such as the ones we are discussing here could serve. Education, learning, instruction and practical use are among them.³² When analyzing the medical tablets from Late Babylonian Uruk, Köcher has pointed out that small format tablets

31 Considering the traces of dictation in *BAM* 189, the text might also reflect the learning process.

32 See Finkel 2000, even though in fn. 1 he states that his initial conclusion regarding the tablets he deals with must be revised, since they are the product of a Late Babylonian medical school. Finkel argues instead that the group of tablets should be considered a "most unusual case of scribal training at its most advanced stage". See Finkel 2000, 143 for the use of small tablets in medical education, its function, and a hypothesis on how students gained medical knowledge by way of copying tablets. He also notes the remarkably large proportion of tablets present in N4, and summarizes in a table the relevant information regarding the thirty-three Assur tablets identified as "Schülertafeln" by Köcher in his *BAM* publication (Finkel 2000, 144). An analysis of the Assur material, however, proves that Köcher was not systematic in his classification, since, regarding them as "kleinen Tafeln", he left outside the group of "Schülertafeln" tablets that, attending to their formal characteristics, could have very well been included in the category (for example, *BAM* 188). As

were useful because of “die einfachere Handhabung dieser kleineren Tafeln im täglichen Gebrauch, im Unterricht, in der Praxis am Krankenbett, etc.” (Köcher 1978, 18).³³ The considerably large number of memo-type tablets with healing content present in N4 (many of them bearing Kišir-Aššur’s name already in his position of *mašmaššu* of the Assur temple) point to a more practical aim that differs from that revealed by other contemporary tablet collections such as those in the Assurbanipal’s library in Nineveh.³⁴

What was the reason or reasons behind this tendency, namely the abundance of small format tablets, in Assur? Attending to the evidence, the “Haus” emerges as an environment of learning and study where tablets were copied (probably from other tablets, but also from dictation) and consulted,³⁵ and remedies excerpted and rearranged according to need. It seems to have served as a scriptorium and reference library to the *mašmaššu* families in the daily performance of their duties as well as in their intellectual quests, but their contents may also have been made available to other practitioners and experts, and even have benefited from their expertise.³⁶ Stefan Maul hypothesizes that the “Haus” was just one of many *mašmaššu* libraries that were assembled following the specialization performed by and the personal interests of each

a consequence, Finkel dismissed from his argument those examples identified as small tablets by Köcher. In this sense, the Assur material needs to be accurately revised.

- 33 Maul bases most of his considerations concerning the copying and use of tablets within N4 on the information provided by colophons, pointing out that when a *mašmaššu* “quickly excerpts” a remedy, he is doing so for the sake of time, rushing to help the patient (Maul 2010, 213); he also argues that copying tablets were a way of stating personal qualifications and competence, and also of expressing a wish for posterity (Maul 2010, 215).
- 34 When applied to the Ancient Near East, the term “library”, as well as “archive”, becomes highly problematic. Definitions from within Assyriology can be found in Pedersén 1998, 3; Röllig 2009, with previous bibliography. For a functional approach to the problem of archives and libraries, see Posner 1972. In the case of Assur’s “Haus”, it would be more accurate to speak of a “tablet room” whose main function was to serve as a scriptorium and a sort of student’s room. I use the term “library” in those cases where scholars whose work I refer to have used the term.
- 35 Maul argues that because of tablets showing mistakes and non-proficient hands it was probably also a place of learning (Maul 2010, 199).
- 36 Note, for instance, *BAM* 1, a herbal copied by Nabû-lē’i, an apprentice *asû* (in fact, the text presents some errors, such as GIL.ZÚ.LUM instead of GIZÚ.LUM in *BAM* 1: ii 58). For the list of tablets in the “Haus” and an introduction to their contents, see Pedersén 1986, 41–76, especially 45–46 for Kišir-Aššur’s career. See also Pedersén 1986, 47–48 for the given origin of some tablets (Babylon, Borsippa, the Gula temple in Assur, the copying of tablets from writing boards etc.).

practitioner, which would explain the absence, for instance, of the diagnostic and prognostic series and of divination texts in N4 (Maul 2010, 207).³⁷ In fact, the tendency of standardized works to be absent from the “Haus”, in contrast to other libraries such as those in Kuyunjik and Late Babylonian Uruk, where the majority of texts were subject to the process of standardization and serialization (Köcher 1978, 17), as well as the predominance of textual duplicates and parallels together with the presence of small format tablets, seem to confirm the picture of the “Haus” as a space of learning, study, and intense exchange of knowledge, on the one hand; and probably also of experimentation, on the other hand.³⁸

We might wonder, therefore, whether the intention of Kišir-Aššur in writing *BAM* 186 was to put on record the positive outcome of his medical practice. It could be argued that at least one of the three witnesses (*BAM* 186) served the purpose of instructing third parties in the preparation of a remedy against jaundice, or, in the case represented by *BAM* 189, of requiring the *materia medica* necessary for its preparation. We do have a few cuneiform examples that attest the sending of medical tablets that were specially compiled for particular episodes of the disease. One of these examples is shown in the letter *SAA* 10 321, which was sent by the chief *asû* Urad-Nanāya to king Esarhaddon. In this letter, the *asû* gathers at least four different remedies to treat nosebleed (*SAA* 10 321: rev. 1–r. e. 18). Urad-Nanāya advises the people in charge to “act according to the prescription/text I have sent.”³⁹ The *mašṭiru*⁴⁰ “text” Urad-Nanāya makes reference to in line r. e. 16 probably refers to a tablet with remedies he might have sent to the king and his entourage, and not to this specific letter (*SAA* 10

37 Perhaps the clearest example of this fact is offered by the medical tablet *BAM* 32, an unfinished one-column long tablet that ends abruptly in the middle of line 18', which is followed by a blank space. The reverse is completely blank, which would prove that the tablet was being copied *in situ* when left incomplete.

38 The medical tablets in the “Haus” show parallels with the contents in serialized medical texts, in the sense that they do include some remedies that were found, for example, in the Kuyunjik tablets. In fact, a number of Assur tablets concerning internal ailments, gall, and icteric conditions, among others, reproduce remedies present in the *suālu* series, but combine them with other therapies absent from it. For the parallels and duplicate prescriptions to *BAM* 578 present in N4, see the index in *BAM* (vol. 6), xxix–xxx.

39 [ina] *pu-ut mal-ṭi-ri* [ša] *ú-še-bil-an-ni* [...] *e-pu-šú* (*SAA* 10 321: r. e. 16–18).

40 The specific term used in *SAA* 10 321 is *mašṭiru*, “inscription, text”, see *CAD* M/1 396 s.v. *mašṭaru*. The term is employed in a so-called hymn of Gula, where the goddess describes the tools of her profession: “I carry texts concerned with healing (*mašṭaru* ša *šalāmu*).” See Lambert 1967, 120: 82 for a full edition of the composition.

321), where, following a request of the king made in a previous missive, Urad-Nanāya focuses on the explanation of some of the procedures involved.

A much earlier letter from Tell Taban shows how tablets listing medical ingredients and/or medical instructions were written down to fulfil particular requirements.⁴¹ In this case, the sender, Lulāyu, informs his addressee of a sealed document he is dispatching with a list of the *materia medica* he needs to treat the ailing Ilī-Padā.⁴² Daisuke Shibata, in interpreting the document, states that “it is reasonable to assume that Lulāyu [the sender of the letter] composed a list of medical ingredients necessary for the medicine on another tablet, which he sealed, in addition to the present letter” (Shibata 2015, 146).

I have written herewith a sealed document concerning aromatic plants (and) sent (it) to my lady. As many (aromatic plants) as exist in the administrative sphere of my lady, may my lady send to me. Whatever is not there I will gather [my]self.

Tab T05A-134: 23-30 in SHIBATA 2015, 140

Taking into consideration the case here presented, it seems plausible to argue that N4 may have also been a place of testing and experimentation, and perhaps even of creation *ex novo* or improvement of remedies. If we analyze the textual cluster formed by *BAM* 186, *BAM* 188 and *BAM* 189 in this light, we might wonder, therefore, whether the expression *ana šabāt epēši*, customary in colophons,⁴³ may have also been used to describe the act of personal acquisition of knowledge, as well as the instruction of third parties in empirical knowledge.

41 This Middle Assyrian letter is probably to be dated at the very end of the 13th c. BCE (Shibata 2015, 144).

42 Further evidence of this practice is attested in *VS* 19 42 and *BAM* 263 (Farber 1977; Farber and Freydank 1977), which are “receipts” regarding the provision of drugs for the preparation of remedies that are put in writing on tablets to be sent to people and / or professionals in charge of providing healthcare. Their squarish format recalls that employed in quite a number of tablets coming from the “Haus”.

43 See Hunger 1968, 11–12 for functions of tablets according to colophons, esp. 12 for the expression *ana šabāt epēši* that Hunger reductively translates “für die Durchführung eines (bestimmten) Rituals”. For an extensive discussion on tablets and colophons, see Pearce 1993.

Conclusion

Attending to the tablets bearing Kişir-Aššur's name in the respective colophons, it is evident he showed interest in a sheer variety of medical topics from the very first stages of his career.⁴⁴ Already as apprentice scribe (*šamallû šehru*), he copied a range of texts dealing with the ŠU.NAM.ERÍM.MA and KA.DIB.BI.DA conditions (*BAM* 201, a text with mainly pharmacological prescriptions “quickly excerpted” from a wax tablet of the Gula temple); with foot and limb diseases, *sagallu* and *šaššaṭu* (*BAM* 129, which partially parallels remedies in the *sagallu* series); as well as with antiwitchcraft rituals (*BAM* 232) that find parallels in Kuyunjik and Sultantepe (Abusch and Schwemer 2011, 318–335, § 8.6). What is even more interesting; at an early stage of his professional career he already composed a tablet that gathered *suālu*-related remedies concerning the insides, the lungs, and bile (Labat and Tournay 1945–1946). He also wrote down tablets on rectal complaints (*BAM* 102); foot and limb diseases (*BAM* 81; *BAM* 122); genitourinary and kidney diseases (*BAM* 164), and so on. Together with these, Kişir-Aššur also copied a number of healing and prophylactic rituals, which also aimed at ensuring well-being, health and prosperity (see, for instance, the *namburbû* ritual to protect a house against witchcraft *LKA* 115 in Maul 1994, 502–504). In most cases, however, copying medical texts did not necessarily imply putting textual knowledge into practice. In other words, the relationship between written texts and actual, daily healing practices is, in most cases, far from clear.

Case studies as the one I am presenting here, however, can help elucidate the work of particular professionals as copyists and users of medical texts, their motivations in writing them down, consulting and keeping specific content within their records, as well as thinking about the role texts could play in actual medical practice. More than a scholar working mainly on theoretical, textual grounds, in the light of these three tablets Kişir-Aššur reveals himself as an empiricist putting remedies into practice. In fact, if our reconstruction turns out to be close to reality, statements such as that affirming that “the only real expert in practical medicine was the doctor, *asû*” (Stol 1991–1992, 61) could be contested or, at least, recontextualized.

44 Examples of tablets on healing copied by Kişir-Aššur, as well as by other scribes/scholars, are quoted in Pedersén 1986, 51–58. Kişir-Aššur also copied tablets of different, although related, scope and context, such as rituals to lay foundation figurines, *namburbûs*, Egalkura procedures, and other rituals related to power and social acceptance, lists of stones, the LÚ lexical list, cultic commentaries, the topography of Assur, etc.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that a detailed study of Kišir-Aššur's activities as copyist of medical tablets within the "Haus" will reveal relevant data on the functions of writing in medical education and healing practice.

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A Brief Look Eastward

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It is a special privilege for me to write a short contribution to the *Festschrift* in honour of Prof. Markham Geller. Intentionally, I did not choose a solely Assyriological topic because the honoree has always prompted his students to “look beyond” to find possible points of transfer of knowledge. We have heard him on many an occasion considering the possibilities of the transfer of medical knowledge, in particular, between the Babylonian-Assyrian medical traditions and Pre-Hippocratic/Hippocratic Greek Medicine. It is, therefore, only fitting that we today “look beyond” and look *eastward* towards India to find points of reference with the Babylonian-Assyrian traditions.

As we look for evidence of the transfer of medical knowledge between ancient Mesopotamia and its neighbours, we tend to look westward from Mesopotamia in general. A considerable amount of literature that examines various aspects of such a possible relationship is available to us today. A look *east* of Mesopotamia in search of a comparable possible transfer of knowledge, however, receives little attention. In my work on Mesopotamian amulet-stone texts I did not have to look far afield for the source of some stones that were geographically not of Mesopotamian origin. We know of trade relations either directly or through intermediaries between Mesopotamia and the civilization of the Indus Valley.¹ As trade could be a good medium for the transfer of knowledge, the present contribution attempts to identify some aspects of such transfers in the field of material culture. Although admittedly this search faces a plethora of difficulties, it is nevertheless a worthwhile endeavor, as it opens to us new horizons, the limits of which are still being defined.² This short

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- 1 Note that the geographical area under discussion does not refer to the present day “India” only, but rather the historical geographical entity that included present-day Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. For locations of Indus sites, refer to the map at the end of the text.
 - 2 Space limitation does not permit us to offer a history of the discovery of the Indus archaeological sites in the nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. Within the past 15–20 years there has been a new resurgence of Western and Pakistani interest in the history of this ancient civilization, and new excavations have been conducted. The Harappa Archaeological Research Project (HARP) of the University of California at Berkeley (1986–1991) is an example of a

contribution can only touch upon some aspects in broad brush strokes and concentrates on a limited period of history corresponding to the Mesopotamian Early Dynastic III, Akkadian, and Ur III periods.

Civilization is the sum of the material culture and intellectual contributions of a homo- or heterogeneous group of people. By the middle of the third millennium B.C., an urban civilization had grown up along the Indus River and its tributaries. The date of the genesis of this civilization is still being defined. This Indus Valley civilization is considered to be one of the three major civilizations of the East, coexisting for a limited period of time, from around 2600 to 1900 B.C.,³ with the Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations. It is named after the Indus River (today in Pakistan), which flows from the Himalaya Mountains south into the Arabian Sea. The major archaeological sites are found along this river and its tributaries, although a number of excavated sites are much further afield. Two sites are of special interest to us, Mohenjo-daro, once the largest city on the Indus River itself, and Harappa, the second largest, further to the north on the Ravi River, a tributary of the Indus (see map).⁴ The first remains of this civilization were discovered at Harappa itself, which gave its name to the people who inhabited that site and to the civilization. References to the Harappan Phase of the Indus civilization come from Mesopotamian texts dated to ca. 2400 B.C., in which mention is made of a geographical location called *Meluhha*. There has been extensive academic discussion from a Mesopotamian perspective relating particularly to the location of three maritime geographical names, *Dilmun*, *Magan* and *Meluhha*.⁵ There is general consensus that *Meluhha* at this early date refers to the area of the Indus Valley and to the Harappan civilization. Asko and Simo Parpola identify *Meluhha* with Dravidian *mel*

project that has contributed towards changing previous views on the extent of urban development. Other institutions that contributed new methodologies in the late 1980s and early 1990s were the Aachen Research Project Mohenjo-daro conducted by the Rheinisch-Westfälischen Technischen Hochschule Aachen (RWTH) and the Istituto Italiano per il Medio e Estremo Oriente in Rome (IsMEO). As a result of these and other studies, the conclusions of the well-known work by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, published in 1968 in which he states that "It is legitimate to affirm that the idea of civilization came to the Indus from the land of the Twin Rivers," (p. 25) have been largely revised.

3 Ratnagar 2006, 8.

4 Wright 2010, 107.

5 There is a long academic discussion of the differing opinions as to the location of these geographical names and whether they refer to specific towns or regions. For a very good summary of the various arguments and textual references, see Heimpel 1987. According to the "communis opinio" Dilmun has been identified with modern-day Bahrain and probably extended as far north as Failaka; Magan is identified with modern-day Oman.

akam, “high country”, and from the Sanskrit *mleccha*, “barbarian, foreigner”.⁶ Another important trading partner of Mesopotamia was *Marḥaši*, an ally of Elam. P. Steinkeller locates this political entity in south-central Iran, east of Elam and Anšan (Tepe Malyan) in eastern Fars, or further south in the Jiroft Valley.⁷

Sargon of Akkad boasts that boats from Meluḥḥa docked at the quay of Akkad,⁸ and there seems to have been a village there, settled probably by Meluḥḥans, É.DURU₅ *me-luḥ-ḥa*^(K1).⁹ A.L. Oppenheim refers to the cylinder seal of a certain Šu-ilišu (“He-of-his-god”, a name attested in the Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic periods),¹⁰ a Mesopotamian interpreter (EME.BAL) who worked in both his own language and the Meluḥḥan language. The profession EME.BAL is listed in “The Vocabulary of Ebla” which provides us with about 1500 bilingual entries. It also appears in the unilingual list of professions.¹¹ The cylinder seal, dated to the Akkadian Period about 2340–2200 B.C., was formerly part of the De Clercq Collection and is found in the Louvre Museum under the number AO 22310. As it had been purchased along with other objects from a dealer, its provenance cannot be established. It is made of serpentine and measures 2.9 × 1.8 cm.¹² The presence of an interpreter living in a Meluḥḥan community in Mesopotamia should not be surprising in view of the evidence of trade relations.¹³ Presumably Šu-ilišu the interpreter was one of the officials who was in the service of the royal palace.¹⁴ The inscription on the seal reads: *šu-i-lí-šu*₁₁

6 A. Parpola and S. Parpola 1975, 209, 215.

7 Steinkeller 1982, 254–255. Also, Steinkeller 1987–1990, 381–382. Lamberg-Karlovsky 2013, 571–572. Although textually well-documented, the geographical location of *Marḥaši* (akk. *paraḥšum*) is contested. Products imported into Mesopotamia included stones that were designated as coming from *Marḥaši*, and exotic animals (D. Potts 2002, 345). For Mesopotamian relations within the region of *Marḥaši*-Magan-Meluḥḥa and the relation between *Marḥaši*-Magan, see Thornton 2013, 608–614.

8 Heimpel 1987, 37–38, 70 ff. T. Potts 1994, 34.

9 S. Parpola, A. Parpola and Brunswig 1977, 145, n. 3, 150, 136, text 3: ii 1 Ì.DUB É.DURU₅ *me-luḥ-ḥa*^{K1}, “the granary of the village of Meluhha.”

10 Roberts 1972, 132.

11 Hallo 1996, 349.

12 Publications either do not identify the stone, or refer to it as “greenstone” which is the designation of any low-grade metamorphic rock that was used for seals. The identification of the material as ‘serpentine’ was communicated to me by Marianne Cotty, Responsable de la documentation, Département des Antiquités orientales, Musée du Louvre (14 January 2016).

13 Possehl [n.d.], 42–43.

14 Rohn 2011, 203.

EME.BAL *me-luḥ-ḥa*^{K1}, “Šu-ilišu interpreter (lit. language-turner/changer of) *Meluhḥa*.”¹⁵ Following the rollout of the seal, from right to left one first finds the inscription written vertically in two columns. This is followed by a beardless male figure holding what seems to be a bucket or a bag. In front of him is a bearded man carrying a goat in his left arm, while his right arm is raised in a gesture of greeting. Both worshipers wear identical clothing fastened at the left shoulder leaving the right shoulder bare. At the fold there is a vertical fringe running from the shoulder to the hem, which also has a fringe at the ankles. They wear identical headdresses. These two figures stand facing a seated goddess wearing a long multiple tiered flounced gown fastened at the right shoulder. Her left shoulder is bare. Her hands are clasped in front of her. Her long hair seems to be gathered and tied in the back at three points, and she wears a hornless crown. There is a bearded “child” seated on her lap looking at her with its right hand raised in a gesture of greeting. This figure is wearing a headdress identical to that of the two figures standing in front of the goddess. There is no physical contact between the goddess and the “child”. There is a crescent over the head of the “child”. Behind the seated goddess is a kneeling bearded man facing to the right in front of whom is a jar set on what seems to be a tripod. On the ground under the jar is an unidentifiable object. The kneeling man has his left hand raised, while his right seems to be touching the bottom of the jar. He too wears a headdress identical to that of the standing figures. Above him are two jars of identical shape, but of different sizes. Both jars seem to have caps and are apparently standing on small flat slabs.

The seal of Šu-ilišu is interesting and problematic at the same time. Although we know that the elements depicted on a given cylinder seal were chosen by its owner, it is very difficult to interpret the intended meaning associated with these elements. We can only speculate and offer “educated guesses”. Is Šu-ilišu even depicted on this seal? The seal of Šu-ilišu is one of five seals that have been thematically grouped under heading “goddess with child”.¹⁶ There are another four cylinder seals from the Late Akkadian period that have been grouped

15 Later, after the Ur III period INIM.BAL, literally “word-turner”; see, Sjöberg 1975, 153, n. 4 and PSD B 48 ff. The later Old Assyrian word *targumannu* or *turgumannu* is of uncertain origin, probably from Hittite *tarkunmiya*, “to announce, interpret, translate”; see Lambert 1987, 410–411 and Starke 1993, 37–38, who notes the surprising lack of an Akkadian word for interpreter “... stehen die knapp zwei Dutzend Belege aus einem Überlieferungszeitraum von fast zwei Jahrtausenden in keinem angemessenen Verhältnis zur Funktion des Dolmetschers im vielsprachigen Orient,” and notes the fact that there is no textual evidence that describes the function of the interpreter.

16 Boehmer 1965, 97–98, Plate XLVII, Nos. 555–560, and 549. Also, Edzard 1968, 13.

under this thematic heading, one of which bears an inscription in two lines that reads: *ik-ru-ub ilu*(DINGIR) *mār*(DUMU) *la-ni*,¹⁷ “Ikru-b-ilu, son of Lani”. Here the child on the lap of the goddess is dressed in a tiered flounced garment like the goddess herself, and like the goddess faces the worshipers. While on all four of these cylinder seals the child is clearly depicted as such, the seal of Šu-ilišu depicts the child with a *beard*. K. Rohn suggests that the beard was meant to denote a male child.¹⁸ Interestingly, the other four seals of this group do not depict the child in this manner. Although the reason for depicting a child with a beard remains a matter of speculation, it can be postulated that the figure possibly represents Šu-ilišu himself indicating his closeness to the goddess by his *facing* and greeting her.

Another interesting feature on Šu-ilišu’s seal is the kneeling figure in front of a jar set on a tripod. On this seal the kneeling figure is bearded, while on other seals with similar depictions, the figure is beardless and is therefore assumed by some to be a woman. Kneeling figures appear on two other seals in the group “goddess with child”, though they are not restricted to this group. It would seem that the jar is possibly being kept warm on the tripod. However, other interpretations of the scene have been offered. H. Frankfort suggests that the device depicted is similar to something still used today in Iraq as a way of cooling water. As the jar is porous, the water that seeps out evaporates, thus cooling the water which it contains.¹⁹ V. Scheil in his publication of some unpublished seals refers to another seal of the group “goddess with child” and suggests that the jar represents a culinary scene of preparing a meal for the infant.²⁰ R. Boehmer compares the similarity in the form and decoration of this jar with jars on other seals and suggests that it was used in churning butter.²¹ Although we can only speculate as to the meaning and content of the storage jars on these cylinder seals, it is interesting to note two details in particular. As mentioned above, two storage jars stand on what look like slabs. One notes that at Harappa a number of “stands” have been discovered. These “stands” or ring-bases are round and usually made of stone, on which jars would be set.²² When viewed from the side, they would give the appearance of being slabs. The second detail to notice is that the jars appear to have caps. At Harappa and Mohenjo-daro caps

17 Rohn 2011, 126. Oppenheim 1948, 166, No. 239, reads *la-lí*.

18 Rohn 2011, 71.

19 Frankfort 1939, 129.

20 Scheil 1917, 19.

21 Boehmer 1965, 122 and Plate LVIII 695.

22 Vats 1974, 371–372 and Vats 1975, Plate LXXIII 8–10 and 25, Plate CXXII 29, and CXXIV 33.

made of shell have been found.²³ As Šu-ilišu was an interpreter who presumably played an important role in Meluhhan trading transactions, the content of the storage jars and the jar on the tripod were probably related to his business.

A number of sites have yielded a variety of objects, on some of which are not only figures but also signs that have been interpreted as being the script of the civilization.²⁴ A total of four hundred signs have been identified, but none of the suggested decipherments has met with consensus. Some even suggest that the script is non-linguistic. Therefore, many aspects of the Indus civilization are unknown to us and open to speculation. In the face of this major drawback and given the lack of any bilingual texts, archaeology and study of the available finds are crucial.²⁵ We are fortunate that laboratory analyses have been conducted on many of these small finds which enable us today to identify those products through the process of their manufacture. In particular, this is reflected in the working of some minerals, a major export item involved in the active maritime trade that existed between the Harappan civilization (*meluhha*) and Mesopotamia at that time. One cylinder seal from Tell Asmar is without any doubt an import from the Indus Valley (*meluhha*). It is of glazed steatite and measures 3.4 cm. long. This seal depicts three elephants alternating with two rhinoceroses. Above these are the figures of two gavia crocodiles (Indian crocodiles).²⁶ Comparing the details of these rhinoceroses, in particular, with the rendering of similar beasts on the square stamp seals from Mohenjo-daro, only confirms the fact that this seal was an import.²⁷ In his discussion of "The Elephant in Mesopotamia", however, P.R.S. Moorey cites this cylinder seal, suggesting "manufacture in an intermediary region".²⁸

A prominent architectural landmark at the site of Mohenjo-daro is the so-called Great Bath. The central feature of this bath is a large deep basin (pool) which measures 12 × 7 × 2.4 meters with a sloping bottom leading to a drain, all plastered with gypsum and sealed with bitumen. Access to the pool was provided by sets of stairs at each end. A colonnade of square, brick pillars ran along the northern, southern and eastern sides of the pool. Each pillar had

23 Vats 1974, 372 and Vats 1975, Plate LXXXIII 13.

24 Such items include seals (mostly square stamp seals), tablets, stoneware, and pottery.

25 Wright 2010, 185–187, 325.

26 Frankfort 1964, 45–46 and Plate 61, No. 642.

27 Possehl 1996, 28, Figure 7 and 30, Figure 8. It should be noted that the zebu (Indian humped bull) found on stamp-seals from Harappa was also found on a fragment from Tell Asmar. The zebu is not native to Mesopotamia. M.-L. Erlenmeyer and H. Erlenmeyer 1966, 21–22.

28 Moorey 1994, 119.

indentations that probably served to support some kind of screen²⁹ or window, which would have separated the “pool area” from what lay behind the columns. The colonnade on the western side is lost. A well in one of the rooms that ran along the eastern side provided the water source. Another set of eight rooms was found in a building to the north of the Bath. Each of these rooms had a shallow basin or bathing platform.³⁰ The purpose of these additional rooms, evidently also used for “bodily cleansing”, is unknown.

A large residential area formed the major part of Mohenjo-daro. The *non*-residential sector was found in the “upper town”, built on a platform constructed of baked bricks and earth debris which rose eight meters above the plain and measured approximately eight hectares. One of the structures built on this platform was the Great Bath.³¹ In other Indus Valley cities, too, there seems to have been a sector that was separated from the residential areas. In Harappa, for example, such sectors were not raised but walled.³² As bathing and toilet facilities with a system of wells and drains were available in the residential areas in Mohenjo-daro, what then was the purpose of the Great Bath? M. Jansen suggests that it had a “ritual significance”.³³ Was the bath open to all for public “ritual cleansing”, or only to a particular class, group, or royalty? As we have no written records, we can only speculate as to the religious or social significance of this impressive edifice. In spite of this we should venture to ask whether the concept behind the Great Bath at Mohenjo-daro had an impact on Mesopotamian ritual thought. The ritual that comes to mind is *bīt rimki*, “House of the (ritual) Bath”.³⁴ Although the text exemplars of this ritual come from Assyria, its Babylonian origins have clearly been established.³⁵ A prayer known as a KI.^dUTU prayer is addressed to Šamaš who is the central deity in this ritual. This type of prayer forms part of an OB incantation and possibly the reference to KI.^dUTU prayer from the Ur III period is also to be considered as a prayer to Šamaš in a purification ritual.³⁶ The *bīt rimki* ritual was

29 Fragments of perforated screens made of earthenware were found in Harappa. Vats 1974, 375–376 and Vats 1975, Plate LXXII, 27–29.

30 Kenoyer 1998, 63–64.

31 Jansen 1993, 31. Other structures were named by archaeologists “The Granary” and “The College”.

32 Wright 2010, 119.

33 Jansen 1993, 17.

34 Læssøe 1955.

35 Farber 1997, 43.

36 Sallaberger 1993, 216. Also Krebern timer 2001, 238–239. Geller 1995, 109–120, a contribution towards a better understanding of the genres of Utu incantations and the issues involved

performed to cleanse the king in order to avert the effects of portended evils as manifested through signs of witchcraft or negative natural phenomena. After a ritual at the palace, the incantation priest (*āšipu*) leaves the city and goes into the steppe to construct the *bīt rimki*, an area fenced-off with reed *urigallu*-s. Inside this, seven reed huts (rooms or stations) were constructed and, as the king passed through each of these stations, prayers and ritual ablutions were conducted.³⁷ After having passed through all seven “stations”, there seems to have been another process of purification by recitation of other prayers and incantations.³⁸ Although the *bīt rimki* seems to have been a temporary reed structure that could be set up and taken down to be reused, it is important to note that the *bīt rimki* also appears as a building in which the king is seated.³⁹ Presumably the *bīt rimki* in the OB period may have been a recognizable building. In his comparison with the Hittite material, J. Læssøe states that the ritual bathing of the Hittite king took place in a specific building that was located in an isolated place.⁴⁰ In the early third millennium B.C. an impressive bathhouse was constructed at Mohenjo-daro that was isolated from the rest of the town by its setting on a platform “hill” and which contained a series of rooms or chambers that seem to have had a bathing function. The central “pool” that seems to have been somehow shielded by “screens (?)” could have been the final station after the ablutions in the various rooms. Although this is only a theory, the Great Bath at Mohenjo-daro, a city of some 700 wells, must have impressed visiting Mesopotamians who adjusted this concept of ritual purity to suit their own needs. It is ironical that, while Mesopotamia has given us the textual material for the ritual, an identifiable architectural feature to match this Indus material has not yet been found. Mohenjo-daro, on the other hand, has given us an identifiable architectural feature, the “Great Bath”, but without textual material that would explain its purpose.

Although short-lived, the mature Indus Valley civilization⁴¹ left an impact on its trading partners in the area of manufacture of goods. This is best seen in

in the transmission as observed in a Late-Babylonian copy of a Sumerian unilingual Utu incantation and an Old Babylonian Forerunner to *Bit Rimki*.

37 Sallaberger 2005–2006, 62–63.

38 Ambos 2013, 41–45.

39 Sallaberger 2005–2006, 63.

40 Læssøe 1955, 16–17.

41 The Indus Valley civilization lasted about a thousand years. What brought about its demise is still a matter of contention among scholars. Archaeological evidence clearly points to a disruption in the settlements at Dholavira, Mohenjo-daro and Harappa probably as a result of economic collapse. We know that environmental changes as evidenced in

the treatment of minerals and particularly in the manufacture of stone beads. Generally, the largest number of beads comes from the Harappa Phase (Period 3; Phases A, B, and C), ca. 2600 B.C.–1900 B.C.,⁴² also referred to as the urban phase. Although the bead-finds from Mesopotamia have generally not been scrutinized by systematic analysis⁴³ as have the beads from Indus Valley sites,⁴⁴ a study of the latter can nevertheless probably help us in recognizing peculiarities in the Mesopotamian finds. This general lack of systematic analysis, therefore, makes it difficult to identify the source of the stone itself from which a particular bead was made. Additionally, the dating of bead-finds could also be a factor in establishing the provenance of the stone. How much of the highly specialized technological knowledge of the lapidary, as evidenced in the Indus material culture, actually found continuity in Mesopotamia is difficult to establish. Space limitation permits us to present here only a few examples. The technical knowledge of the Indus lapidary is best seen in the working of carnelian into beads. The production of such beads was a trademark of the Indus civilization between 2600–1900 B.C. The unique Indus style can be discerned through the shape, the drilling techniques, and the use of different types of drills for making the perforations. These features can be recognized by the use of high resolution Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM) and x-ray diffraction (XRD).⁴⁵ Carnelian, a form of microcrystalline quartz, is a relatively hard stone (6 on the Mohs scale⁴⁶) that occurs in the form of nodules in alluvial deposits. The process of manufacturing a carnelian bead involved three stages. First the nodules were heated in a container in special kilns to around 340 °C which

the changes of river courses occurred. Based on evidence from skeletal remains from Mohenjo-daro, Sir Mortimer Wheeler (1968) attributed the demise of this civilization to the Aryan Invasions. More recent studies conducted by a team of physical anthropologists (Kennedy 2000, 304) do not support this conclusion and consider Wheeler's theory as being based only on a local phenomenon, noting that the Harappan society was not homogeneous and that "there is no evidence of demographic disruptions either immediately before or after the period of Harappan cultural decline." See also Wright 2010, 308–314.

42 Following the chronology by Kenoyer 2005, 157.

43 Moorey 1994, 22.

44 The earliest beads come from Mergarth (Province of Baluchistan, Pakistan) dating to the neolithic aceramic period, the second half of the 7th millennium B.C. Vidale 2000, 40–41.

45 Kenoyer and Vidale 1992, 498.

46 The Mohs scale is a standard method applied by mineralogists to measure the hardness of stones. On a scale of one to ten, the softest stone is talc, or steatite (1) and the hardest is diamond (10). Establishing the hardness of a stone is an important step in stone identification. Agate, chalcedony, flint (chert), and jasper also fall in the microcrystalline quartz family.

made the stone easier to flake. This was followed by a rough chipping and then a second heating, second chipping, grinding, polishing, and perforating of the rough bead. A third heating of the now finished bead finalized the process.⁴⁷

The Harappans had even perfected the technique of modifying the various shades of carnelian from pale yellowish-brown to red or darker reddish-brown by heating the stone, thus drawing out the iron oxide content, thereby deepening the redness of its original colour.⁴⁸ Deposits of longer nodules of good quality carnelian are found in Kutch and Gujarat in western India. Working carnelian into especially long tubular biconical or barrel-shaped beads of up to about 15 cm demanded special drilling skills using specialized drills. It would have taken the lapidary more than eight days to manufacture one such long bead.⁴⁹ It is the drilling techniques and the examination of the bead perforations that can identify beads originating in the Indus Valley. At the sites of Mohenjo-daro, Chanhu-daro, and Harappa two kinds of drills were discovered: tapered cylindrical drills and constricted cylindrical drills. Drilling was done from both ends of a bead, usually meeting perfectly in the middle.⁵⁰ An earlier manufacturing technique for smaller and shorter carnelian beads from Harappa can be identified by examination of the perforations which clearly exhibit chipping combined with the marks left by the use of tapered cylindrical stone drills usually made of chert or jasper.⁵¹

The constricted cylindrical drills, which were used in making long biconical carnelian beads, were made of a particular rock, the major components of which have been identified, but classification of which has not yet been established. Kenoyer and Vidale named this material "Ernestite" in honor of Ernest

47 For a diagram of this production process, see Kenoyer 1998, 160 and Wright 2010, 151. Also Vidale 2000, 46.

48 Carnelian is a translucent red to yellowish-orange-red chalcedony with a variety of darker or lighter hues within this colour range. The presence of iron oxide impurities led the Mesopotamians to describe carnelian in the stone-description text *abnu šikinšu* as being "spotted". The dark red carnelian was specially cherished, as we read in medical text *BAM* 237: i 5 prescribing blood-red carnelian ^{NA4}GUG ÚŠ.MEŠ, and iv 40 which refers to it as "tested carnelian of blood (colour)": ^{NA4}GUG ša ÚŠ *latikta*. See *CAD* S 122 s.v. *sāmtu* A 3'.

49 Kenoyer 1998. In 1992 Kenoyer conducted an experiment using specialized constricted cylindrical drills to perforate carnelian. The drilling rate averaged 2.37 mm per hour. See Kenoyer and Vidale 1992, 512.

50 Such beads, some unfinished, and drills were found in workshops at various Indus sites, e.g., Chanhu-daro, Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Shortugai. Also at sites in the Gujarat region and in Kutch (Dholavira and Lothal). Wright 2010, 194–195. For a discussion of the drills, see Kenoyer and Vidale 1992, 500 ff., 506 ff.

51 Kenoyer 1998, 160.

J.H. Mackay the archaeologist who first discovered and studied these drill bits in Chanhu-daro.⁵² Samples of “Ernestite” rock have been found at other sites. Carnelian beads exhibiting this manufacturing technique were found in the Royal Cemetery at Ur.⁵³ A fragment of a long biconical carnelian bead (A8.1107) which originally was probably around 50 mm long was found at Troy, (near Çanakkale, Turkey) in a layer of mud debris in a pit. The pit is dated to Troy VI Early b-c (1730–1600 B.C.), but it cut into Early Bronze Age debris dating from Troy II (2500–2300 B.C.) to Troy V. The bead, therefore, could be dated to as early as Troy II, at which period such beads were being produced at Indus Valley sites. The drill hole is identical to the perforation technique used by the constricted cylindrical “Ernestite” drills of the Indus.⁵⁴ An extensive study of samples of “Ernestite” was conducted by Randall Law who has identified the material as a variety of “claystone” or “Tonstein”, a stone that shares close similarity with flint (chert), but which has been subjected to heating thus changing the kaolinitic materials in the claystone, and thereby increasing the hardness of the stone. Law considers this evidence as “currently, the best explanation for the macroscopic, mineralogical and mechanical characteristics possessed by ‘Ernestite’”.⁵⁵

Another technological feature that found its origins in the Indus Valley involves not only changing the shade or hue of carnelian beads, but also the etching of particular patterns on carnelian beads. This process, which was applied to agate as well, entails creating white patterns on the dark mineral. These patterns, however, are not created by filling the etchings with inlay, but rather by a special process of bleaching with an alkali solution (soda) and heating the bead to a temperature of 300–400 °C, causing the stone to absorb the alkali solution thus creating the desired design, usually a white circle leaving the center dark. Designs resembling an eye were popular and double or triple-eye motifs on beads are found.⁵⁶ Etched carnelian beads appear in Mesopotamia in the middle of the third millennium B.C. but are most common during the Akkadian period. About 1900 B.C. (i.e. by the end of the Harappan culture) the etched beads in Mesopotamia practically disappear, only to reappear centuries later in the Achaemenid period.⁵⁷ The etching of beads and re-firing was an Indus Valley invention, and these beads were an important

52 Mackay 1937, 6–7. Kenoyer and Vidale 1992, 507.

53 Kenoyer 1998, 98, Figure 5.27 and text on 161.

54 Ludvik et al. 2015, 10.

55 Law 2011, 549–551, 554–555.

56 Kenoyer 1998, 143, Figure 7.39.

57 Moorey 1994, 171.

and prized Mesopotamian import commodity.⁵⁸ Carnelian in Mesopotamian texts is *sāmtu* (^NA₄GUG) which is listed and described in the series *abnu šikinšu*, “the stone, its appearance”, by its various shades and provenance (Meluhḫa and Marḫaši among others).⁵⁹ The evidence from the Indus Valley (*Meluhḫa*) points to the fact that, although carnelian appears in nature in a range of shades and with impurities designated as “spots”, it was possible to alter the shade of the mineral by heat to achieve a particularly desired hue. This pyrotechnical knowledge probably became known in Mesopotamia. It should be noted here that the assumption that the term *sāmtu* includes a range of red stones of which carnelian is but one,⁶⁰ should, therefore, be revised. *Sāmtu* is not an “Art Überbegriff”⁶¹ for a variety of red stones, and caution should be exercised before suggesting any generalizations.

A particular technique of working steatite (the compact form of talc) can also be attributed to the Indus Valley. Steatite is a very soft whitish/whitish gray/dark green-black stone (hardness 1 on the Mohs scale) that can be easily worked but which can be hardened by heating, thus increasing its hardness to 6 on the Mohs scale. Chlorite, which is very similar to the dark green/black variety of steatite, is slightly harder. Beck states that “the Indus civilization, as far as beads are concerned, is primarily a steatite civilization. More beads were made of this material than of all the other materials put together, whilst in Mesopotamia, with the exception of the small beads from grave 55 (Royal Cemetery at Ur), very few beads of steatite have been found.”⁶² Steatite can be glazed by applying a vitreous glaze and firing. There is another form of alkali or glaze coating that flaked easily, exposing the steatite. Harappan sites have produced numerous beads made utilizing this manufacturing technique, and the “glazed steatite” from Mesopotamian sites is also of this variety.⁶³ The so-called “Priest King” bust from Mohenjo-daro was made of steatite and had a coating that was inadvertently destroyed during cleaning.⁶⁴

It is important to note that the Indus technology of bead manufacture is characterized by its perfection in the use of pyrotechnology, which allowed the Indus Valley lapidaries to produce objects from a variety of materials.

58 Vidale 2000, 57.

59 Schuster-Brandis 2008, 24, 26.

60 Schuster-Brandis 2008, 413. *CAD S* 121 s.v. *sāmtu* A (a red stone, mostly designating carnelian).

61 Schuster-Brandis 2008, 413, footnote 732.

62 Beck 1974, 392 ff.

63 Moorey 1994, 169.

64 Ratnagar 2006, 166.

The majority of steatite beads were fired white, but beginning with the 4th millennium B.C. they were glazed blue-green. Artificial steatite-faience⁶⁵ and siliceous faience beads appear during the first half of the 3rd millennium B.C. and by the second half of the 3rd millennium B.C. Harappan microbeads appear.⁶⁶ These extremely tiny steatite beads of about one millimeter in diameter formed part of an elaborate headdress made of thousands of such beads. This headdress was found in a Harappan cemetery under a male skull.⁶⁷ A necklace (amulet?) also found on a male was made of 340 exceedingly thin steatite disc beads 0.59–0.75 cm in diameter.⁶⁸

In the above paragraphs, we have taken but a glance into the work of the lapidary whose bead manufacturing techniques show identifiable characteristics. Can this fact help us to better understand particular references in amulet-stone texts from first millennium Mesopotamia? The text that comes to mind is a text from Aššur, *BAM* 356 (A 202). This tablet which was found in the N4 library⁶⁹ is a so-called “inventory text”. The two columns on the obverse describe six strung-bead amulets prescribed against AN.TA.ŠUB.BA (i 1–8), Lamaštu (i 9–15), the symptom “If a man in his bed” which is the abbreviated version of the symptom “If a man continually shivers in his bed” (i 16–21), anything evil (ii 1–6), the evil Alû-demon (ii 7–10), and *bennu* (ii 11–13). After a ruling, two interesting summations are added: ii 13 ‘21’ *ināti*(IGI.MIN.MEŠ) and ii 14 ‘21’ *pa-ru-tú*. The two columns on the reverse comprise the inventory portion, which lists the minerals and the number of each needed to prepare the amulets that appear on the obverse. This is a known form of inventory texts. After the ruling that closes this section, an identical summation as on the obverse is added: iv 13 21 *ināti*(IGI.MEŠ) and iv 14 21 *pa-ru-tú*. Lines 15 and 16 continue with the mention of the materials (red-dyed wool and linen) on which the beads are to be strung. Our interest here is not the purposes for which these amulets were prescribed, but rather the mention of the form of the beads, an unusual feature in texts of this genre. Let us begin with the first designation *inātu*. The usual translation

65 Wright 2010, 162: Indus faience is produced from heat-treated steatite or talc-based material that was ground and mixed with a substance (a flux) that lowered the material's melting point and caused fusion upon heating. The paste could be shaped into a form by hand.

66 Vidale 2000, 144.

67 Kenoyer 1998, 124, 203.

68 Kenoyer 1998, 123, 204.

69 Pedersén 1986, 64, Nr. 208.

eye-stones⁷⁰ or “Augen”-(Steine)⁷¹ and the rendering in CAD I–J 158b s.v. *īnu*, “eye-shaped pebble (of precious stone)” leave a number of questions unaddressed. As these are tangible objects, we should first consider the appearance of such a bead. What would an eye-stone or an eye-shaped pebble actually look like? A closer examination of BAM 356 reveals that there are 50 beads mentioned, but only 21 are designated as eye-beads and another 21 are designated as *parūtu*, which gives us a total of only 42 beads, leaving 8 beads without any designation and unaccounted for. Presumably the 42 beads were “prepared or worked” to appear in a particular form. But which of the 42 beads fell under one or the other category cannot be determined. Therefore, the eight remaining beads were probably made of materials that were not, or rather could not be, worked in the same way as the others. There are four metal beads (1 silver, 1 iron, and 2 copper) listed. In addition, there are four sea-shells (2 *biššūr atāni*[PEŠ₄.ANŠE] and 2 *ayyartu*[PA])⁷² which gives the total of eight beads that are *not* minerals.

But what did the *īnātu* in this context designate? There are a number of references in which *īnātu* beads appear, but they appear specifically together with *parū*-stones in the Lamaštu-Series III.⁷³ That the *īnātu* beads referred to pearls (oyster pearls) is unlikely, as pearls are extremely rare before the second half of the first millennium B.C., and such cases should be analyzed individually.⁷⁴ The key to the identification of *īnātu*-stones lies perhaps in the reference NA₄.IGI.MEŠ *Meluḥḥa* appearing in a list of temple gifts.⁷⁵ The fact that these beads were described as coming from Meluḥḥa, the Indus Valley, could refer to the particular form of beads discussed earlier. It should be noted that it is possible, though unlikely, that the *īnātu* in this context referred to the natural *eye-agate* geode (i.e. not banded agate cut to look like eyes). There is a variety of stones that is grouped under *īnātu*, and not all are agates. Here, the

70 Farber 2014, 254.

71 Schuster-Brandis 2008, 201–202.

72 Oppenheim 1963, 407–409. It is established that *ayyartu* and *biššūr atāni* are seashells. It is unlikely that *nibu* is a kind of seashell, although Oppenheim considered this possibility based on the evidence from BAM 364 that lists *nibu* amongst others as “from the sea”. This is, however, uncertain especially when other references for *nibu* are considered.

73 Farber 2014, 186–189.

74 Moorey 1994, 93, 99. See During Caspers 1983, 46–49, who discusses the various forms of “eye stones”, not, however, in connection with *īnātu*.

75 Rawlinson 1884, Plate 33: ii 39, text of Agukakrime (Agum II), the Kassite king of Babylon about 1470 B.C. Also in this context (line 36) ^{NA}ZÚ *mar-ḥa-ši* SIG₇, “green *šurru* stone from Marḥaši”, is listed.

eye-form was the result of a manufacturing technique that left the center of a bead dark (as the iris of the eye) while making a white circle around it by applying a bleach. This technique was applied especially, but not exclusively, to carnelian.⁷⁶ There were, therefore, 21 such beads in the listing of stones in *BAM* 356. Possibly the special threading of seven, four, or three eye-beads in the Lamaštu III prescriptions in addition to other stones that are to be strung, refer to these particular beads treated as described above.

In the *lipšur* litanies, the mountain Tila and the mountain Saggiš (or Sag-mānu) are referred to as being the “homes” of the *ēnāte*.⁷⁷ Lines 20–36, of a long text of 122 lines, present a list of minerals and the “mountains” from which they are said to come. In some instances there is more than one mountain associated with a particular mineral. The last four items in this list are of interest to us here. In line 33 Meluḥḥa is mentioned as the home of carnelian and in line 34 Magan (present-day Oman) as the home of copper. The list closes with mention of two mountains which are referred to as the homes of *ēnāte*. Reiner translates these lines “the home of beads”. If the mountains are to be considered the sources of the minerals, Tila and Saggiš were probably particularly well-known locations for the manufacture of beads. Could this refer to the hill country of Kutch and Gujrat, the source of good carnelian even today?

BAM 356 identifies the second group of 21 stones as *parūtu*. Although this description probably also referred to the form or particular appearance of the beads, textual evidence as to the meaning of *parūtu* remains uncertain. In this particular context, the stone *parūtu*, “alabaster, marble”, which is in fact prescribed in one of the amulets in this text, was not intended. In the Lamaštu III ritual, *parū* appears in its plural form *parē* which, as Farber points out, is restricted to this ritual.⁷⁸ He translates the references in Lamaštu III “mule-stones” or “stone mules?” from *parū* “mule”⁷⁹ and states that “for the time being, it remains impossible to prove or disprove the interpretation as mule figurines.”⁸⁰ Considering the context in *BAM* 356, it is unlikely that the designation *parūtu* would refer to the 21 stones as sharing some descriptive characteristics with a mule. As in the designation of *inātu* above, *parūtu* must have also designated something specific that was generally understood, but which we today are unable to identify.⁸¹ As advanced glazing techniques were

76 Beck 1933, 384 lists agate and chalcedony.

77 Reiner 1956, 134. The enumeration follows the sequence as in Hh 22.

78 Farber 2014, 254.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid. citing *AHw* 837a; *CAD* P 207–208 s.v. *parū* B; Schuster-Brandis 2008, 202–203.

81 The reason why the Lamaštu III text uses the designation *parē* with *inātu* and not *parūtu*

practiced in both the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia, *parūtu* more than likely referred to a particular glass glaze.⁸² The *parūtu* beads were probably glazed beads. Although the colour of this “glaze” cannot be ascertained, colourants were added to imitate the actual stones. Oppenheim cites a reference from an Assyrian text that describes the process of obtaining a *parūtu* (glass) from Aššur. Oppenheim, though recognizing the difficulties, translates the product as “Assyrian alabaster colored glass” and suggests that it had a “rosy tinge or possibly was white with reddish veins and spots.”⁸³ Based on this reference, one can surmise, that, although *parūtu* is a glass product, it was manufactured in different colours. The *parūtu* beads in *BAM* 356 were probably made of either faience⁸⁴ or steatite and then glazed. It should also be added that the term “glaze” denotes a vitreous (glassy) coating that could be applied in a number of different ways.⁸⁵

The above analysis leads us to consider an important aspect in the nature of some of the beads used for therapeutic purposes in Mesopotamian texts. How genuine were these beads? The manufacturing of steatite and clay beads was common in the Indus Valley civilization as well as Mesopotamia. As mentioned earlier, steatite (talc) could be hardened through firing at high temperatures. The Harappans had perfected the technique of etching and glazing of a wide range of products. The possibility that all 42 beads (not only the 21 *parūtu* beads) in *BAM* 356 were imitations should not be ignored.

We are now perhaps in a better position to explain the *Sitz im Leben* of such an inventory text as *BAM* 356. Trying to understand “inventory” and “catalogue” texts within the genre of amulet-stone texts should be attempted only on a case by case basis. *BAM* 356 was probably compiled at the specific

cannot be explained. However, the possibility that the terms might be related should be considered. Interestingly, in the Lamaštu contexts in which strung-bead amulets are prescribed, the *inātu* and the *parē* are strung often on black wool in a separate prescription and not with the other stones (Farber 2014, 186, 275). An important difference between the Lamaštu references and the reference for *parūtu* in *BAM* 356 is the fact that this text is not a purely Lamaštu text, but rather a text that includes a number of other amulets with an “inventory” part. The reference to *parūtu* falls in this latter portion. It characterizes a number of stones that had previously been listed and, as such, probably represented a collective designation for a variety of “glazed” (perhaps veined?) beads.

82 CAD P 211 s.v. *parūtu* A d).

83 Oppenheim 1970, 50–51.

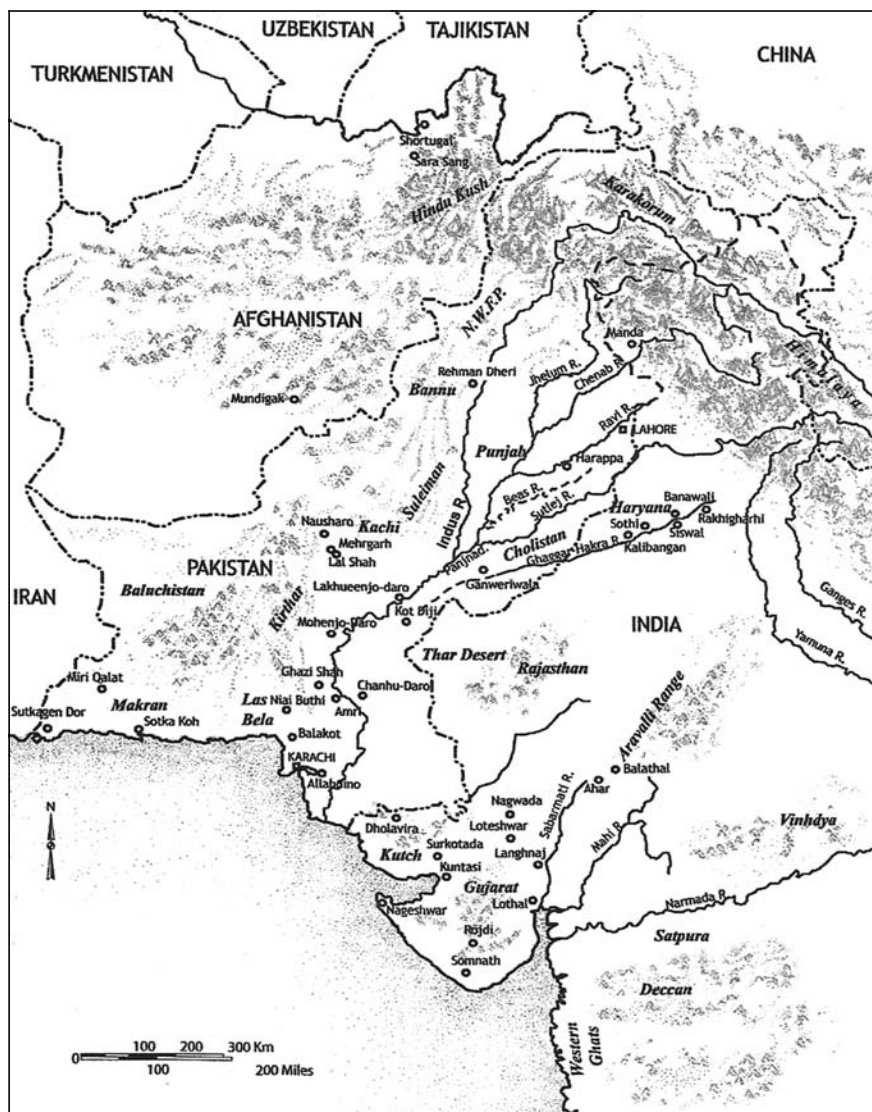
84 Faience should be distinguished from glass as the process of their manufacture is different. Faience is “sintered powdered quartz” with alkali and lime added. Moorey 1994, 166–167.

85 Moorey 1994, 185.

request of an *āšipu* or his colleague (?) who needed these particular prescriptions. In addition to this information, a listing of the necessary stones with the respective number of each was also provided. Why would a listing be necessary? It probably points to the fact that these stones were sent along with the tablet and the “inventory” portion served as a quick check for the recipient. As explained above, the seeming discrepancy in the total of stones was not a sign of negligence on the part of the compiler, but would be unmistakably understood by the recipient who received 21 eye-beads, 21 glazed artificial beads, 4 metal beads, and 4 sea-shells. All these were very easily identifiable by the Mesopotamian recipient. Additional information seems not to have been necessary, as it must have been common knowledge which of the materials was to be used for threading which beads.

In archaeological surveys, beads in general have not received the attention they deserve, as they were considered simple jewellery. We now know through textual evidence from Mesopotamia that beads also constituted one of the important therapeutic measures used in healing a wide range of complaints. A systematic, scientific examination of beads from Mesopotamia (for example by X-ray diffraction [XRD] or Scanning Electron Microscopy [SEM]) would give us a definitive identification of the minerals at hand and would replace the unreliable method of identification by sight alone. A scientific examination would also provide us information as to the provenance of such beads. Microscopic examination would help identify the drilling technique used, and hence the probable place of manufacture. A true understanding of the Mesopotamian description of minerals (*abnu šikinšu*) will only be meaningful when the extant material has been reliably identified, thus helping to focus on particular groups of minerals while excluding others. Last but not least, it would help us to better understand the meaning of some of the associated concepts and their *Sitz im Leben*.

Map

MAP 10.1 *Indus civilization sites*

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Two Old Babylonian Incantation Tablets, Purportedly from Adab (A 633 and A 704)

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I A 633

When Ignace J. Gelb came to the Oriental Institute in 1929, one of his first projects seems to have concerned the cuneiform texts that Edgar J. Banks and Victor S. Persons had excavated at Tel Bismaya, or ancient Adab, in 1903–1905.¹ One of the earliest draft notes that was found among his papers after his death reads as follows:² “Working on the so called Bismya material in the Museum of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago I discovered a tablet which is worth to be published immediately not only on account of the fact that it is very different from all others discovered by Banks at Bismya, ancient Adab,³ but also for the great interest which will suscite this tablet among the scholars.” After a brief description of the tablet itself, correctly identified as A 633, Gelb continued: “The tablet is inscribed totally on the Obverse and on the most part of the Reverse. According to the style of the writing it belongs to the time of the socalled Hammurabi dynasty. Wholly it contains 18 lines which are divided

1 For a reconstruction of this expedition, and a detailed revision of the excavation records and finds, see Wilson 2012. A major part of Banks’ finds is now housed at the Oriental Institute. A catalogue, bibliography, and short description of all texts that entered the O.I. museum as part of Banks’ and Persons’ “Bismya” collection is given in Wilson 2012 in four appendices on pp. 133–156; many of the tablets have since been reassigned to other proveniences on internal evidence, and this has been duly noted in the catalogue as well. At the moment, however, it seems best to assume that tablets for which a provenience other than Adab cannot be proven or at least made likely, actually were found at or near the site of Bismaya.

2 I left the English text exactly as it was written around 1930 by a young Polish scholar educated in Italy who at that time obviously still struggled a bit with the English language.

3 This remark may refer to the fact that the tablet is in landscape format, which is indeed unusual for Old Babylonian texts from this site, and might be an indication that this item also, like so many others, was purchased by Banks in Iraq, and not actually excavated by him in Bismaya.

in three singular paragraphs. First 7 lines are written in an unprehensible language, farther 9 lines seem to be the translation in a very bad Akkadian of the preceding part, finally 2 last lines are probably bilinguals.” A first attempt at a transliteration and an unfinished hand copy follow, before the manuscript breaks off in the middle of a sentence.

In spite of the initial urgency expressed by Gelb, he never got around to finishing the edition, and the tablet remained technically unpublished in our Tablet Collection until now.⁴ But ever since the *CAD* published an excerpt from the text in 1971,⁵ it was known to the scholarly community as containing an incantation against *maškadu*.⁶ Twenty-eight years later, T. Collins provided a full transliteration of the *maškadu* incantation (ll. 8–15), based on my own transliteration of Gelb’s old hand copy.⁷ This transliteration then made it into the *SEAL* project under No. 5.1.15.1,⁸ and has also been quoted several times elsewhere.⁹ Most recently, J. Lauinger dealt with the tablet in his contribution to K. Wilson’s work,¹⁰ where under No. A 633 the text is somewhat misleadingly described as “Bilingual (Sumerian-Akkadian) exorcism”, without mention of any of the previous literature.

As can be seen from my copy (fig. 11.1) and the edition presented here, the text actually contains

- a) in ll. 1–7 a text in an unknown language (Hurro-Subarian?), probably an incantation albeit not marked as such by any rubric terms, against an unknown evil or illness, followed by a ruling,

4 Until Gelb’s death in December 1985, the publication rights remained in his name. Starting in 1986, Robert Whiting and the present author worked jointly on this text, as well as on A 704 (see below), until Whiting’s departure from Chicago also foiled these plans. I am very grateful to Robert, however, who later ceded his rights to me and thus made this publication finally possible. I am also indebted to him for many discussions and suggestions regarding the two texts, which have greatly improved the quality of this publication. All errors, however, remain mine.

5 *CAD* K 337a s.v. *kibsu* A.d; see also *CAD* M/1 368b s.v. *maškadu* (1978). As far as I know, no further lines from A 633 were ever quoted in the *CAD*. Note that the 1961 reference in *CAD* Z 10a s.v. *zābu* 2 is a mistake and should refer to A 704 (see below).

6 See also Farber 1981, 59.

7 Collins 1999, 234–235.

8 *Sources of Early Akkadian Literature*: <http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de> (accessed 2 December 2016), a website under the supervision of M. Streck and N. Wasserman.

9 See for instance Stol 2014, 10b; and Wasserman 2012, 427.

10 Lauinger 2012, 147.

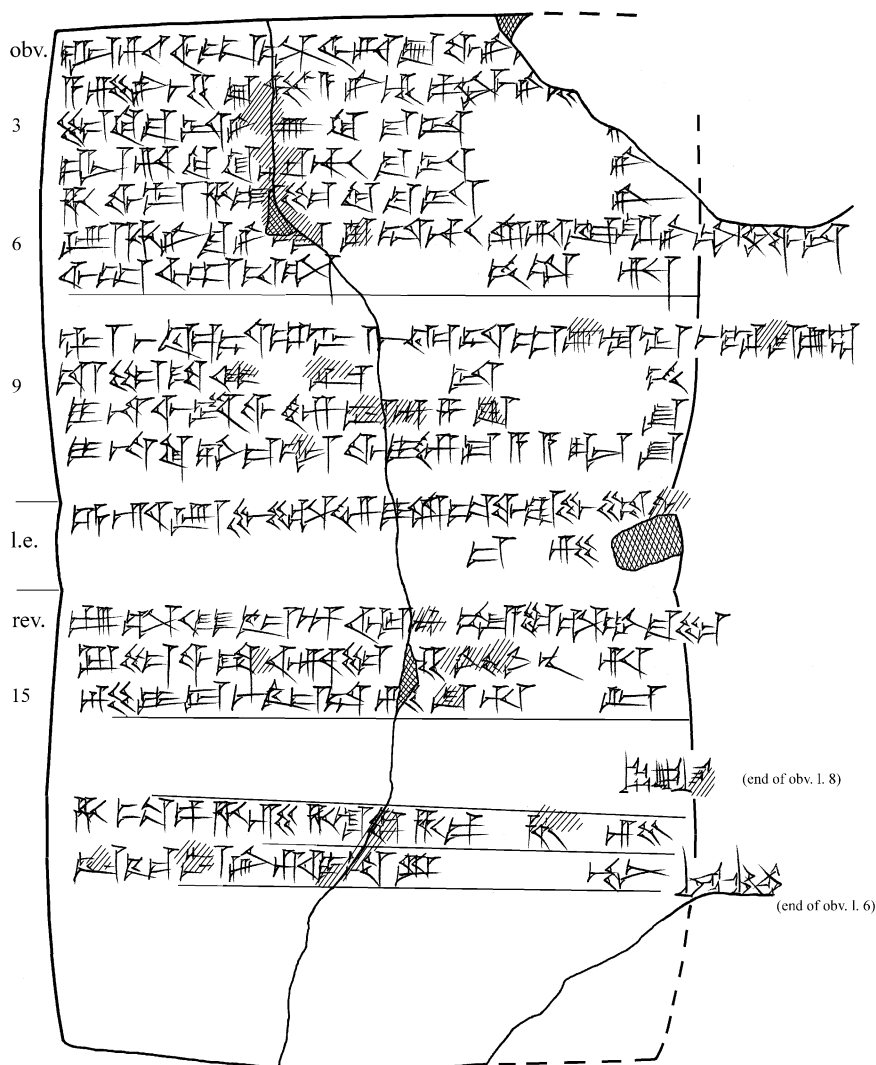


FIGURE 11.1 A 633 (101×67×29 mm)

- b) in ll. 8–15 a spell in Akkadian against *maškadum*, identified as an incantation by the rubric term *TU.EN.NI.IN.NU.RI* at the end of line 14. Unexpectedly, however, this phrase is still followed by a line in Akkadian that thematically seems to belong with the incantation. Another ruling closes this whole section. After an empty space, there finally follows

- c) a one-line mumbo-jumbo spell (l. 16) with a rubric line KA.INIM.MA *ir-ri i-ša-ru-tim* (l. 17) that is set apart by still another ruling.

Since *maškadum* is not elsewhere connected to indigestion,¹¹ it seems safe to assume that this final rubric line “Recitation for Loose Bowels” refers only to the one-line spell that immediately precedes it, and not to the complete contents of the tablet. Furthermore, since I cannot detect any formal correlation connecting the Akkadian text in ll. 8–15 to recurring words or groups of signs in the preceding text of ll. 1–7, I assume that these two sections are not, as originally suspected by Gelb and again suggested by Lauinger, two versions of the same incantation in different languages,¹² but rather two independent magical entities.

What follows is meant to be simply a reliable edition of the original text. For the parts in unknown languages (lines 1–7 and 16), I will mainly try to establish the correct identification of the cuneiform signs. My hyphenation here is tentative and in most cases not based on a perceived deeper understanding of words or word boundaries. For the Akkadian passages (ll. 8–15 and 17), my goal is a philologically sound rendering. I will, however, not attempt to re-discuss the textual history and medical meaning of the incantation, since this has been done before, specifically by Collins and Wasserman, and does not need to be repeated here. I will also keep my philological remarks as short as possible.

Transliteration

- 1) al-ri ši(+)ab ta-ar-zu-PI-ni x[x xx xx xx]
 - 2) a-zi-ni-en zu IGI²/PI²+KUR a-ni-en pa-aḫ-me-ni-e[n²]/m[u² xx xx]
 - 3) tu-di ba-da-ni ú-di ba-da-n[i]
 - 4) al-ri di-ki-ib-ti ba-da-ni
 - 5) ḫa-PI-ma-ḫa-at tu-di ba-da-ni
 - 6) ib-ḫa-ni ba-ni [a]d² lu²-du-ti ru-ri ka-ra-ni ta-aḫ-PI-da
 - 7) ši(+)ab ši(+)ab uš²-ta am-ta-ri
-
- 8) *ma-aš-ka-du-um ma-aš-ka-du-um ú-la ma-aš-ra šu-ú-um*
 - 9) *iš-tu ša-mi ur-da-am*
 - 10) *i-na ši-it-pi-im ma-an-za-zu-šu*

11 For a recent attempt at identifying the disease with brucellosis, see Wasserman 2012.

12 Gelb: “translation in a very bad Akkadian of the preceding part”; Lauinger: “Bilingual (Sumerian-Akkadian) exorcism”.

- 11) *i-na ki-bi-is al-pi-i-im ma-ayya-al-šu*
 12) *e-re-eb bu-li-im i-ru-ab wa-šú bu-li-im iṣ-ší*
 13) *ú-ta-mi-ka AN ù an-tum a-šar ta-aṣ-ba-tu*
 14) *lu tu-wa-ša-ar TU.EN.NI.IN.NU.RI*
 15) *ší-i ma-aš-ka-du ší šu-ḥu-ur*
-

- 16) *ḥa-ap-pa ḥa-zi ḥa-la-di? ḥa-pa ḥa-zi*
-

- 17) *KA.INIM.MA ir-ri i-ša-ru-tim*
-

Translation

- 1–7 (This section remains untranslatable for the time being. For possible hints, albeit far from proven, that the text reflects an OB stage of a Hurro-Subarian language, see the line commentary below.)
-

- 8 *maškadum* disease, *maškadum* disease, certainly not *mašra* (but rather) *šu'ûm*!
 9 It came down from the skies—
 10 on dirt heap(s) is where it likes to hang out,
 11 in (dung-filled) cattle track(s) is where it likes to sleep.
 12 It comes in when the cattle come in, it goes out when the cattle go out.
 13 I put you under the spell of Anum and Antum: Whatever you are holding on to,
 14 you will have to let go!—MAGIC FORMULA—
 15 Leave, *maškadu*! Get out! Freeze!
-

- 16 (incomprehensible mumbo-jumbo)
-

- 17 RECITATION (for) loose bowels.
-

Commentary

1: In all three instances where it occurs (ll. 1 and 7), the sequence IGLAB is written very close together, making it almost look like a ligature, although I can think of no reading that would fit this fact.

It is very tempting to read the next sequence of signs as **tarsuwa-ni*,¹³ yielding a good approximation of the well-known Hurrian word for “man” or “mankind”.¹⁴ This would suggest a Hurro-Subarian background for our incantation. I have, however, not been able to identify any other element of the text with sufficient certainty as Hurrian to prove this assumption, but quote a few more possible hints in this direction below.

2: *pa-aḥ(-me-ni-)* might be another Hurrian lemma, possibly to be connected with **paḥ-* “head”.

3–5: The sequence *ba-da-ni* which recurs four times, three times of which it is preceded by *ú-di* or *tu-di*, could be a clue to the underlying language, but other than the possibility of the presence of the Hurrian article *-ni*,¹⁵ I cannot find any good explanation of the word(s).

5: With *ḥa-PI(waʔ)-ma-ḥa-at*, one might compare *ḥa-wa-ḥa-a* “prayer?” in the OB Hurrian incantation AO 19938: 16 (Nougayrol, *RA* 42, 13).

6: While the reading of the seventh sign as LU seems to be reasonably certain, the preceding sign could also be ZÉ or, less likely, even LA.

8: The assumption of Collins (1999, 234–235) that *ma-aš-RA* is nothing but a mistake for **maškadum* seems too simple to be correct, although I have no good explanation for the otherwise unattested lemma **mašra/u* in this context. For parallels which prove the correctness of the general idea (*šúʾu* as an alias or code name for *maškadu*), see Collins (1999, 235–237) with several examples for the phrase *šúʾu šumšu maškadu kīnüssu*: “Its name is *šúʾu*, in reality it is *maškadu*.”

12: Both Collins (1999, 235) and Wasserman (*SEAL*¹⁶) have noted and briefly commented upon the strange forms *i-ru-ab* for **irrub*,¹⁷ and *iZ-Zi* for **uṣṣi*. I

13 As evidenced in the Akkadian section, the sign PI can be read in this text either as /pi/ (see ll. 10–11), or as /wa/ (see l. 14). This, as has been noted by others, generally speaks for a southern Mesopotamian provenience of the tablet.

14 See most conveniently Laroche 1977, 258 s.v. *taršuwani*.

15 Word-closing *-ni* occurs several times in our text. In view of the other possibly Hurro-Subarian lemmata, some of these cases might also be the enclitic article *-ni*, although the danger of a circular argument may be looming here.

16 See footnote 8.

17 A partial graphemic Assyrianism, or a mixture between an Assyrian form **irrab* and Babylonian **irrub*, as proposed in *SEAL*, does not seem very likely to me.

assume those spellings also were the main reason for Gelb's judgment that the text was written in "very bad Akkadian." It might not be a coincidence though that both forms, as written, could also be good Old Babylonian forms that would, however, have to be derived from different verbs, **rūb* "to tremble, quake" and **nsī* "to withdraw, move away," and these admittedly do not seem to make much sense in the given context. At best, one could then further speculate that there might be some play on words/forms involved, but the simple explanation as mistakes seems to be still preferable.

14: Collins' emendation from TA to ŠA is no longer necessary, since TA turns out to be a copying mistake by Gelb.

15: Neither Collins (1999, 235) nor Wasserman (*SEAL*,¹⁸ and Wasserman 2012, 427) has translated the final four signs of this incantation, ZI ŠU ̕U UR. Robert Whiting quoted lines 13–15 in a paper on A 704¹⁹ and translated the phrase "Begone, turn back," assuming that ZI was a graphemically abbreviated repetition of the imperative of **wšī* (*šī* "leave!"), while taking *šu-̕u-ur* as a misspelling or phonetic variant for **su̕hur*, the imp. of **šhr* "to turn around." While I agree with his interpretation of *šī* "leave!", neither the semantics of **šhr*²⁰ nor the proposed phonological root variant seem convincing to me.²¹ I thus prefer to believe that *šu-̕u-ur* is actually an otherwise unattested imperative of the quadriliteral verb **šu̕harruru(m)*. I base this interpretation on the OB stative **ša̕hur(r)*²² well attested for this verb. It occurs in the famous prayer to the gods of the night, Šilejko, *IRAIMK* 3, 144 ff. (see von Soden, *RA* 32, 180: 10–11; the SB parallel in Oppenheim, *AnBi* 12, 283: 36 has *šu-̕ar-ru-ur* instead), but also in the incantation Nougayrol, *RA* 66, 142: 8, and possibly in the OB Gilgamesh text Bauer, *JNES* 16, 255: 7.²³ The same base form is also used in OB Atra-̕asis lines II iii 15 (*ša-̕u-ur-ru*) and III iii 47 (*ša-̕u-ur-ra-at*). For similar forms of **šuqammumu*, see *CAD* Š/2 34, where the statives, however, are listed

18 See footnote 8.

19 Whiting 1970 (unpubl. manuscript, Chicago 1970).

20 The only instance where **šhr* seems to be used for an illness turning *away* from a patient is in Adapa frgm. D (K 8214): rev. 18', see *CAD* S 40a. This interpretation has, however, been refuted by several scholars, see most recently Izre'el 2001, 43–44.

21 As a devil's advocate, I should however mention that I myself have considered a similar mix-up between /s/ and /š/ in the spelling of **tars/šuwani-* in line 1 of our text.

22 For the assumption that this form is originally the adjectival base **paruss-* from which the quadriliteral verbs *šuqammumu(m)* and *šu̕harruru(m)* have been derived, see *GAG* § 55p–28a and § 109c.

23 The reading [*šu*]̕harrū was proposed in *GAG* (1995), addition * to § 109c, but was not adopted in George 2003 (vol. 1), 262.

with the adjective *šaqummu*. Unfortunately, at this point I am unable to quote any other instances of imperatives for either of the two verbs, although their basic meaning, contra von Soden's statement in *GAG* §109c, does not seem to me to be purely stative ("to be stiff / silent"), but rather ingressive ("to become stiff / silent") and thus should not be incompatible with the use of an imperative.

16–17: A close parallel to this short mumbo-jumbo spell (which, at least to a German ear, would sound more appropriate for a head cold than for diarrhea) and its rubric line can be found on another OB incantation tablet, *YOS* 11 21: 33a–b:

ḫa-la-ḫa-ap-pi ḫa-az-zi ḫa-az-zi ḫa-la-ḫa-ap-pi ḫa-az-[zi] / ša ŠÀ SI.SÁ

The final phrase there, *ša ŠÀ SI.SÁ*, "for loose bowels" (in 33b), also corresponds very literally to the rubric line in our text, *KA.INIM.MA ir-ri i-ša-ru-tim*. The expression is well known from later texts (e.g. *BAM* 395, MB), but to my knowledge the Akkadian form was not previously attested in OB.

II A 704

A 704 also came to the Oriental Institute as part of Banks' "Bismya" collection in 1905, but was never published. Like A 633, this tablet starts out with an incantation in an unknown language (ll. 1–11) followed by a rubric line *TU.EN.NI.IN.NU.RI* (l. 12). The rest of the text is in Akkadian, containing an incantation (ll. 13–22) and the accompanying rubric line *[T]U.EN.NI.IN.NU.RI* (l. 23). No old notes of Gelb regarding this tablet have survived, although he probably was aware of the text already early on. He is likely also responsible for the mix-up by which this text was quoted by the *CAD* in 1961 (*CAD* Z 10a s.v. *zābu* 2) under the wrong museum number A 633, the latter being a text that Gelb was still planning to publish at that time. In 1969, he assigned A 704 to his student Robert Whiting, who prepared an edition that, however, was never published.²⁴ A very rough hand copy of the text attached to that paper may or may not have been made by Whiting himself at the time, who in turn re-copied the tablet in 1988. This copy is published here with his permission as fig. 11.2.

24 Whiting 1970 (unpubl. manuscript, Chicago 1970).

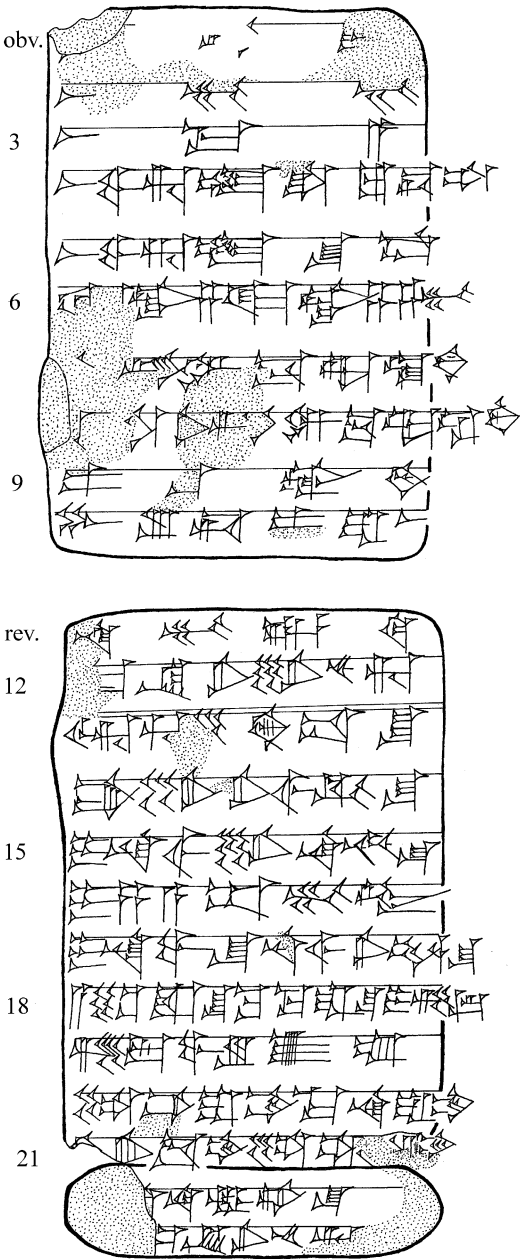


FIGURE 11.2 *A 704 (52×73×23 mm)*
COPY R.M. WHITING

Following Whiting's study, A 704 was extensively used in the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, whence by 2006 the complete text could actually be reconstructed.²⁵ In 1985, Whiting himself quoted lines 15–18 in the context of incantations against rabid dogs.²⁶ The complete Akkadian text was finally reproduced in 2001 by Y. Wu²⁷ from a transliteration by J.A. Brinkman and is now also available in *SEAL*²⁸ under No. 5.1.6.1. The enigmatic section of lines 1–12, however, still remains unpublished. Finally, J. Lauinger listed the tablet in his contribution to K. Wilson's work on Adab,²⁹ where under No. A 704 the text is, again a bit misleadingly, described as "Ritual instructions—exorcism?" without mention of any of the previous literature.

While most of the incantation in ll. 13 ff. has been fully understood, some damage near the end of the reverse and the upper edge make the reading of the final passage still somewhat doubtful. As with the edition of A 633 above, what follows is meant to provide a reliable rendering of the original text. As there, my hyphenation in ll. 1–11 is tentative. For the Akkadian incantation (ll. 13–23), my goal is again to simply provide a philologically sound textual basis. I will thus not attempt to re-discuss the textual history and medical meaning of the incantation, since this has been done before by Whiting, Finkel, and Wu, and does not need to be repeated here. Again, I will keep my philological remarks as short as possible.

*Transliteration*³⁰

- 1) A[Š?] bi?-i
- 2) AŠ mu-mu
- 3) AŠ ma-a
- 4) AŠ pi-ri-ÁG ša lu-uš-ta
- 5) AŠ pi-ri-ÁG šu-du
- 6) k[a]-az-za ka-az-za-za-mu

25 1977: CAD M/1 314a s.v. *māru* 2; M/2 318a s.v. *mūtu* d; 1980: N/2 54a s.v. *našāku* 1a, 234a s.v. *nīlu* 2, 281b s.v. *nišku* 1a; 1992: Š/2 416b s.v. *šihṭu* 1a; Š/3 48a s.v. *šinnu* A, 51a s.v. *šinnu* 2b1; 2006: T 80b s.v. *teḥū* 3–4.

26 Quoted in Whiting 1985, 183 as "rev. 5–8" and repeated by Finkel 1999, 214. For a brief description of the text, see also Farber 1981, 59.

27 Wu 2001, 34–35.

28 See footnote 8.

29 Lauinger 2012, 150.

30 The tablet has rulings after every line of text, which have not been indicated in the transliteration, with the exception of the double line after l. 12.

- 7) [n]i²-gi im-da-al-la-aḥ
 8) [x]x-[t]e ni-gi im-da-al-la-aḥ
 9) pa-šu-uk-kam
 10) pu-ru-uš pa-ra-aš
 11) na-mu-un-DI
 12) TU.EN.NI.IN.NU.RI

-
- 13) *ar-ḥu še-eḥ-tù-šu*
 14) *ga-še-er ni-ši-ik-šu*
 15) *i-na ši-in-na-ti-šu*
 16) *i-za-a-ab mu-tum*
 17) *i-na pi-šu na-ši ni-il-šu*
 18) *a-šar iš-šu-ku ma-ra-šu i-zi-ib*
 19) *ZI-ip-pi-ru-ú-um*
 20) *li-bi-ra-am-ma na-ra-am*
 21) *l[i]-ir-da-am li-ta-[l]i-a-am*
 22) *[i-n]a na-ag-bi-šu*
 23) [T]U.EN.NI.IN.NU.RI

Translation

- 1–12 (Lines 1–11 remain incomprehensible and untranslatable for the time being, in spite of several indications that the text might actually be written in a garbled phonetic Sumerian)

12 MAGIC FORMULA

-
- 13 His leaps are swift,
 14 his bite is powerful,
 15 from his teeth ¹⁶ oozes death,
 17 in his mouth he carries his semen.
 18 Wherever he bit, he left his offspring.
 19 May *the one from Sippar*(?) ²⁰ cross over the river towards me!
 21 May he descend towards me, may he come up towards me
 22 [from] his underground water source!
 23 MAGIC FORMULA

Commentary

1–11: There are several features in this incantation that could be taken as indications that there was an underlying garbled Sumerian text, like the spelling *piri-ÁG* (ll. 4–5) which could be a phonetic rendering of **piriŋ*; the u-a change of vocalism in the pair *puruš-paraš* followed by *na-mu-un-DI(sá?)* (ll. 10–11) which could conceivably represent a Sumerian verbal phrase of the type **dubul-dabal* – *za*; or the sequence *im-da-al-la-aḥ*, which reminds one of Sumerian verbal syntagmas like **i-m.da-BASE*. Since this edition is part of a *Festschrift* for Mark Geller, who combines an impressive knowledge of the Sumerian incantation corpus with the rare skill to associatively connect seemingly unrelated texts, I leave it to him to eventually find a Sumerian parallel that will explain our text. I therefore will not explore this angle further here and restrict my remarks to a few epigraphical problems.

1: Parts or all of this line seem to have been erased, be it accidentally or intentionally.

7: Only minimal traces of the first sign remain, but since these are consistent with NI, I have restored the beginning of the line to match the middle of the following.

8: I have no cogent suggestion for interpreting the remains of the first sign, while the reading of the second sign as TE seems reasonably certain.

19–22: These lines have been translated “Let it cross over the Sippar (canal) and go down to the river, so that it may reach its subterranean water” by Wu and *SEAL*, based on the reading **[l]í-ir-da-am li-tá-ḥ[i?]-a²-am* of l. 21. While NI/*lí* at the beginning of the line seems conceivable, though not perfect,³¹ at the end of the line both Whiting’s copy and my own collation confirm the reading *li-ta-[l]i-a-am*.³² The previous translation also had to cope with serious problems: *Sippirûm* is neither in accusative as required by **’br*, nor a feminine name, as expected for a watercourse; **’wrd* is nowhere else construed with an acc. of direction; the D stem of **’th̄r* is translated as a G stem; and at least one of the three ventive forms, *libiram*, seems to point in the wrong direction, away from the speaker instead of towards him. In my translation, the syntax becomes much smoother by taking the nominative *Sippirûm*, whoever or whatever that is,³³ as the subject of *libiram-ma nāram*. For the following phrase, it

31 According to my collation, the traces of the first sign would still fit better the sign 𒀭, as originally transliterated by Whiting 1970, but neither of us has been able to make any sense of such a reading.

32 The /a/ in **litaliam* does not pose a major problem in view of the many other attestations of **’lī* with /a/ vocalism in OB, see for instance *CAD E* 116a and passim.

33 I have retained Wu’s translation “the one from Sippar” lacking a better idea. In spite of its

is unfortunately impossible to assume a subject change to the river because of the masc. resumptive pronoun *-šu* in l. 22, which cannot refer to the fem. noun *nārum*. It thus must still be the *Sippirûm* which is said to move down and up towards the speaker as expressed by the complementary pair **wrd* and **lî* Gt. Unfortunately, the preposition preceding *nagbišu* is partially broken, but I prefer to restore *[i]na* (referencing **lî* Gt), rather than *[a]na* (referencing **wrd*) because it immediately follows the former. Having said all this, I have to admit that the deeper sense of the whole passage still escapes me. But after all, I think that a problematic translation that follows the rules of grammar is still preferable to an elegant one that does not, and thus is likely to be wrong.

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close connection to a *nagbu* (see l. 22), this “Sipparean” cannot simply be a watercourse, since the noun is clearly construed as a *nomen masculinum*. Or can it?

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Of *tirku*, Moles and Other Spots on the Skin according to the Physiognomic Omens

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The omen series *alandimmû* interprets the human physical appearance of both men and women. This focus forms a counterpart to the series SA.GIG that deals with sick people and patients. The difference lies in the interpretation of the observed features. While SA.GIG interprets symptoms and diseases with regard to the patient's prospect of recovery and is thus of interest for both the patient and the physician, *alandimmû* interprets the physical characteristics of healthy persons with regard to either the individual's future or his or her character. Obtaining information on someone's character was of great interest for the king, who wanted to know how reliable his personnel were. His officials and close consultants were especially singled out. The scholar who reworked both the series SA.GIG and *alandimmû* in the eleventh century BCE for the Babylonian king Adad-apla-iddina (1068–1047 BCE) and fixed their sequence in a catalogue with the incipits of the individual tablets of both series was Esagil-

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I dedicate this study on dermal spots from the series *alandimmû* to Mark(ham J.) Geller, whose expertise in and understanding of medical cuneiform texts is extraordinary and made him one of the few experts in this field. Since he is always very open to using various sources for his studies, I am sure he appreciates information on symptoms from these physiognomic omen texts.

kīn-apli. It is not at all surprising that he carefully added an explanation on how they were meant to be used together (Finkel 1988; Heeßel 2000, 13–17, 104–110).

The series *alandimmû* observes and interprets facial features, the shape of the limbs, and the colour of the skin and hair, but also various dermal marks and spots. Although these marks are sporadically mentioned in connection with various body parts, a sub-series called *šumma liptu*, “if a mark (lit. touching)”, was added to focus exclusively on them. Within this sub-series, individual tablets or sections are devoted to various possible spots, such as *erīmu* (as part of the first *liptu*-tablet), *ibāru*, *kittabru* (ŠE), *kurāru* (GIG.PEŠ, PEŠ.GIG), *liptu* (TAG), *pindû*, *tirku* (GE₆), *umšatu* (SAMAG; Ú.GIR) and *urāšu* (IB).¹ Since with a few exceptions² no substantial information on the various kinds of marks or moles have been added since 2000, the discourse of Böck (2000, 28–29) still gives the best available overview on their meaning. For some additional explanations of a few marks from the new texts see below.

As is the case with other series consisting of several tablets, it is not only a challenge to reconstruct the text of each individual tablet, but also to establish the sequence of all the tablets. It is a big advantage that Esagil-kīn-apli wrote a catalogue for the series SA.GIG and *alandimmû* in the Middle Babylonian period. Still, the section on the mark omens must have later been extended, because the number of individual tablets on these omens from the Neo-Assyrian period exceeds that of the catalogue. In addition, Esagil-kīn-apli changed his habit of writing each incipit in a new line for this sub-series. The catalogue gives four fragmentary lines for *šumma liptu* (Finkel 1988, 152: A 86–89, summarized in l. 90) that seem to represent four or five tablets. Still, eight or nine individual tablets on different skin marks have been found in the Neo-Assyrian centres Nineveh and Nimrud and in the Late Babylonian levels of Babylon and Uruk. According to their colophons, these tablets can be grouped into three sections (Böck 2000, 17–18).

A The sequence *liptu* and *erīmu*—*kurāru* forms tablets I and II of the sub-series *šumma liptu* according to the Late Babylonian recension.³

1 A few more spots are mentioned in the tablets dealing with the body, such as *ḫalû*, “a (black) mole”, and *širšu*, “a protuberance”. Since no tablet focusing at these spots has yet been identified, it is very likely that they were not considered to have appeared often enough to devote complete tablets on them.

2 See Böck 2003 and Wasserman 1996 on *kurāru*.

3 If line A 87 of the catalogue can be restored according to the incipit of the *šumma kurāru* tablet (Finkel 1988, 152 and Böck 2000, 179), Esagil-kīn-apli would have already established both tablets as tablets I and II of this sub-series.

- B The next group is *umṣatu*—*pindû*—*urāšu*; no tablet number or clear reference to a series is known for either of these tablets.
- C The last sequence is *kittabru* for a man—*kittabru* for a woman—“throbbing of the temporal artery” or “twitching of the temporal muscle”;⁴ again without a tablet number, but one of the *kittabru* for a woman tablets is evidently part of the series *alandimmû*.

The tablets of the last sequence are commonly considered as the last tablets of the series *alandimmû*. One more tablet is known and would have been placed between these sections; this one focuses on the *tirku*-spot. Furthermore, there is a fragment from the lower left edge of a tablet dealing with *ibāru*. This fragment could be part of one of the other tablets, perhaps of the tablet on *urāšu* (1B), for which only the first 16 lines are preserved (Böck 2000, 202–203). But it could also represent a ninth tablet of this sub-series. In any case, it seems that the original sequence of four or five tablets established by Esagil-kīn-apli in the eleventh century BCE was extended to eight or nine tablets in the seventh century BCE. It is even possible that more tablets on other skin marks have been added during the Neo-Assyrian period and may be identified in the future.

My detailed scrutiny of the British Museum’s Babylonian collection that I conducted in 2013–2014⁵ brought more sources for the series *alandimmû* to light. Three fragmentary tablets on the skin mark *tirku* (BM 34360, BM 39116 and BM 39172, see paragraph A), one on the *umṣatu*-spot (BM 42801, see B),⁶ and one *Sammeltafel* addressing various spots (BM 46232, see C). These additional tablets help to restore the sequence of the *šumma liptu* tablets, since one of the tablets on the *tirku*-mark has a colophon proving that this tablet precedes the one on *umṣatu* (BM 39166). It is very likely that this Late Babylonian recension follows the earlier Neo-Assyrian one, not necessarily in the numbering of the tablets but certainly in the sequence of subjects dealt with. Surprisingly, this Babylonian tablet is said to be the “first tablet of ‘if a *tirku*-spot [is] belo[w ...]’”, thus indicating that a second tablet on *tirku*-spots was to follow, but the

4 This protasis has always been written logographically as DIŠ SA SAG.KI ZI.ZI. The logogram SA stands for *šer’ānu*, a term that denotes “the cordlike parts of the anatomy as opposed to the soft parts called *širu*” (CAD Š/2 309b). In the context of these omens, this can be understood as either “blood vessel; vein, artery” (CAD) or “sinew, tendon, muscle” (Böck).

5 This search was made possible by a M4Human grant of the Gerda Henkel-Stiftung for my project “Solar Eclipses in Their Ancient Near Eastern Perception”.

6 Actually, Eric Schmidtchen (Berlin) identified this fragment among the photographs of the supposed diagnostic omen texts that I gave him for his study and suggested that I publish it in this article, for which I am very grateful.

catch-line clearly refers to *umšatu* omens.⁷ Still, this colophon shows that the tablet on the *tirku*-spot would have been placed between sections A and B given above.

Thus, only the tablet on *ibāru*, if it was part of the series at all (see above), remains unplaced. Unfortunately, there is no tablet to hint at its position within the *šumma liptu* tablets, such as another catalogue, text commentary or a tablet from a *rikis gerri* series⁸ that would follow the order of the subjects treated in the series. Furthermore, the sequence of marks and spots mentioned in the main series follows a different sequence from what we find with the spot tablets (generally *kittabru*—*pindû*—*tirku*—*ibāru*—*urāšu*—*umšatu*—*liptu*—*erīmu*), and it cannot therefore be used to restore the *šumma liptu* tablets. The identification of more tablets will hopefully help to establish the relevance of this skin mark for *alandimmû*.

The new texts also add to our understanding of some of the skin marks. The *Sammeltafel* that addresses various dermal spots and marks by quoting from the series *šumma liptu* and other texts (BM 46232, see paragraph C) is occasionally interspersed with explanations and definitions on the terms. These five marks or moles will be characterized here in alphabetic order in more detail combining the evidence given in the dictionaries and the series *šumma liptu* with the new information.

erīmu, erimmu

An *erīmu* occurs as an individual mark (GAR, *šakānu*, “to place, to set”) seen on the face, including the lips, and the body. Its inclusion into the list of diseases⁹ implies that this mark was considered a symptom to be treated. It would be black, red, yellow or white, although the given synonyms indicate red colour (see below). This mark is commonly translated “Körpermal” (AHw 241a) or “mole, mark” (CAD 294b), “mole (on skin)” and “discoloration (of flesh)” (CDA 78a–b).

BM 46232: rev. iii 15 suggests that someone who does not know the name of the *erīmu* in his native tongue should simply call it *erīmu*. This remark

7 Or does this tablet represent the beginning of another sub-series called *šumma tirku*?

8 Some of the larger Ancient Near Eastern omen series have an associated *rikis gerri* series that quotes selected omens from the main series in their sequence. For the *rikis gerri* series of the omen series *enūma anu enlil* that focuses on celestial and meteorological phenomena see Fincke 2014.

9 CT 19 4 (K 207): i 31–32: sa.UM = *e-ri-im-mu*, (32) te.giṇṣu.nu = MIN; see MSL 9, 92: 31–32.

indicates that several synonyms for this spot have been used. From lexical lists we know the following: *makrû* (“red”; *malku* = *šarru* 4: 78), *girimmu* (“a kind of fruit, berry”; *malku* = *šarru* 2: 122 [old 119]) and *ba-[x]-u* (*malku* = *šarru* 8: 164), of which the last one is also synonymous to *kaspu* (unknown), *pelû* (“red”) and *minû* (“a pustule?”) (*malku* = *šarru* 8: 165–167).¹⁰ See also the meaning of the feminine form *erimtu* as “(a red berry)” (*CAD* 294b; *CDA* 78b) or rather a “*girimmu*-plant of the forest, whose fruit is red”.¹¹

ḫalû, ḫālu

A *ḫalû*, which is sometimes specified as “black”, can occur on facial and body skin, but also on barley. Since the latter is only attested in the apodosis of an omen, it does not seem to be a common name for a disease of grain. On humans, these spots can occur in isolation (*išṭēna nadû* [ŠUB], “to throw individually”) or in groups so that the skin looks almost covered (SIA, *malû*, “to be full of”). It can also be accompanied with *umšatu* marks (see p. 219). The majority of attestations refer to facial skin or the head in general. Since the omen series *šumma izbu* points out that a newborn child may be covered with *ḫalû*,¹² this mark represents a birth-mark rather than a mark that develops later as a symptom. On the other hand, the list of diseases names a *ḫalû*¹³ next to other spots on the skin, thus understanding it as a symptom or, at least, as an abnormal appearance on the skin. The dictionaries translate it “(1) black mole; (2) black spot (a disease of barley)” (*CAD* H 53b), “schwarzes Hautmal” (*AHw* 314b), or “(black) mole” (*CDA* 103a). Lexical texts say that a *ḫalû* is a “black *umšatu*” (*malku* = *šarru* 4: 77: *um-ša-tú ṣa-lim-tú*).¹⁴

BM 46232: rev. iii 4 explains that a mark that is full of liquid, regardless of its size, is called *ḫalû*. For another skin mark that contains liquid see below *umšatu* (p. 219). A black spot oozing liquid could be skin cancer. Since no other text mentions liquid at all, this description could refer to a rather rare phenomenon.

10 For this lexical list see the edition of Hrůša 2010.

11 K 4216+4360+4586+14030 (*CT* 14 20+31–35): iv 26'–28': *ú e-ri-mu* = *ú.GI.RIM* (27'–28') *ú e-ri-mu* = *ú.GI.RIM*! *šá GIŠ.TIR* (šá) *ṛGURUN*!-*šú SA*₅, which is *URU.AN.NA* 1: 387–389.

12 Tablet 4 of this omen series mentions *umšatu* (omen 2), *tirku* (GE₆; omen 6) and *pindû* (omen 8) before the *ḫalû* (omen 9), see De Zorzi 2014 (vol. 2), 441–442.

13 *CT* 19 4 (K 207): i 26: *su.UM* = *ḫa-a-lu*; see *MSL* 9, 92: 26.

14 See also the *šumma izbu* commentary 129 (VAT 9718 [unpublished]): *ḫa-lu-u* = *MIN* (sc. *um-ša-tú ṣa-lim-tú*; Leichty 1970, 216.

katarru

The term *katarru* refers to a mole or mark, but also to a fungus that appears inside or outside of houses. It is white, shiny like gypsum, greenish or red; a red *katarru*, however, is called *miqtu*. The *katarru* is named as a mole or mark in the list of diseases¹⁵ together with other spots on the skin and thus understood as a symptom or abnormal appearance. The dictionaries translate it as “1. a mole or mark; 2. a fungus” (*CAD* K 303b), “eine Art Wandschwamm” (*AHW* 465a); this ignores the evidence of it being a mark on the skin, and it is followed by *CDA* 153b, “a kind of fungus”.

BM 46232: rev. iii 3 defines a *katarru* as a *tirku*-spot with pale flesh that looks like a big spade and suggestive of cedar-wood; this description could refer to cedar wood or to male cedar cones.¹⁶ The connection between *tirku* and *katarru* is also given in the physiognomic omen series describing the surface of a *tirku*-spot “like a *katarru*”.¹⁷ Any discolouring of a black spot such as a *tirku*, whether complete or partial, indicated an illness, probably some kind of skin cancer.

pindû (GUG)

A *pindû*-spot can occur on the body and the face, including the eyes and the genitals, and also on the liver. They appear as individual spots (GAR, *šakānu*), and in groups making the skin look “covered” or “full” (S1.A, *malû*). The omen series *šumma izbu* describes a newborn child “full of *pindû*-marks”,¹⁸ implying that *pindû* is a birthmark. But it occurs in the list of diseases,¹⁹ pointing to a symptom that could develop later or, at least, a symptom that needed to be treated. One text characterises a *pindû* as “reddened” or “burning *pindû*” (*pindû šarpûtu*). A *šumma izbu* commentary indicates a similar colouring by describing a *pindû* as a “red *umšatu*-mark”.²⁰ Because of its specific appearance, which

15 *CT* 19 4 (K 207): i 28: UM.dug₄.ga = *ka-tar-ru*; see *MSL* 9, 92: 28.

16 The heartwood of the Lebanon cedar is yellowish to reddish-brown, while the sapwood is pale yellow to pale red; the male cones remind of spades seen from the side and turn yellowish in August.

17 *TBP* 70 (K 3985+): rev. 35: DIŠ GE₆ IGI-šu GIM KA.TAR; see Böck 2000, 210, omen 104, who understands this as a reference to the fungus, thus following *CAD* K 303b.

18 This omen is quoted directly before a baby full of *halû*-marks (omen 9), see De Zorzi 2014 (vol. 2), 442; see also above fn. 12.

19 *CT* 19 4 (K 207): i 25: gug.su.gug = *pi-in-du-û*; see *MSL* 9, 92: 25.

20 See the *šumma izbu* commentary 128 (VAT 9718 [unpublished]): *pi-in-du-u* = *um-ša-tú sa-an-du*; see Leichty 1970, 216.

could be based on the reddish colour, a semiprecious stone is also called *pindû*. White *pindû*-spots are called *garābu*.²¹ The dictionaries translate *pindû* “Brandmal, -narbe” (*AHw* 854b), “(a red mole, blemish)” (*CAD* 323b), “(a mark on skin, phps.) mole or birthmark” (*CDA* 272a), while Böck (2000, 29a) suggests a meaning of “Hämangion” because of the red colour.

Unfortunately, the description of a *pindû* in BM 46232: obv. i 9' is not preserved.

urāšu (1B)

An *urāšu* can occur as an individual mark (see below) or in groups (S1.A, *malû*) on the face or on the head in general, and even under the hair. It is likely to have occurred elsewhere, but the relevant texts are not preserved. According to the series *šumma liptu*, an *urāšu* can have various shapes, such as a snake, a pea or a lentil. The list of diseases²² names *urāšu* in a separate sequence from the other skin marks. The fact that the physiognomic omen series describes the occurrence of an individual *urāšu* with the verb *nadû* (ŠUB), “to throw (down), to lay (down)”, instead of with *šakānu*, “to put, place, lay down”,²³ as is used with the other dermal spots,²⁴ might reflect the different character of this mark. The term *urāšu* is a noun that might have been derived from the verb (w)*arāšu*, “to be(come) dirty”. The noun can denote “a dirty cloth” and would therefore mean “septic wound, lesion” or “eine tiefe, unreine Narbe” (*AHw* 1428a) in a medical context (*CDA* 425a). Because of the shapes it can assume, *CAD* understands *urāšu* more generally as “(a dermal patch or abnormality)” (*CAD* 210a).

BM 46232: obv. ii 16' points out the yellowish colour of flesh as one of the characteristics of an *urāšu*. The occurrence of an individual *urāšu* is described with the verb *bašû* (GÁL), “to be, to exist” (obv. ii 17'), while multiple occurrences can be referred to with *malû* (S1.A), “to be full of”, or the stative form *takip*, “is dotted (with)” (both rev. iii 1). According to obv. ii 17', the shape of an *urāšu* can suggest a god, while obv. ii 19' describes redness at the left or right side of an *urāšu*.

21 *BAM* 580 (K 7815+10524+Sm 976): v 17: BE-ma ina SU NA pi-in-du-ú BABBAR ša ga-ra-bu i-qab-bu-š[u ...], “If on a man's body there are white *pindû*-marks, they are called *garābu* [...]”

22 *CT* 19 4 (K 207): i 34: dār-mu-uš = ú-ra-šu; see *MSL* 9, 93: 34.

23 Otherwise, the series *alandimmû* uses *šakānu* only in the description of facial lines that are compared with cuneiform signs (*alandimmû* 3: 76–132), see Böck 2000, 29a.

24 But see also the usage of *nadû* (ŠUB) with a *halû*-mark, in case it occurs in isolation (*ištēna*), see above p. 207.

A The Dark Spot *tirku* (GE₆)

A *tirku*-spot is attested on humans and on the entrails of a sheep. On humans, it can appear on the skin of the face and the body, but also on the tongue and inside the eye. Hair can grow out of it on the face and the body. Judging from the logogram (GE₆), a *tirku* must be a black or dark spot. Still, its surface has been described as looking like a “flame”, “like a fungus”, “burn like fire”, or be dark, red, black or white. These colour options (dark–red–black–white), however, have most likely been given on the grounds of systematic completion of possibilities rather than of actual observations. The dictionaries translate it “Schlag, (dunkle) Druckstelle” (AHw 1349a); “a dark spot” (CAD T 426a); “blow, (dark) spot; dark marking” (CDA 404b), “*tirku*-Fleck” (Böck). According to the attestations, *tirku* can have the meanings of any “dark or black spot (on the skin or in the eye; on entrails)”, but also of a “bruise”.²⁵

Three more copies from Babylonia can be added to the omens on the dark spot *tirku*. Two of them supplement the tablet *šumma tirku* (1) and one is either an excerpt or a copy of a forerunner, since it quotes sequences of omens (2).

1 *Tablets from the Series*

In her edition, Barbara Böck was able to use three copies of the tablet on *šumma tirku*. She transliterated her copy from Babylon (VAT 17249) as text 1 (Böck 2000, 204–205), since its fragmentary state did not allow any incorporation into the score transliteration. Text 2 consists of two Neo-Assyrian copies from Kalḫu (CTN 4 73) and Nineveh (K 3985+) (Böck 2000, 204–211). Both new copies from Babylonia duplicate individual parts of text 2. They complete the first and last lines of the tablet and give the catch-line to the subsequent tablet *šumma umṣatu* (SAMAG).

Sources

- A K 3985+6690+11202+Sm 241 (collated); CT 28 pl. 25–27; ll. 1–61, 69–79, 81–114.
- B IM 67557; CTN 4 73; ll. 62–85.
- C BM 39166; Fig. 12.1–12.2; measurements: 33⁺ × 47⁺ × 21⁽⁺⁾ mm; ll. 1–16, 107–110.
- D BM 34360; Fig. 12.3; measurements: 39⁺ × 45⁺ × 20⁺ mm; ll. 81–89.

25 The *tirku* that has been treated according to medical texts (BAM 240: 59) rather refers to the result of a “hit”, a bruise, than to the *tirku* out of which hair can grow.

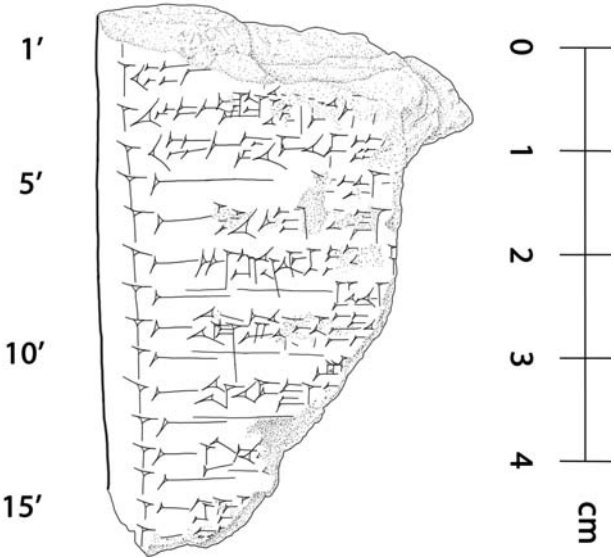


FIGURE 12.1 *BM 39166, obverse*

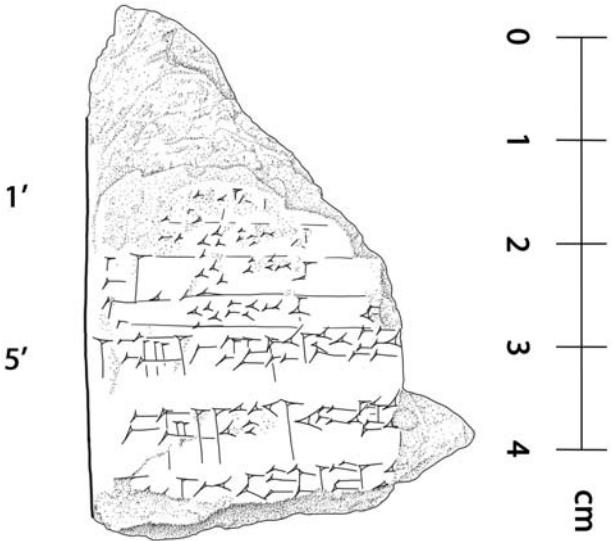


FIGURE 12.2 *BM 39166, reverse*

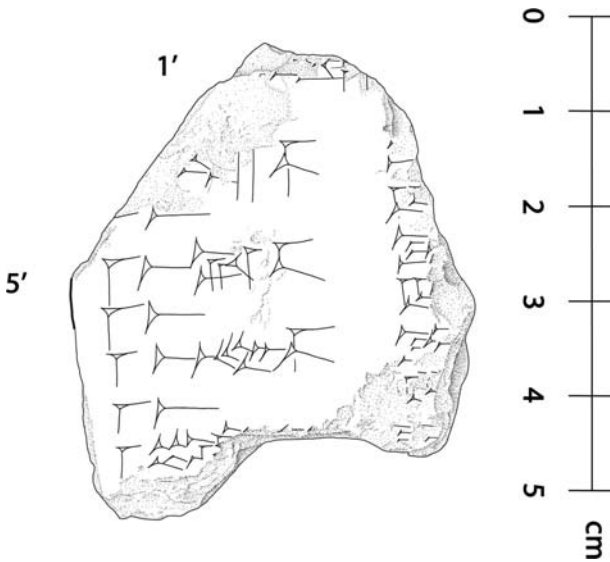


FIGURE 12.3 BM 34360

Transliteration

(line numbers of the omens according to the edition of Böck are added)

- | | | | |
|---|-----------|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | A obv. 1 | [| š]À.BI NU DÙG.GA |
| | C obv. 1' | ʽDIŠʽ [GE ₆ ina KI.TA SAG.KI-šÚ ZAG GAR | |
| 2 | A obv. 2 | [| š]À.BI DÙG.GA |
| | C obv. 2' | DIŠ GE ₆ ina [GÙB-šÚ GAR | |
| 3 | A obv. 3 | [DIŠ] ina S[AG. |]x ²⁶ ina šÀ ĤUL GIN.MEŠ |
| | C obv. 3' | DIŠ GE ₆ ina SAG.ʽKI GÙB-šÚʽ [GAR | |
| 4 | A obv. 4 | [DIŠ] ina SIG ₇ .IG[I ZAG GAR ...] | DIB-su |
| | C obv. 4' | DIŠ GE ₆ ina ʽSIG ₇ .IGIʽ ZA[G GAR | |
| 5 | A obv. 5 | [DIŠ] ina [GÙB GAR ...] | È |
| | C obv. 5' | DIŠ ina ʽGÙBʽ-š[ú | |

26 The sign ends in two small diagonal wedges.

- 6 A obv. 6 [DIŠ] *ina* ḪA.LA ⟨SAG⟩ IGI Z[AG²] 'i'-zu-uz-zu
C obv. 6' DIŠ *ina* ḪA.LA SAG² I[GI ZAG-šú]
- 7 A obv. 7 [DIŠ] *ina* AN.TA SIG₇.IGI ZAG [GAR ŠÀ.BI N]U DÙG.GA
C obv. 7' DIŠ *ina* AN.TA ⟨SIG₇⟩IGI-šú 'ZAG' G[AR]
- 8 A obv. 8 [DIŠ] *ina* GÙB GAR [Š]À.ḪI¹ DÙG.GA
C obv. 8' DIŠ *ina* GÙB-[šú]
- 9 A obv. 9 [DIŠ] *ina* KI.TA ⟨SIG₇⟩IGI ZAG G[AR d]an-na-tu DIB-su
C obv. 9' DIŠ *ina* KI.ḪI.TA ⟨SIG₇⟩IGI¹-šú ZAG [
- 10 A obv. 10 DIŠ *ina* GÙB G[AR i]na BAD₄ è
C obv. 10' DIŠ *ina* GÙ[B-šú]
- 11 A obv. 11 [DIŠ *ina* BAB]BAR IGI-šú ZAG G[AR I]GI-šú uq-tal-lal
C obv. 11' DIŠ *ina* BABBAR IGI-šu Z[AG]
- 12 A obv. 12 [DIŠ *in*]a GÙB G[AR] i-šá-ri-iš in-na-pal
C obv. 12' DIŠ *ina* [GÙB-šú]
- 13 A obv. 13 ḪI¹DIŠ¹ [*ina kak-kul*]-ti IGI ZAG GA[R] *ina-ziq*
C obv. 13' DIŠ *ina kak-ku*[l-ti IGI ZAG-šú]
- 15 A obv. 15 DIŠ *ina* S[AG] KIR₄-šú GAR IBILA-šú BA.ÚŠ
C obv. 14' DIŠ *ina* ḪI¹SAG¹ [
- 16 A obv. 16 DIŠ *ina* MU[RUB₄ K]IR₄-šú GAR DUMU.MUNUS.A.NI BA.ÚŠ
C obv. 15' DIŠ ḪI¹ina¹ MU[RUB₄
- 17 A obv. 17 DIŠ *ina* SU[ḪUŠ KIR₄]-šú GAR DAM-su BA.ÚŠ
C (remainder of the obverse is missing)
- ...
- 81 A rev. 12 DIŠ *ina* LI.DUR-šú ZAG GAR MUNUS la ku-U[ZU ...]
B ii 12'-13' [DIŠ GE₆ *ina* LI.D]UR-šú 15 GAR D[A]M la ku-ši-[ri / TU]K-
ši-ma i-lap-pi-[in]
D 1' [DIŠ *ina* L]I.ḪI¹DUR-šú¹ [ZAG

- 82 A rev. 13 DIŠ *ina* GÙB GAR MUNUS *ku-U*[ZU ...]
 B ii 14' [DIŠ GE₆ *ina* 1]50 GAR DAM *ku-ši-[ri TUK-š]i²-ma* [...]
 D 2' [DIŠ *ina*] G[ÙB
- 83 A rev. 14 DIŠ *ina* ÚR-ŠÚ ZAG GAR KIL.TUŠ-s[*u* NU GI.NA]?
 B ii 15' [DIŠ GE₆ *ina* ÚR-ŠÚ 15 GAR ... -s]u² [...]
 D 3' [DIŠ *ina*] 'ÚR¹-ŠÚ Z[AG
- 84 A rev. 15 DIŠ *ina* ÚR-ŠÚ GÙB GAR KIL.TUŠ *n[e-eh-tu₄ TUŠ-ab]*?
 B ii 16' [DIŠ GE₆ *ina* ÚR-ŠÚ 150 GAR KIL.T]UŠ² *n[e²-*
 D 4' 'DIŠ¹ *ina* GÙ[B
- 85 A rev. 16 DIŠ *ina* GÌŠ-ŠÚ ZAG GAR DUMU LÁ-[ŠÚ]
 B ii 17' ['DUMU²1 [
 D 5' DIŠ *ina* GÌŠ-ŠÚ ZA[G
- 86 A rev. 17 DIŠ *ina* GÙB GAR DUMU.MEŠ [...]
 B ii (breaks off)
 D 6' DIŠ *ina* GÙ[B
- 87 A rev. 18 DIŠ *ina* ŠIR-ŠÚ ZAG GAR É-[ŠÚ ...]
 D 7' DIŠ *ina* ŠIR-ŠÚ ZA[G
- 88 A rev. 19 DIŠ *ina* ŠIR-ŠÚ GÙB GAR É-[ŠÚ ...]
 D 8' DIŠ *ina* GÙ[B
- 89 A rev. 20 DIŠ *ina* GAL₄.LA-ŠÚ ZAG GAR ŠÀ.BI N[U
 DÙG.GA]
 D 9' DIŠ *tir-'ku*¹ [*ina*] 'GAL₄¹.L[A-ŠÚ] 'ZAG¹ [
- 90 A rev. 21 DIŠ *ina* GÙB GAR DAM-su ŠÀ-[ŠÚ NU DÙG.GA]
 D (breaks off)
- ...
- 107 A rev. 38 DIŠ GE₆ IGI-ŠÚ SA₅ *nī-ziq-tu₄ sad-rat-su*
 C rev. 1' [DIŠ G]E₆ 'IGI-ŠÚ¹ S[A₅²
- 108 A rev. 39 DIŠ GE₆ IGI-ŠÚ GE₆ *ina* [*nī*]-ziq-ti *i-qat-ti*
 C rev. 2' [DIŠ G]E₆ 'he-pí SUMUN-ŠÚ¹ [

- 109 A rev. 40 DIŠ GE₆ IGI-šÚ BABBAR [(x)] ŠUB DINGIR *ana* LÚ
 C rev. 3' (erasure?) DIŠ *he-pí* SUMUN-šÚ [
 110 A rev. 41 DIŠ GE₆ IGI-šÚ *šur-ru* [(x)] *ina-an-ziq*
 C rev. 4' 'DIŠ' *he-pí* SUMUN-šÚ *šu[r-ru]*
-

catch-line

- C rev. 5' DIŠ SAMAG *ina* SAG.DU LÚ ZAG [GAR ĤUL ŠÀ GIG *di-ĥu*
ana IGI-šÚ GAR]

colophon

- C rev. 6' DUB.1. 'KAM' DIŠ GE₆ KI.T[A
 C rev. 7' 'GIM' LIBIR-šÚ SAR-*ma* b[a-ri]

Translation

(in case of deviations, the translation follows the new texts)

- 1 If a [*tirku*-spot is set below his right temple], his [he]art will not be satisfied.
 2 If a *tirku*-spot [is set] at his [left (one)], his [he]art will be satisfied.
 3 If a *tirku*-spot [is set] at his left temple, [...] will constantly walk amidst evil.
 4 If a *tirku*-spot [is set] at [his] rig[ht] eyebrow, [...] will seize him.
 5 If it [is set] at hi[s] left (one), [...] (he) will walk out.
 6 If it [is set] at the median line of [his] ri[ght] eyelid, [...] (they) will stand.
 7 If it is s[et] above his right eyebrow, [his heart will n]ot be satisfied.
 8 If it is set at [his] left (one), his [he]art will be satisfied.
 9 If it is s[et] below his right eye(brow), distress will seize him.
 10 If it is s[et] at [his] lef[t (one)], he will walk out [i]n distress.
 11 If it is s[et] at the white of his eye at the right side, his person will be discredited.
 12 If it is s[et] at the left side, he will be treated decently.
 13 If it is se[t] at [his] right eyeball, he will be vexed.
 15²⁷ If it is set at the tip of his nose, his first-born son will die.

27 BM 39166 (exemplar C) omits line 14 of the Nineveh copy.

- 16 If it is set at the mid[dle] of his [no]se, his daughter will die.
 17 If it is set at the ba[se] of his nose, his wife will die.
 ...
 81 If [(a *tirku*-spot)] is set at his bellybutton at the right side, a woman/a
 w[ife] will [ha]ve no success and will become impoverished.
 82 If [(a *tirku*-spot)] is set at the left side, a woman/wife will [hav]e suc-
 cess [...].
 83 If [(a *tirku*-spot)] is set at his loin at the right side, hi[s] dwelling
 place [will not be permanent].
 84 If [(a *tirku*-spot)] is set at his loin at the left side, [he will live] at a
 pe[aceful] dwelling place.
 85 If [(a *tirku*-spot)] is set at his penis at the right side, a son will be
 lacking [for him].
 86 If it is set at the left side, sons [...].
 87 If it is set at his testicle at the right side, [his] house [...].
 88 If it is set at his testicles at the left side, [his] house [...].
 89 If a *tirku*-spot is set at his genitalia at the right side, his heart will
 no[t be satisfied].
 90 If it is set at the left side, the heart of his wife [will not be satisfied].
 ...
 107 If the surface of the *tirku*-spot²⁸ is red, he will continuously have
 grief.
 108²⁹ If the surface of the *tirku*-spot is black, he will end up in [gr]ief.
 109³⁰ If the surface of the *tirku*-spot is white, [(...)], (there will be) “fall” of
 a god for the man.
 110³¹ If the surface of the *tirku*-spot is obsidian-coloured, [(...)], he will be
 vexed.
-
- C rev. 5' If an *umṣatu*-spot [is set] at the head of a man at the right side, [sor-
 row, illness and the *dī'u*-disease are lying ahead of him].
 C rev. 6' First tablet of “If a *tirku*-spot [is set] belo[w ..., ...].”
 C rev. 7' According to its original written, che[cked through ...].

28 Lit.: the *tirku*-spot, its surface.

29 C rev. 2': [If] the ^{old break} of the [*tir*]*ku*-spot [is ..., ...].

30 C rev. 3': If the ^{old break} [is ..., ...].

31 C rev. 4': If the ^{old break} is obsi[dian-coloured, ...].

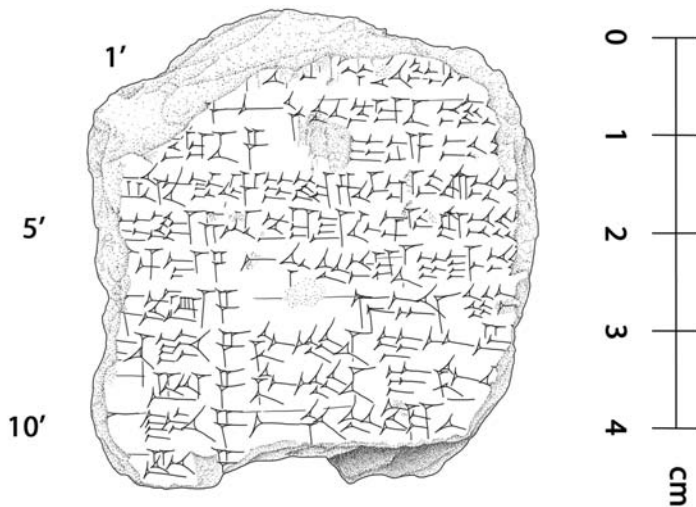


FIGURE 12.4 BM 39172

2 BM 39172: An Excerpt or a Copy of a Forerunner

This tablet from Babylon quotes sequences from the tablet *šumma tirku* (Böck 2000, 204–211 exemplar 2) and is, therefore, either an excerpt or forerunner of the sub-series *šumma liptu*. It might even stand in the same tradition as another very fragmentary tablet from Babylon, VAT 17249, transliterated by Böck 2000, 204–205 as exemplar 1.

Sources for Exemplar 2

- A K 3985+6690+11202+Sm 241 (collated); *CT* 28 pl. 25–27; ll. 1–61, 69–79, 81–114.
 E BM 39172; Fig. 12.4; measurements: $42^+ \times 45^+ \times 21^+$ mm; ll. x, x, x, 7–8, 23, 31–35.

Transliteration

(line numbers of the omens according to the edition of Böck are added)

- ... E obv. 1' [DIŠ ina ... ZAG GA]R ʾHUL? ina šil-lat DUG₄-šú¹ G[AZ]
 ... E obv. 2' [DIŠ ina GÜB] ʾGAR¹ ina šil-lat DUG₄-šú GAZ
 ... E obv. 3' [DIŠ ina ...] KIR₄-šú GAR [o] i-lap-pí-i[n]

- 7 A obv. 7 DIŠ *ina* AN.TA SIG₇.IGI ZAG [GAR
ŠÀ.BI N]U DÙG.GA
E obv. 4' [DIŠ *ina* AN.T]A-nu SIG₇.IGI ⟨ZAG⟩ GAR I.BÍ.ZA IGI-mar :
ŠÀ.BI N[U DÙG.GA]
- 8 A obv. 8 [DIŠ] *ina* GÙB GAR [Š]À.BI
DÙG.GA
E obv. 5' [] 'I'.BÍ.ZA EN INIM-šu IGI-mar : ŠÀ.BI
DÙG.G[A]
- 23 A obv. 23 DIŠ *ina* BAR-ma [GAR *ina* šil]-lat DUG₄-šú *i-qal-lil*
E obv. 6' [DIŠ *i-n*]a BAR-ma GAR *ina* šil-lat DUG₄-šú *i-qal-li[l]*
- 31 A obv. 31 DIŠ *ina* bi-ta-an NUNDUM GAR ÚKU-in
E obv. 7' [DIŠ *i-na* bi-ta-a]n NUNDUM GAR ÚKU-i[n]
- 32 A obv. 32 DIŠ *ina* lu-'i ZAG GAR mim-mu-šú ZÁḤ
E obv. 8' [DIŠ *i-na* lu-']-^ri'-šú ZAG GAR mim-mu-šú *i-ḫal-li[q]*
- 33 A obv. 33 DIŠ *ina* GÙB GAR mim-mu-šú [*i-šal-li-i*]m
E obv. 9' [DIŠ *i-n*]a GÙB GAR mim-mu-šú *i-šal-li[m]*
- 34 A obv. 34 DIŠ *ina* EME ZAG GAR *ina* šil-lat DUG₄-šú ÚŠ
E obv. 10' [DIŠ *i-na* EM]E ZAG GAR *ina* šil-lat DUG₄-šú [
- 35 A obv. 35 DIŠ *ina* GÙB GAR *ina* qi-bit KA-šú [ú]š
E obv. 11' [DIŠ *i-n*]a GÙB 'GAR (traces)'

E obv. (fragment breaks off)

Translation

(in case of deviations the transliteration follows the new text)

- 1' [If it (i.e. the *tirku*-spot) is se]t [on the right side of ...], (it means) trouble?; he will die as a result of his blasphemy.
- 2' [If it is] set [on the left side], he will die as a result of his blasphemy.
- 3' [If it] is set [at the ...] of his nose, he will become poor.
- 7 If it is set above his ⟨right⟩ eyebrow, he will experience financial loss; (var.): his heart will not be satisfied.
- 8 [If] it is set at the left (one), he will experience financial loss (through) his enemy; (var.): his heart will be satisfied.

- 23 If it is set in the middle, he will die as a result of his blasphemy.
 31 If it is set at the inside of his lip, he will become poor.
 32 If it is set at the right of his throat, everything of him will be destroyed.
 33 If it is set at the left, everything of him will stay intact.
 34 If it is set at the right of (his) tongue, he will die as a result of his blasphemy.
 35 If it is set at the left, he will [di]e because of his own utterances.
 (fragment E breaks off)

B The *umṣatu*-Spot (SAMAG)

An *umṣatu* mark (SAMAG; DUB; Ú.GÍR) can be found on the skin of the face and the body, but also on the tongue and men's genitals as an individual spot (GAR; *šakānu*) or in groups (SLA; *malû*) or together with *ḫalû* spots (see p. 207). It is described as red, black, yellow or white and hair can grow out of it. Some *umṣatu* marks are described as being furrowed (*šuttuqātu*) or moist (*nurru-bātu*);³² others are explicitly said to contain liquid (*ḫīlu*; for another dermal spot that can contain liquid see p. 207 *ḫalû*). Since an *umṣatu* can in general be seen on newborn children as well as on adults, it is a kind of birthmark though some of them were considered a symptom needing treatment. For example, if they clustered around the buttocks, they could block the anus and would be cut off (*quttupu*). Other therapies for *umṣatu* marks included breaking (*ḫepû*) or destroying them (*ḫulluqu*). The dictionaries translate the word as “ein Hautmal, Muttermal?” (AHw 1418a), “a mole or wart” (CAD U–W 135a) or “a mole, birthmark” (CDA 422b).

A small tablet fragment from the Babylonian collection (BM 42801)³³ duplicates the reverse of text D of Böck's edition of the tablet *šumma umṣatu*. The new text does not add to the apodoses of this sequence, but completes the order of body parts described in the protases.

32 The meaning of another adjective applied to *umṣatu* marks, *ussukātu*, remains unknown; see Böck 2000, 302, omen 4 and 303, note 964.

33 Identification and placement in the series goes back to Eric Schmidtchen (Berlin), who generously left the fragment to me for this publication.

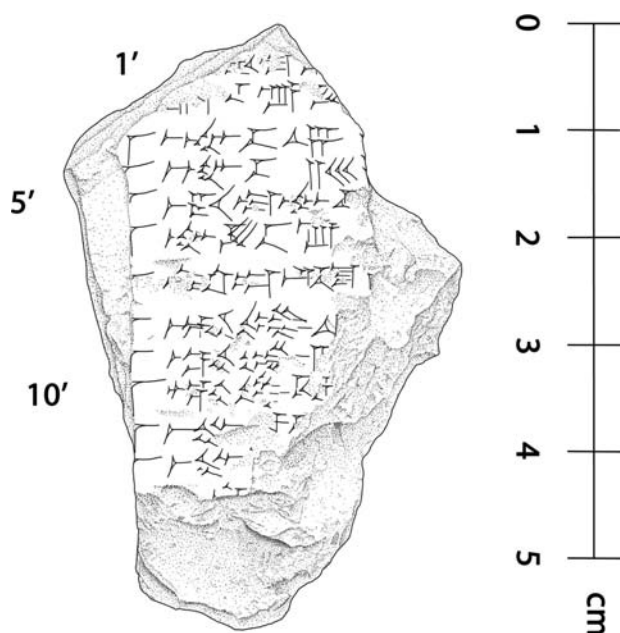


FIGURE 12.5 BM 42801

Sources

- D BM 99696; copy Böck 2000, Tafel 13; collated in September 2015; ll. 132–139.
 E BM 42801; Fig. 12.5; measurements $36^+ \times 56^+ \times 12.5^+$ mm; ll. 135–138, x, 139–140, x, x, x, x.

Transliteration

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------------|
| 134 | D rev. 2' | [DIŠ i]-na ḪA.LA GIŠ [|
| | E 1' | [DIŠ ina] ḪA.LA' G[īš GAR |
| 135 | D rev. 3' | [DIŠ] GIŠ-šú SI.A.MEŠ [|
| | E 2' | [DIŠ] ḪGIŠ'-šú SI.A.'MEŠ' [|
| | D | |
| 136 | D rev. 4' | [DIŠ i]na ŠIR-šú 15 [|
| | E 3' | DIŠ ina ŠIR-šú 15 G[AR |
| 137 | D rev. 5' | [DIŠ i]na ŠIR-šú 150 [|
| | E 4' | ḪDIŠ' ina ŠIR-šú 150 G[AR |

- 138 D rev. 6' [DIŠ *i*]na ḪA.LA ŠIR-šú GAR še-er-q[a]
 E 5' 'DIŠ' ina ḪA.LA ŠIR-šú [GAR
- ... E 6' [D]IŠ ŠIR.MEŠ-šú SIA.[MEŠ
- 139 D rev. 7' DIŠ ina š]a-ap-ri-šú [
 E 7' [D]IŠ ' ina ša'-ap-ri-šu G[AR
- 140 D rev. 8' [DIŠ ina GÚ.SI]G₄ 15 [
 E 8' [D]IŠ ina GÚ.SIG₄ 1[5 GAR
- ... D rev. (breaks off)
 E 9' [D]IŠ ina GÚ.SIG₄ 1[50 GAR
- ... E 10' [D]IŠ ina bu-[d]i'-š[ú 15 GAR
- ... E 11' [D]IŠ ina bu-d[i']-šú 150 GAR
- ... E 12' [DIŠ ina MAŠ]. 'SÌLA'-[šú 150 GAR
- E (fragment breaks off)

Translation

- 134 [If it (i.e. the *umṣatu*-spot) is placed o]n the centre line of his penis,
 [...].
- 135 [If] his penis is full of (them), [...].
- D
-
- 136 If it is s[et] on his right testicle, [...].
- 137 If it is s[et] on his left testicle, [...].
- 138 If it is set at the centre line of his testicle, stolen goo[ds ...].
- 6' [I]f his testicles are ful[(of them), ...].
- 139 [I]f it is s[et] on his thigh,³⁴ [...].
- 140 [I]f [it is set] at his rig[ht] backbone, [...].
- 9' [I]f [it is set] at the ri[ght] backbone, [...].

34 For *ša-ap-ru*, “thigh”, see YOS 10 54: rev. 18: BE SAMAG *i-na ša-ap-ri-šu* (over erasure) GAR *a-wi-lum šu-ú ir-ta-na-a-ad*, “If an *umṣatu*-spot is set on his thigh, this man will constantly tremble,” where this omen follows the various options for an *umṣatu* on a man's testicles. See also Böck 2000, 298–299.

- 10' [I]f [it is set] at hi[s right] schoul[de]r, [...].
 — 11' [If it is set at his right shoulder blade, [...].
 — 12' [If it is set on his left sho]ulder blade, [...].
 — (fragment breaks off)

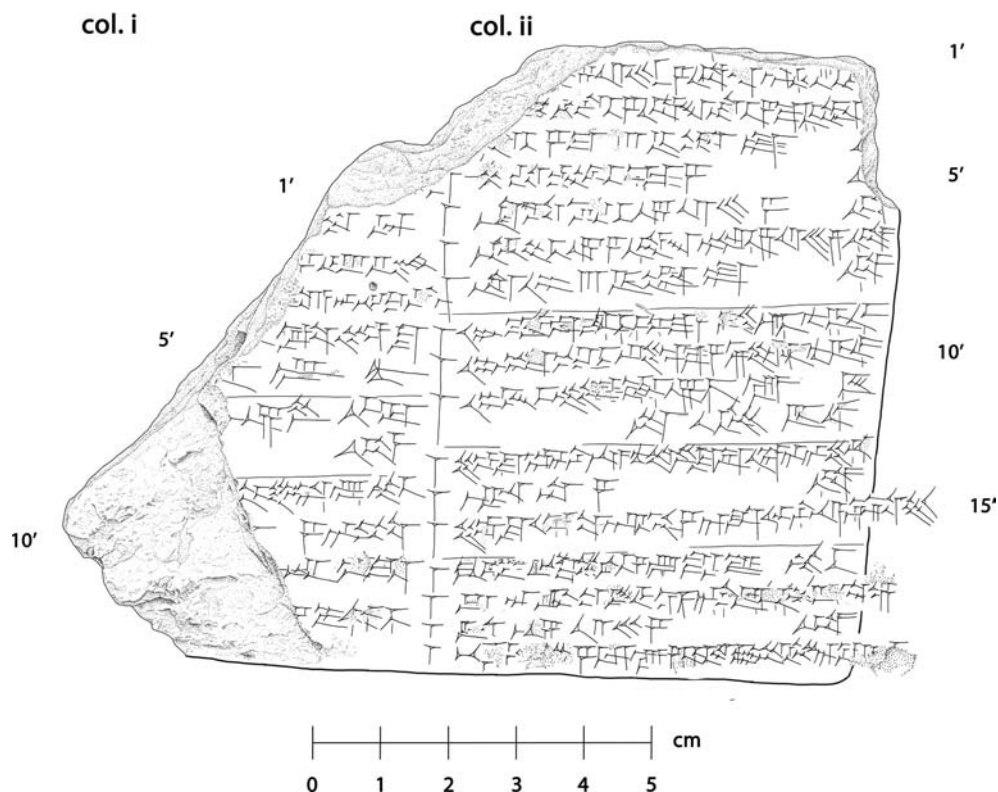


FIGURE 12.6 BM 46232, obverse

C BM 46232: An Extra-Serial *Sammeltafel*

This fragment of the lower part of a two-column tablet begins with a short description of a ritual and its incantation followed by omens similar to the series *šumma liptu*. Instead of giving the detailed apodosis from the omen series, in most cases the scribe classifies the occurrence of various spots as positive (SIG₅) or negative (ḪUL). Accordingly, the purpose of the ritual of the first column is “[to] tear out negatives” or “[to] remove evil” ([*ana*] ‘NÍG.ḪUL’ ZI-*ḫi*). This ritual is most probably a *namburbi*-ritual since those can frequently be found in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian omen texts (Maul 1994, 29, 163–

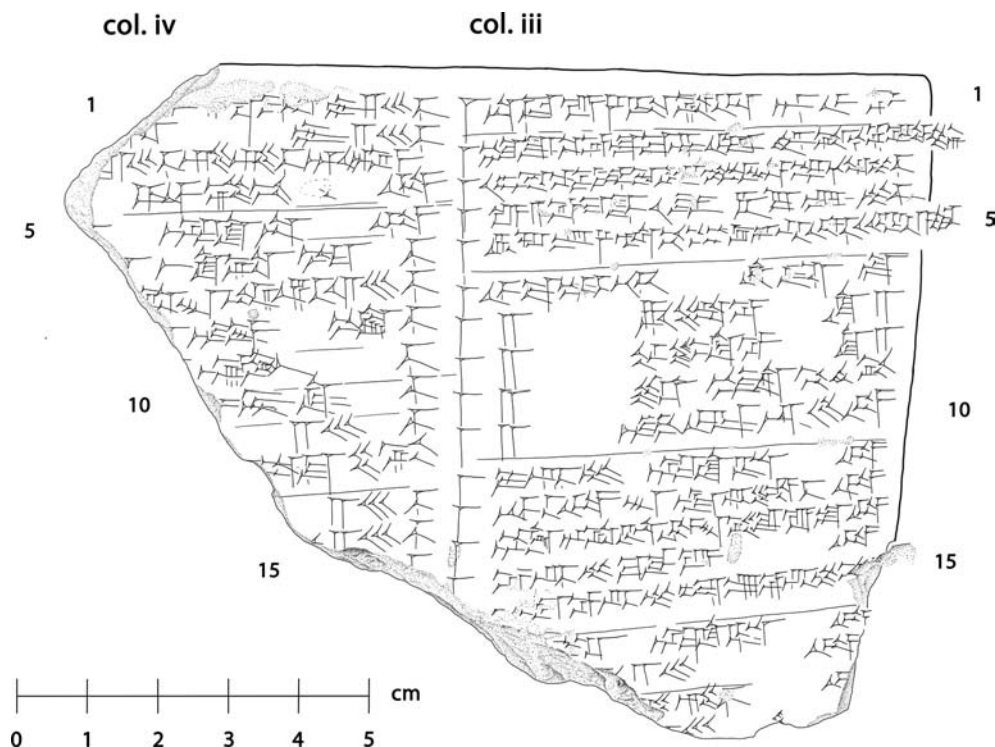


FIGURE 12.7 BM 46232, reverse

165). Because no *namburbi*-rituals referring to physiognomic omens are yet attested (Maul 1994, 12–13; esp. 12 note 100), this one might be a general *namburbi* against evil. Still, it would be the first attestation of such a ritual in connection with physiognomic phenomena.

In the remaining columns of the fragment the scribe quotes omens from the series *šumma liptu* and other divinatory texts on dermal spots. In general, the tablet follows the sequence *pindû*—[...]—*tirku*—*urāšu*—*ḫalû*(?)—*irīmu*—*kurāru*—*šer'ānu*, which deviates from the sequence of the *šumma liptu* tablets. Occasionally, individual marks are explained, which gives this text the character of a commentary.

The most striking feature of this compilation is the interpretation of the apodoses as positive (SIG₅) or negative (ḪUL), an evaluation that the scribe provided for most omens, but not for all. This kind of procedure was also used for the representation of parts of the omen series *iqqur ipuš* in tables. Because that series interprets every event for its occurrence in each month, marking only the positive (ŠE) months in the tables resulted in a clear overview (Labat 1965, 11–13). Since this Babylonian tablet on dermal spots does not follow this proce-

dure consistently, the selection and interpretation must have had some other motives than providing a model for such an overview. The variety of entries, a ritual, omens evaluated as positive or negative, full omens and commentaries on individual marks, clearly distinguish the tablet as a *Sammeltafel*.

Source

BM 46232; Fig. 12.6–12.7; measurements: 113⁺ × 91⁺ × 32.5⁽⁺⁾ mm

Transliteration

(the number of the relevant omens from the series and the characteristics of the entries are added on the left side; in the case of a clear change of subject, these additional notes are separated by a horizontal line that in most cases coincides with the paragraph lines of the text)

(namburbi)	obv. i	(beginning of the column is missing)
	ritual	obv. i 1' [...]x
	and	obv. i 2' [...] te ÉN ³⁵
	incantation	obv. i 3' [... ana] 'NÍG.ĤUL' ZI-ĥi
		obv. i 4' [... n.T]A.ĀM ina ĤUL 'ZI'
		obv. i 5' [... i]k ² -kal : DIŠ tir-ku
	obv. i 6'	[... 3]-'šú' šID-nu
<hr/>		
	obv. i 7'	[DIŠ (...)] ina 15 LÚ ĤUL
	obv. i 8'	[DIŠ ina 150] SIG ₅
<hr/>		
pindû comm.	obv. i 9'	[...] pi-in-du-ú MU-šú
	obv. i 10'	[...] x šá ^d AMAR.UTU
	obv. i 11'	[...] x EN 'SUĤUŠ'-šú
	obv. i 12'	[...] 'šá' i-'di'-šú
		(end of column)
<hr/>		
	obv. ii	(beginning of obverse ii is missing)
tirku	obv. ii 1'	[...] ' (traces)' [...]
70+1/74+5	obv. ii 2'	[DIŠ ina š]Ā '15' u 150-šú GAR SIG ₅ ' : ' DIŠ ina 'pa-pan šĀ-šú' 1[5 u 150 GAR SIG ₅ ']

35 Here is one of the rare occasions where TU₆ ÉN (*tê šipti*) as the final element of incantations is written half syllabically, see CAD T 422a under 4'.

76/77	obv. ii 3'	[DIŠ ina L]I.DUR-šú GAR SIG ₅ : DIŠ ina ŠÀ-šú GAR-ma SÍK È-[at SIG ₅ ']
78	obv. ii 4'	[DIŠ ina Š]À-šú GAR-ma 3 SÍK È-at S[IG ₅ ']
	obv. ii 5'	DIŠ ina LI.DUR-šú 'SAG ¹ GAR S[IG ₅ ']
85+86	obv. ii 6'	DIŠ ina KI.TA GIŠ-šú 15 u 150 GAR SI[G ₅]
—/93+4	obv. ii 7'	DIŠ ina TUGUL-šú 15 GAR SIG ₅ : DIŠ ina ÚR-šú 15 u 150 GAR SIG ₅
101	obv. ii 8'	DIŠ ina ŠÀ GE ₆ 3 SÍK È-at SIG ₅
<hr/>		
<i>tirku</i>	obv. ii 9'	DIŠ GE ₆ ina MURUB ₄ 'SAMAG ¹ Á-šú maš-ka ^{1?} GAR 'GABA ¹ .RI NU TUK-ši
	obv. ii 10'	DIŠ GE ₆ ina SUḪUŠ KIR ₄ -šú sí-is-sú GAR GABA.RI NU TUK-ši
	obv. ii 11'	DIŠ GE ₆ .MEŠ šal'-mu-'tú ¹ Á 15-šú SIA.MEŠ
	obv. ii 12'	ÌR u GÉME TUK-ši
<hr/>		
<i>tirku</i>	obv. ii 13'	DIŠ tir-ku MUL.šal-bat-a-nu TE.LÚ.ḪUN.GÁ u MUL. ^d MUŠ
	obv. ii 14'	DIŠ ina GÛB NA GAR SIG ₅
<i>tirku, eṭû</i>	obv. ii 15'	DIŠ tir-ku u 'e ¹ -ṭám ina re-bi-(tî) GAR DINGIR.RA u ^d šal-bat-a-ni TA KAM
<hr/>		
<i>urāšu</i> comm.	obv. ii 16'	DIŠ SIG ₇ *ina UGU še-er*(*...*: over erasure)-šú GAR ú-ra-ša MU-šú
<i>urāšu</i>	obv. ii 17'	DIŠ IB DINGIR GÁL UD.'MEŠ ¹ (...) IGI-mar AN x x x x DU UN
	obv. ii 18'	DIŠ 'DARA ₄ -tú ¹ ina 15 u 150 GAR SIG ₅
	obv. ii 19'	DIŠ ina '15 [?] u ^{2?} [1]50 [?] šá IB SA ₅ GAR BURU ₁₄ ANŠE ÌR GÉME ^d É.'A? x ¹ (end of column)
	rev. iii 1	DIŠ NA IB ¹ SIA NÍG.TUK : DIŠ ta-KAB DINGIR IGI-mar
<hr/>		
	rev. iii 2	DIŠ SUḪUŠ-su GIŠ.ESI la ba ak ù im-ta-qut e-lap ¹ - pi-in
<i>katarru</i> comm.	rev. iii 3	DIŠ GE ₆ GIM GIŠ.MAR ¹³⁶ GAL ^{1?} (or TUR ^{1?}) GIM 'ERIN ¹ UZU.MEŠ ZÁLAG ka-tar-ru MU-šú

36 It seems as if the scribe wrote MAR on top of another sign that he forgot to erase.

<i>ḥalû</i> comm.	rev. iii 4	DIŠ SIA ILLU- <i>ma</i> GAL <i>u</i> TUR <i>ḥa-lu-ú</i> MU-šú
	rev. iii 5	DIŠ <i>ḥa-lu-ú</i> šá <i>ina</i> šÀ- <i>bi</i> KUM <i>sa-ap-ḥu</i> SIG ₅ -šú <i>u</i> ḤUL-šú <i>a-mur</i>
	rev. iii 6	DIŠ IGI <i>ba-il-ti</i> šÀ.ḤÚL.LA
	rev. iii 7	DIŠ MIN <i>ḥa-le-e</i> KI.MIN
	rev. iii 8	DIŠ MIN <i>pi-in-de-e</i> KI.MIN
	rev. iii 9	DIŠ MIN <i>šar-tu</i> ₄ šÀ- <i>bi</i> DÙG.GA
	rev. iii 10	DIŠ MIN <i>ina</i> ZAG ḤUL EN <i>u</i> KUR SIG ₅
<i>liptu</i> 57	rev. iii 11	DIŠ <i>i-ri-mu</i> SAG.KI GÙB SIG ₅
<i>liptu</i> 58/59	rev. iii 12	DIŠ <i>ina</i> IGI-šú SIG ₅ : DIŠ <i>ina</i> ku-tal-li-šú SIG ₅
<i>liptu</i> 69/73	rev. iii 13	DIŠ <i>ina</i> NUNDUM AN.TA GÙB SIG ₅ : DIŠ GABA- <i>su</i> SIA- <i>at</i> SIG ₅
<i>liptu</i> 80	rev. iii 14	DIŠ <i>e-ri-mu ma-gal</i> SA ₅ SIG ₅
commentary	rev. iii 15	[DIŠ] ¹ <i>ina</i> EME' <i>e-ri-mu</i> NU ZU-ú <i>e-ri-mu</i> ¹ DU ₁₁ SIG ₅ ¹
<i>kurāru</i> 1+2 ²	rev. iii 16	[DIŠ <i>ku-r</i>] <i>a-ra ina</i> SAG.KI GÙB SIG ₅
	rev. iii 17	[DIŠ <i>ina</i> (x) 1] 5 <i>u</i> 150 SIG ₅
<i>šerānu</i> I 1+2	rev. iii 18	[DIŠ SA SAG.KI Z] I.ZI-šú SI[G ₅]
	rev. iii 19	[DIŠ <i>ina</i> (x) 15 <i>u</i>] 150 <i>ḥe</i> -(<i>pí</i>) [SIG ₅ ?]
	rev. iii	(rest of the column is broken off)
<i>šerānu</i>	rev. iv 1	[DIŠ SA <i>i</i>] <i>na</i> ¹ <i>a-si-id</i> ¹ GÌR 150-šú
	rev. iv 2	[DIŠ <i>ina a-si-i</i>] <i>d</i> GÌR 150-šú
	rev. iv 3	[DIŠ (x)] 150-šú ZI.ZI-šú DINGIR <i>u</i> ^d LAMA
	rev. iv 4	[DIŠ MIN ²] TUK-š <i>i</i> <i>gab-bi</i> SIG ₅
unclear mark	rev. iv 5	[DIŠ] x ³⁷ <i>ina</i> SAG.KI NA SIG ₅
	rev. iv 6	[DIŠ] x <i>ina</i> KI.TA KA-šú

37 The x in this and the following lines of this paragraph all end in a vertical wedge. This means that this paragraph does not refer to an artery or muscle (SA, *šerānu*) anymore but changes the subject. Since the forehead (*pūtu*) or temple (*nakkaptu*; both written with the logogram SAG.KI) marks the beginning of a new sequence of body parts *a capite ad calcem* (*ištu muḥḥi adi šēpē*, “from the head to the feet”; see Finkel 1988, 148–149; B 25’ and 30’) and the observed phenomenon is referred to without a verb, it is likely that the subject is another skin mark.

rev. iv 7	[DIŠ ina AN.T]A : DIŠ ina GĒŠTUG ^{II} 15-šú u 15O-šú
rev. iv 8	[DIŠ x] x ina MURUB ₄ NUNDUM-šú
rev. iv 9	[DIŠ x] x ina UBUR-šú
rev. iv 10	[DIŠ x] x ina ban-di-šú
rev. iv 11	[DIŠ ina (x x)] 15O-šú
rev. iv 12	[DIŠ x x e-m]a DU-ku ŠE.GA
<hr/>	
rev. iv 13	[DIŠ x x x x x] 15O-šú
rev. iv 14	[DIŠ x x x x x] x 15O-šú
rev. iv 15	[DIŠ x x x x x x 15O]- ^r šú ¹
rev. iv	(rest of the column is broken off)

Translation

obv. i 1'	[...].
obv. i 2'	[...] ... (is) the incantation formula.
obv. i 3'	[... for] removing evil.
obv. i 4'	[... x-t]imes he (?) will be removed from misery.
obv. i 5'	[... he wi]ll consume/eat. (Var.): If a <i>tirku</i> -spot
obv. i 6'	[...] you recite [three] times.
<hr/>	
obv. i 7'	[If (a ...) (is set)] on the right side, (that) man (will be in) trouble.
obv. i 8'	[If (it is set) on the left side], (it is) positive.
<hr/>	
obv. i 9'	[...] <i>pindû</i> is its name.
obv. i 10'	[...] of Marduk.
obv. i 11'	[...]... until his/its root.
obv. i 12'	[...] of his/its side? (end of column)
obv. ii	(beginning is lost)
obv. ii 1'	(traces)
obv. ii 2'	[If] it is set on his [bel]ly on the right or left side, it is positive. (New entry) : If it [is set] at his diaphragm, on the rig[ht or left side, it is positive?].
obv. ii 3'	[If] it is set [on] his [be]llybutton, it is positive. (New entry) : If it is set on his belly and a hair grows o[ut (of it), it is positive?].
obv. ii 4'	[If] it is set [on] his [bel]ly and three hair grow out (of it), it is pos[itive?].
obv. ii 5'	If its is set on top of his bellybutton, it is pos[itve?].

- obv. ii 6' If it is set below his penis on the right or left side, it is posi[tive].
 obv. ii 7' If it is set at his right hip-bone, it is positive. (New entry) : If it is set on his loin on the right or left side, it is positive.
 obv. ii 8' If from the middle of the *tirku* three hair grow out, it is positive.

-
- obv. ii 9' If a *tirku*-spot is set in the middle of the *umṣatu*-mark¹ (and at) its side skin¹² is placed, he will not have an opponent.
 obv. ii 10' If a *tirku*-spot is set at the base of the nose (like) an ulcer, he will not have an opponent.
 obv. ii 11' If black *tirku*-spots (on) his right arm/side are many,
 obv. ii 12' he will have slave men and women.

-
- obv. ii 13' If a *tirku*-spot (looks like) Mars, the constellation “Hired Man” or the “Hydra”;
 obv. ii 14' if this is set on the left side of a man, it is positive.
 obv. ii 15' If a *tirku*-spot or a dark (one) is set on the abdomen (sic!), the god and Mars ...³⁸

-
- obv. ii 16' If yellow(ish) colour is set above its flesh, its name is *urāšu*-spot.
 obv. ii 17' If there is an *urāšu* (looking like a) god, he will experience ⟨long ? / short ?⟩ days,³⁹ ...
 obv. ii 18' If darkness is set on the right or left side, it is positive.
 obv. ii 19' If on the right² or² the left² side² of an *urāšu* reddishness is placed, harvest, donkey, servant and maidservant the god Ea² will ...
 obv. ii (end of column)
 rev. iii 1 If a man is full of *urāšu*, he will be rich. (Variant): If he is dotted⁴⁰ (with them), he will see (his) god.

-
- rev. iii 2 If its “root” is (like) ebony ...⁴¹ and (then) it collapses, he will become poor.

38 The signs TA KAM written after Mars (^dṣalbatani) do not make any sense to me.

39 The meaning of “to see the day (of one’s ruin)” for *ūmi amāru* is only attested for the Old Assyrian period (CAD 150b). In the first millennium BCE, one would expect the mention of long (GÍD.DAMEŠ) or short (LÚGUD.DA) days as a reference to the expected lifetime.

40 I understand the writing *ta-KAB* as a mistake for *ta-kip*, the stative of *takāpu*, “to prick, puncture”, with the meaning of “is dotted”.

41 In connection with the comparison to ebony (GIŠ.ESI) one would expect a verb to follow, maybe in stative. If correctly read, the verb would be *labāku*, but this is i-stem resulting in a stative *labik*. Furthermore, *labāku* means “to be(come) soft”, a meaning that would

- rev. iii 3 If a *tirku*-spot is like a big¹² (or small¹³) spade (and its) flesh is fair like cedar, *katarru* is its name.
- rev. iii 4 If it is full of liquid, big or small, *ḥalû* is its name.
- rev. iii 5 If the *ḥalû* of which the middle is crushed are spread wide, he will see his positive and troublesome (situations).
-
- rev. iii 6 If the “face” is (that of a) *ba’iltu*-ruler, (he will experience) happiness.
- rev. iii 7 If ditto is (that of) a *ḥalû*, likewise.
- rev. iii 8 If ditto is a (that of) *pindû*, likewise.
- rev. iii 9 If ditto (has) a hair in the middle, it is favourable.
- rev. iii 10 If ditto (lies) on the right side, (it means) ruin (or evil) for the lord, and positive (events) for the country.
-
- rev. iii 11 If an *erîmu*-mark is (set) on the left temple, it is positive.
- rev. iii 12 If it is at his front, it is positive. (New entry) : If it is at his back, it is positive.
- rev. iii 13 If it is on the left side of his upper lip, it is positive. (New entry) : If his breast is full (of it), it is positive.
- rev. iii 14 If an *erîmu*-mark is very red, it is positive.
- rev. iii 15 [If] one does not know an *erîmu*-mark in (one’s) language (lit. tongue), call it *erîmu*-mark, it is positive.
-
- rev. iii 16 [If a *kur*]âru-mark is on the left temple, it is positive.
- rev. iii 17 [If it is on the rig]ht or left (side), it is positive.
-
- rev. iii 18 [If an artery (or muscle) of his forehead is thr]obbing (or twitching), it is posit[ive].
- rev. iii 19 [If it is (the one) on the right or l]eft side, ^{original} (destroyed) [it is positive?]
(rest of the column is broken off)
- rev. iv 1 [If an artery (or muscle) a]t the heel of his left foot.
- rev. iv 2 [If it is at the hee]l of his left foot.

contradict the reference to the very hard wood of ebony. Since the following verb means “and (then) it collapses” (*u imtaqut*), the verb in question rather has a meaning of swelling and becoming hard (like ebony). A reading *la ba-ak* does not make sense either. The same applies to the assumption of a mistaken *ba* for *ma*.

- rev. iv 3 [If (the one) on] his left side is throbbing (or twitching), the god and personal tutelary god (will be present).
- rev. iv 4 [If ditto?], receiving of everything (is for him); it is positive.
-
- rev. iv 5 [If a ..]. is on the forehead of a man, it is positive.
- rev. iv 6 [If a ..]. is below his mouth.
- rev. iv 7 [If it is abov]e. (New entry) : If it is on his ears, right or left.
- rev. iv 8 [If a ..]. is between his lips.
- rev. iv 9 [If a ..]. is on his breast.
- rev. iv 10 [If a ..].. is on his chest.
- rev. iv 11 [If it is on] his left [...].
- rev. iv 12 [If ..., whereve]r he goes, it is favourable.
-
- rev. iv 13 [If ...] his left [...].
- rev. iv 14 [If ...] his left [...].
- rev. iv 15 [If ...] his [left ...].
(rest of the column is broken off).

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Amulets against Fever

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The British Museum

It is an honour to contribute to a personal volume of appreciation for my old friend Mark Geller. Professor Geller is devoted to cuneiform medical texts, and has worked on virtually all of them. He has investigated cuneiform fever. In fact, he has always worked feverishly in cuneiform research generally. Hopefully, then, he will appreciate this small sideline in the local treatment of fevers by Mesopotamian doctors through the use of a certain type of inscribed amulet.



Introduction

Amulets were a staple of the healing craft in ancient Mesopotamia. Their effectiveness depended on several interwoven factors, such as the material used to make the amulet, the design engraved on it, and the inscription. The most familiar are more or less costly stone plaques, time-consuming in production and destined for the rich, such as the well-known examples against Lamaštu. Attention is focused in the present article on a humbler and less familiar device, namely those small cylinders of clay, bored through for suspension, which carry neither decoration nor symbol, but simply rely for their effect on the power of a cuneiform inscription.¹ Fig. 13.1 shows a typical example from the Nippur group studied below:

¹ When this type of amulet was required by royalty, however, it would be made in hard stone and fitted with gold caps. Four such high-quality cylinder amulets were made for a Late Assyrian queen buried at Nimrud and inscribed with spells against *sagkidibbû*; they have been edited in al-Rawi 2008, 131–136.



FIGURE 13.1 *CBS 5559 (amulet 1) and end view*
 PHOTO: UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PENN.

The format of the cylinder seal is an ideal vehicle for a magical inscription against demons or disease, written, as a rule, to be read directly from the object itself.² The amulet could be worn comfortably about the person, offering the twin benefits of protection and cure. The classic case also occurs in Lamaštu magic, where writing out the quoted incantation ÉN 𐎶KAMAD.ME DUMU AN.NA (Lamaštu Tablet 1: 1–9) on a clay cylinder is prescribed as follows (Farber 2014, 70: 10; cf. Farber 1989, 116–117):

DÙ.DÙ.BI *ina* UGU NA.KIŠIB IM SAR-ár LÚ.TUR *ina* GÚ-šú GAR-an

Its ritual: you write (this) on a seal-cylinder of clay and put it around the child's neck.

The same incipit and prescription occur in the Late Assyrian “Baby” text BM 134780: 6–7, also edited by Farber (1989, 116). There are now many known stone amulets that carry this incantation, but so far no clay cylinder with this inscription has come to light.

A seven-sided clay cylinder with a different Lamaštu spell was found at Ugarit, as described by C. Schaeffer and communicated by Nougayrol (1969, 404). Here a Graeco-Persian infant grave included a necklace, of which part was a “*prisme en terre cuite ocre en forme de barillet, avec inscription en cunéiformes (babyl.) sur 6 lignes horizontales, long. totale: 2 cm diamètre:*

² They were not *seals*, in other words. The amuletic significance of the cylinder seal proper has seldom been discussed in the literature beyond Goff 1963, 195–210, and the topic remains worthy of further investigation.

1.1 cm.” The text on this Late Babylonian example, RS 25.4547, is a slightly corrupted version of the Lamaštu incantation *STT* 144: 19–23 (Farber 2014, 331–332).³

Similar material occurs on K 3628+, a Late Assyrian compilation also concerned with pacifying ill and distressed babies. Incantations 59 and 18 from the exorcistic series *Ḫulbazizi* are quoted (ÉN ba-an-ge-e ba-an-ús-e in Sumerian and ÉN MUL KAK.SI.SÁ MU.NE in Akkadian).⁴ The incantations are summed up as 2 KA.INIM.MALÚ.TUR.A.LÁ ḪUL ŠÚ.ŠÚ-šú, “two spells for a baby whom an evil *alú* has attacked” (Farber 1989, 128–129). K 3628+ then prescribes making a clay cylinder and inscribing the second-mentioned *Ḫulbazizi* anti-demon spell, which is addressed to Sirius (ÉN MUL KAK.SI.SÁ MU.NE), on it:

9. DÙ.DÙ.BI NA₄.KIŠIB IM *kul-la-ti* [DÙ-uš-ma]
10. ÉN *an-ni-tú ina mu[h-ḫi-šú]* SA[R-ma]
11. *ina* IZI IN.BUBBU *ta-šar-rap šum₄-ma ina* GÚ-šú GAR-an
12. *šum₄-ma ina* SAG GIŠ.NÁ-šú *tal-lal-ma mim-ma lem-nu* NU TE-šú

Its ritual: you make a seal-cylinder out of potter’s clay. Write this incantation on it and bake it in a chaff fire. If you place it either round his neck or at the head of his bed, Any Evil will not come near him.

In these passages the term for this type of amulet is written NA₄.KIŠIB IM or NA₄.KIŠIB IM *kul-la-ti*, where “cylinder” is automatically written with the “stone” determinative. Nine clay cylinders inscribed with this particular spell have so far been identified. All date to the first millennium B.C. and are in Late Assyrian script. In addition, a single Late Assyrian specimen is known with *Ḫulbazizi* No. 19 (ÉN *níš* MUL.KAK.SI.SÁ, in Akkadian).

Ḫulbazizi No. 18:

1. Scheil 1898, 201; 1.5 × 0.8 cm.
2. Scheil 1898, 201; 1.5 × 0.8 cm.
3. Nimrud: Iraq Museum, Baghdad; Thompson 1940, 109–110 and fig. 5 No. 38; 3.2 × 1.1 cm.

3 For baby amulets in general and their possible Lamaštu overtones see Dunham 1993, 237–257.

4 The present writer’s edition of this incantation compilation is in an advanced state of preparation.

4. Nimrud: British Museum; BM 134604 (1932-12-12, 599); Thompson 1940, 109-110 and fig. 5 No. 38a; 3.2×1.1 cm.
5. Nimrud (ND 280): British Museum; BM 131981 (1954-11-15, 30); Wiseman 1950, 197; 2.5×1.2 cm.
6. Nineveh: British Museum; BM 103058 (1910-4-12, 2); 1.5×0.5 cm.
7. Nineveh: British Museum; 85-4-8, 1; 1.13×0.25 cm.
8. MS 3272/1; George 2016, 92-93, No. 69, pl. CXLI; 2.0×1.0 cm.
9. MS 3272/2; George 2016, 92-93, No. 70, pl. CXLI; 1.0×0.7 cm.

Hulbazizi No. 19:

10. Nimrud (ND 1103): British Museum; BM 131980 (1954-11-15, 29); Wiseman 1952, 63, pl. 12; 8.8×1.7 cm.

These amulets come in two sizes; see Fig. 13.2 for the five examples now in the British Museum. The smaller, exemplified by Nos. 6 (BM 103058) and 8 (MS 3272/2), are rounded *beads* of clay rather than cylinders, with minute and hard-to-read script. These specimens were undoubtedly specially made for babies, just as prescribed in the ritual.⁵

In addition to combating Lamaštu and pacifying unhappy babies, cylinder-amulets of this type were also used against *fever*.

The Nippur Fever Amulets

A group of six such clay cylinder amulets came to light in one of the early seasons at Nippur, and was published long ago by Legrain (1925, Nos. 1088-1093). They are now in the tablet collection in the University Museum, Philadelphia. Judging from the script these objects date to the second half of the first millennium B.C. Three of the cylinders were certainly written for the benefit of one individual. The other three are fragmentary, but the whole group was surely made for the same client, and in fact two of the fragments have now proved to join.

⁵ The Old Akkadian inscribed clay cylinder from Tell Taya published in Reade 1971, 95-96, pl. XXV 6, although quite possibly magical in character, needs separate consideration. Unlike the cylinders discussed in this article it is inscribed in reverse.



FIGURE 13.2 *a* = BM 13981; *b* = BM 134604; *c* = BM 103058;
d = 85-4-8, 1 and *e* = BM 131980
 PHOTOS: BRITISH MUSEUM



FIGURE 13.3 *The Nippur examples*
PHOTOS: UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PENN.

The Philadelphia cylinders are made of coarse blackened clay, “half-baked” in Hermann Hilprecht’s term, which probably fits with the Kuyunjik prescription for a “baby” amulet quoted above that it should be baked over a chaff fire. These are the details:

CBS 5559 (Amulet 1); Legrain 1925, 1088; 1.8 × 1.1 cm; hole diam. ca. 0.3 cm.

CBS 3992 (Amulet 4); Legrain 1925, 1089; 1.75 × 1.1 cm; hole diam. 0.28 cm.

CBS 3996+3994 (Amulet 2); Legrain 1925, 1090+1093; 1.78 × 0.7 cm; hole diam. 0.4 cm.

CBS 3993 (Amulet 3); Legrain 1925, 1091; 1.8 × 1.0 cm; hole diam. 0.3 cm.

CBS 3995 (Amulet 5); Legrain 1925, 1092; 1.8 × 0.7 cm; hole broken.

Hilprecht recorded each of the amulets 3992–3996 as being from Nippur, stemming from either the Second or Third Expedition. In addition, it is clear that there was also one further piece, CBS 4559, which was catalogued by Hilprecht on Valentine's Day 1910 as:

A small clay cylinder, half-baked, repaired; Neo-Babylonian Period; cf. also 3992–3996; Exorcism: 9 lines of inscription.

All that remains of this object today, however, is a tag in the museum drawer. It has not been published, and was obviously not available to Legrain in 1925. A note to CBS 5559 in Hilprecht's hand says "cf. 4559", and it can surely be assumed, although it is not recorded as such, that 5559 is likewise from Nippur. Legrain gave rather good drawings as well as first interpretations of these interesting objects, which seem to have been steadfastly ignored ever since.

The Nippur cylinder amulets were inscribed for a female client called Bāba-ēterat, *daughter* of Bānitay. It is highly interesting that the patient's matronymic is quoted, for, as is well known, a woman in Mesopotamia was always referred to as daughter of her father for legal or other types of identification. Exceptions might occur in the case of a foundling adopted by a woman, or an illegitimate child, or perhaps a child resulting from rape, but in standard usage it is invariably the patronymic which is found.⁶ In a context of curative magic, the need for certain identification of the individual concerned here evidently demands the matronymic, enshrining the very old principle—*pater incertus mater certa*.⁷

Bāba-ēterat suffered, and persistently, from fever. Her amulets contain related spells addressed respectively to Ninurta, Namtar, Ereškigal, Ea and an unidentified goddess. In most cases the spell fills virtually the whole surface; CBS 3993 had space that could have incorporated further text. Her symptoms are described, and they seem to worsen from spell to spell. It is interesting that despite her name, "Bāba-is-Saviour", it is not Bāba to whom appeal is made for

6 A full survey of matronymy in cuneiform sources will appear in Sandowicz forthcoming.

7 This traditional explanation, the "elder principle" (Montgomery 1913, 49–50, fn. 1), has been rejected by some; e.g. J. Trachtenburg (1939, 115–116): "It is very unlikely that a conscious aspersions on the character of the mother lies at its root. It is much more probable that we have here an illustration of the exceeding tenacity of magical tradition, and of the hoary antiquity in which this tradition had its beginnings. The practice seems to reflect the original matriarchal condition of society, when relationship was traced through the mother and not through the father." One might argue, however, that the two interpretations are complementary rather than contradictory.

her cure, at least not in the surviving amulet texts. Does this not imply something about the role of the personal god?⁸

Three Late Babylonian tablet sources have come to light in the British Museum that together preserve most of an instruction manual for producing fever amulets of exactly the Nippur type. It details in ruled sections the manufacture of a series of clay cylinders inscribed with the same group of incantations, which are written out *in extenso*. As with other such texts, the ritual uses the term *annanna* (*apil annana*), “So-and-so (son of So-and-so)”, where the client’s name is to be inserted on a newly-made amulet. Although the term, written NENNI without phonetic complement, is used in the ritual tablet as if envisaging a male client, certain verb forms show that the spell must often have been used for women, as with the Nippur amulets; see notes. The still incomplete incantation sequence in these tablet sources is as follows: Zarpanitu, Ninurta No. 1, Namtar, Ereškigal, Ea, Ninurta No. 2, [DN₁] [DN₂]...

In the following pages the Nippur amulet inscriptions are edited first, presented in the order of the ritual tablet that follows. New copies of the Legrain amulets have been prepared from close-up photographs once kindly made for this article by Matthew T. Rutz.

The Amulet Texts

Amulet 1. CBS 5559, Ninurta No. 1

1. ÉN dMAŠ SAG.KAL DINGIR.MEŠ
2. ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú ^{fd}KÁ-e-tè-rat
3. [DU]MU.MUNUS šá ^{td}Û-ta-a
4. šá NE *šab-tu-ši-ma*
5. NINDA.ĦIA ú-maṭ-tu-ú
6. NE *u lu-ba-tu*
7. *ina* SU-šú *ú-suḥ-ma*
8. *i-lik-ku lil-lik*
9. *te* ÉN

8 See already King 1896, xxiv, fn. 1, referring to the British Museum Ħulbazizi amulet 85-4-8, 1 itemised above.



FIGURE 13.4A *Amulet 1. CBS 5559*
PHOTOS: M.T. RUTZ

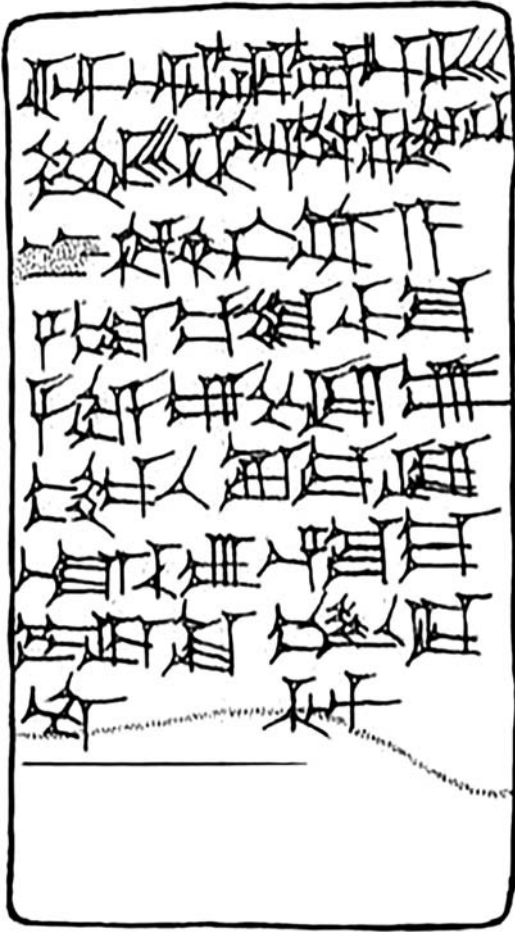


FIGURE 13.4B Copy of CBS 5559

I.L. FINKEL

ÉN. Ninurta, foremost of the gods, his brothers! (Regarding) Bāba-ēṭerat, daughter of Bānitay, whom fever has attacked, and reduced her (appetite for) food, drive out fever and *lubātu* from her body! May it be on its way! Spell; ÉN

Notes

This incantation occurs verbatim below as Ritual Tablet: rev. 9–11 and is closely related to obv. 7–9.

4. *ša* NE *ṣab-tu-ši-ma*; this form appears passim in this corpus, with accusative suffix appended to a stative verb in the subjunctive. This is not a common structure in standard Akkadian, and it is interesting to observe that the

identical phrase occurs many times in the Middle Babylonian fever ritual from Boğazköy (Meier 1939, 195–215), exemplified by, *inter alia*, 202: I 36: *šá li-bu ša-ab-tù-šu*.

5. For *mutṭû* said of food and drink in this context see below.

6. *i-lik-ku lil-lik*; the first word is problematic. There is no noun **ilikku*, “path”, as was assumed by Legrain in his treatment of this inscription. The reading, however, is confirmed by Ritual Tablet: rev. 11: *i-lik-ki lil-lik*. Also to be excluded is any connection with *ilku alāku*, as the 2nd person suffix will not match with the precativ verb. Another approach is to consider reading *illik-ku lillik*, “he went to you (before); let him go!” or even *illik ki lillik*, “he went, so let him go (again)!” The latter might recall a proverb or something of the kind. The parallel in Amulet 2, *aḫitamma lillik*, “may it go elsewhere,” gives an idea of what this might be expected to mean. The late use of *-ki* for *-ku* is consistent here.

Amulet 2. CBS 3994+3996, Namtar

1. ÉN ^dna[m-tar SUKKAL KI-ti]
 2. rdKÁ-e-ṭè-r[at šá MUNUS.UŠ_{II}.ZU ina IGI-ka]
 3. ip-qí-du-ma GIM s[*i*²-li-ti(?)]
 4.
 5. tu-šá-an-nu-ú KA.ḪI-šú NE
 6. tu-šá-aš-bit SU-šu tu-šaḫ-ḫa-ḫa
 7. UZU.MEŠ-šú tu-kàs-su-ú SA.MEŠ-šú
- gap
- 1'. x [.....]
 - 2'. x [.....]

ÉN. Namtar, vizier of the Underworld! (Regarding) Bāba-ēterat, whom a witch has visited despite you, when sick[ness] you have made her delirious, had fever seize her body, made her flesh waste away, and paralysed her sinews [.....]



FIGURE 13.5 Copy of amulet 2. CBS 3994+3996

Notes

Effectively the same incantation is completely preserved in Ritual Tablet: obv. 10–12, although it is clear that line 3 is partly not found there, and so it is not certain how much can be restored here with safety.

3. The restoration of *sīlūtu*, “illness”, is based on the regularity with which fever is associated with that term.

4. These traces, which should parallel the first half of line 11’ of the ritual version, defy interpretation by the present writer.

5–7. These verbs, in the 2nd person, are here taken to refer to Namtar, who is responsible for what has happened by allowing the witch to cause these symptoms. It is also possible that they are 3rd fem. sing. addressed directly to the witch.

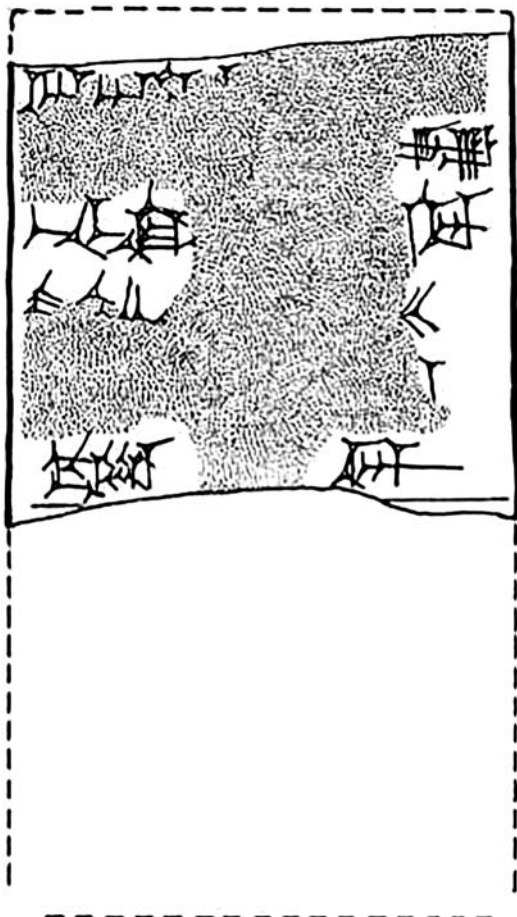


FIGURE 13.6 Copy of amulet 3. CBS 3993

Amulet 3. CBS 3993, Ereškigal

1. ÉN ^dereš-k[i-gal]
2. [..... NE(?)] ú-kal^p
3. ina IGI-ki i[p-qí-du Í]D
4. x x x [.....] kur²
5. [.....] x
6. TU₆ ÉN

ÉN. Ereškigal, ...! [(Regarding) PN. whose] holds [fever(?)] despite you, [who] the river [.....] ... [.....] ... Spell; ÉN

Notes

This spell only partly parallels Ritual Tablet: obv. 14–15, and cannot be certainly restored.

2. If *ú-kal* is the correct reading, one might think of such phrases as ...-*šú* NE *ú-kal*, “his ... holds fever;” cf. CAD K 512 for examples. The earlier part of the line must have included either PN or NENNI.

6. This is the only amulet to write TU₆ instead of *te*, and it has slightly larger script than the other cylinders, while, as remarked above, possibly containing a second text. These factors suggest that it was perhaps the work of a different scribe to that of the others, although this would not necessarily mean that the client was a different individual.

Amulet 4. CBS 3992, Ea

1. ÉN ^dé-a LUGAL ABZU EN NUN.KI
2. ^fdKÁ-e-*tè-rat* DUMU.MUNUS *šá*
3. ^fDÛ-ta-a *šá* NE *šab-tu-ši-ma*
4. *ú-šam-sa-ku zu-mur-šú*
5. *ina te-e-ku KÛ lip-pa-*ṭir-ma**
6. *a-ḫi-tam-ma lil-lik*
7. [T]U₆ ÉN

ÉN. Ea, King of the Apsû, Lord of Eridu! (Regarding) Bāba-ēterat, daughter of Bānitay, whom fever has attacked, and made her body repellent, may it be made to leave by means of your holy spell! Let it go elsewhere! Spell; ÉN

Notes

Duplicates Ritual Tablet: obv. 17–18.

4. *ú-šam-sa-ku*; CAD M/1 322 only offers “to give a bad name” for *šumsuku*, but it is evident that the form here has a meaning closer to the I and II stems, and must mean “to make disgusting”, or the like. The word in this literal meaning is otherwise unattested, its rarity sufficing to allow the immediate identification of F 261 below out of literally hundreds of unplaced and miscellaneous 81-7-1 fragments.

5. A spell of Ea created mankind itself according to the fever (Fire) incantation in Lambert 1970, 43: 25.



FIGURE 13.7 Copy of amulet 4. CBS 3992

Amulet 5. CBS 3995, [Goddess]

- 1'. *nar-bi-ki lu-šá-pi da-lí-lí-⟨ki⟩*
 2'. *lu-ud^{II}-lul*

..... I will proclaim your greatness and utter your praise!

Notes

The ending of this incantation may be compared with Ritual Tablet: obv. 8 and 15.

2'. The UD^{II} is written in a very extraordinary way.

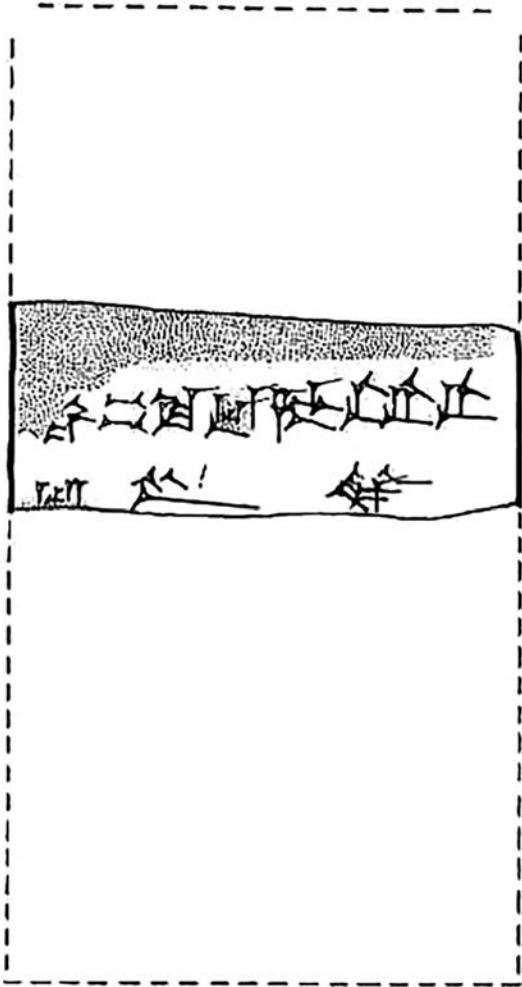


FIGURE 13.8 Copy of amulet 5, CBS 3995

The Ritual Tablet

Sources

- Text a BM 43359+43378+43567 (81-7-1, 1123+1142+1331) + two unnumbered 81-71-1 fragments, together with F 261 (unnumbered 81-7-1) (no join)
Approximately lower half of a tablet with some 30 lines per side.
6.1×6.0×2.5 cm. Lines preserved: obv. 1–3, 7–18; rev. 5–14.
- Text b BM 49141+65953+68455 (81-11-3, 1852+82-9-18, 5945+8453)
Landscape orientation; literary NB hand; not post-Achaemenid; some erasures. Some 4 lines missing at top, thus approximately 17 lines per side. Reverse mostly destroyed; traces only towards the right-hand edge. 9.1×6.5×2.5 cm. Lines preserved: obv. 5–18; rev. 5.
- Text c F 260 (81-7-1 unnumbered)
Two-sided fragment only from right hand edge; excellent NB library hand. 1.7×2.3×2.4 cm. Lines preserved: obv. 12–15; rev. 14–18.

Textual Points

The text is most easily established starting with source b. After a gap that can be calculated as of four lines at the top this tablet then gives a run of fourteen long lines down to the bottom of the obverse at line 18. Source a overlaps and duplicates this sequence coming in at line 7 and down to line 15, while the small non-joining fragment F 261, evidently from the same tablet as source a, now provides part of lines 1–3. Thus only line 4, the beginning of the ritual, is still totally unrepresented of the obverse. Source c comes in with parts of lines 12–15 of this sequence.

There are two or three lines of text missing at the bottom of source a. It is probable that it originally ended the obverse at line 15, of which only [... *uṣ*]-*ri*¹-[*ši-ma*] survives, and the ritual in line 16 of b will have filled the first two or three missing lines at the top of the reverse, of which only a trace of [GAR-*a*]n now survives at the end. The reverse text of source b is mostly gone, but enough survives to allow identification of some ruled sections and numbers of lines, and thus some matching with source a. The five reverse lines of source c come in just as sources a and b run out.

Source a has roughly three lines to every two in source b. With the help of c it now seems that something like lines 55–65 must be completely missing in a, which in b would be roughly lines 30–36.

Where the texts overlap a composite transliteration is given, but all textual variants or other points are recorded in the critical notes.

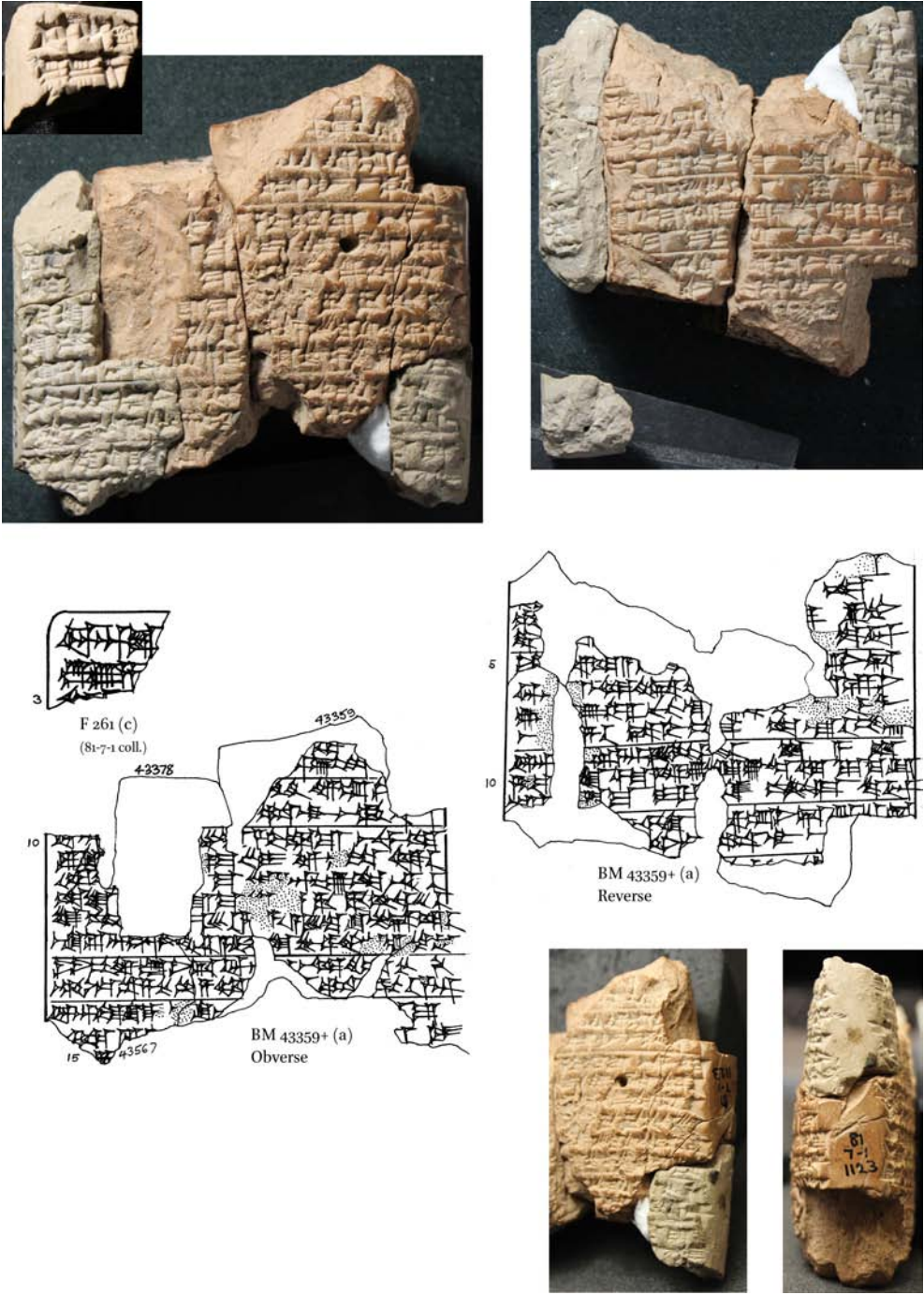
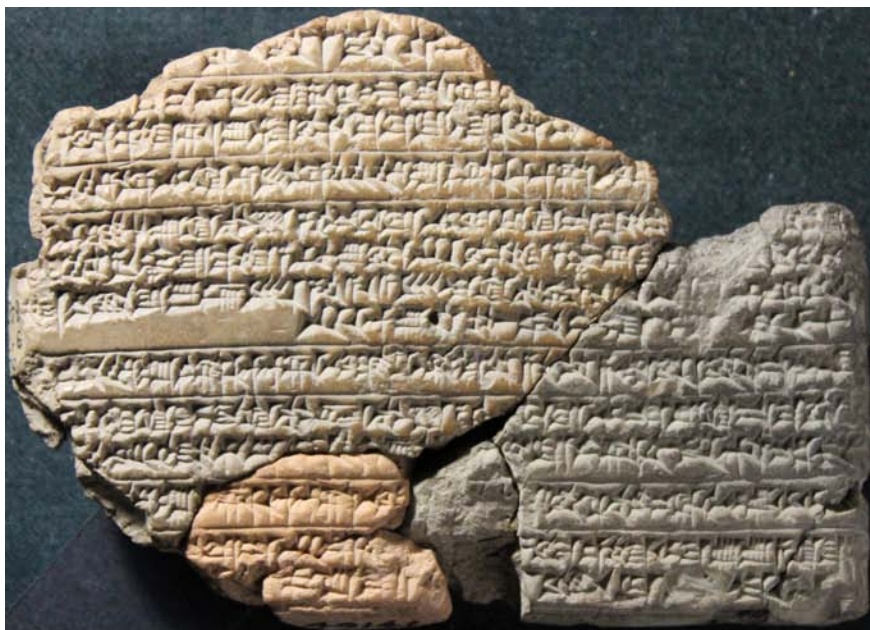


FIGURE 13.9 *BM 43359+*
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FIGURE 13.10A *BM 49141+*

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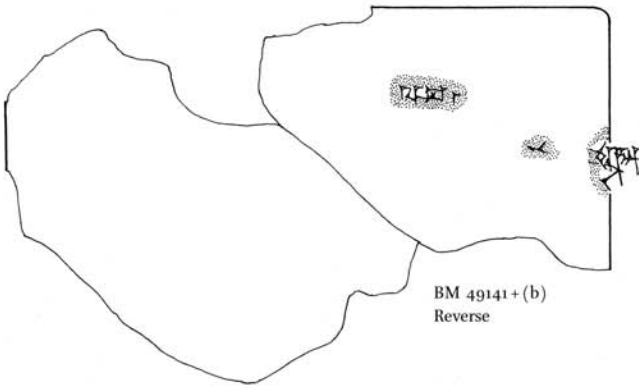


FIGURE 13.10B *BM 49141+*
PHOTOS: S.V. PANAYOTOV

Transliteration

Obverse

- a 1. ÉN ^dzar-[*pa-ni-tu*₄ GAŠAN NENNI šá NE *šab-tu-ši-ma*]
a 2. *ú-šam-sa-k*[*u* SU-šú]
a 3. UGU [..... ÉN]
-
- 4. [DÙ.DÙ.BI]
b 5. [.....] x x (x) ar² [.....]
b 6. [.....] x [*ina*] SÍG x Á *ana* Á UD.D[U-*ak ina* GÚ-šú GAR-*an*]
-
- ab 7. [ÉN] ^dMAŠ *kaš-kaš* DINGIR.MEŠ *la-bi*š SÍG HÉ.ME.DA
SAG.K[AL DINGIR.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú] ([...])
ab 8. [NENNI] šá NE *šab-tu-uš ú-suḥ* NE *u lu-ba-tu ina* SU-šú [*li*] *b-luṭ*
nar-^rbi^r-k[*a lu-šá-pi te* ÉN]
-
- ab 9. [DÙ.D]Ù.BI IM PA₅ TI-*qí ina* A.MEŠ PA₅ ḪI.ḪI IM.KIŠIB DÙ-*uš*
ÉN
an-nita ina UGU SAR-*ma ina* [DUR GADA] UD.DU-*ak ina* GÚ-šú
GAR-*an*
-
- ab 10. ÉN ^dnam-*tar* SUKKAL KI-*tì* NENNI šá MUNUS.UŠ₁₁.ZU *ina* IGI-
ka
ip-qí-du-ma li-^rbi KUR-*i im-qu-tú* UGU-šú
ab 11. *muḥ-ḫi tam-ḫa-as-su-ma tu-šá-an-nu-ú tē-en-šú* NE *tu-šá-aš-bit*
SU-*ma tu-^ša*ḫ-ḫa-ḫa UZU.MEŠ-šú
abc 12. *tu-kàs-su-ú* SA.MEŠ-šú NINDA.ḪI.A *u* A.MEŠ *te-ki-mu* TA KA-šú
ina qí-bit ^dasal-lú-ḫi EN ÉN-*ú-tu pu-ṭur at-lak te* ÉN
-
- abc 13. [D]Ù.DÙ.BI IM.KIŠIB DÙ-*uš* ÉN *an-nita ina* UGU SAR *ina* DUR
GADA NA₄ ZA.GÌN NA₄.GUG Á *ana* Á UD.DU-*ak ina* GÚ-šú
GAR-*an*
-
- abc 14. [ÉN] ^dereš-*ki-gal* GAŠAN KI-*tì* DAGAL-*tì* NENNI šá
MUNUS.UŠ₁₁.ZU *ina* IGI-*ka ip-qí-du-ma* NE *šab-tu*š
abc 15. [*mu*]ḫ-ḫi *maḥ-ṣu uš-^rri^r-ši-ma lib-luṭ a-^ldi* *bal-tu lit-ta^r-id*
DINGIR-*ut-ka te* ÉN
(Probable bottom of obv. in a)

ab 16. [DÙ.DÙ.BI I]M.KIŠIB DÙ-uš EN *an-nita ina* U[GU SA]R x x KUŠ?
AM.SI
MUN *eme-sal-lim* Ú.IGI-*lim ina* KUŠ DÙ.DÙ *ina* GÚ-šú GAR-*an*

ab 17. [ÉN ^d*é-a* LUG]AL ABZU EN *eri*₄-*du*₁₀.K[I NENNI š]*á* NE
šab-tu-ši-ma ú-šam-sà-ki SU-šú

ab 18. [*ina te-e-k*]u KÙ-ti *lip-pa-ṭir-ma a-ḥ*[*i-tam-m*]*a lil-lik te* ÉN
(Bottom of obv. in b; the preceding three lines represent rev. 1–4 in a)

Reverse

Note: line numbering and arrangement from here on after source a rev. 5–14 (= b rev. “19–26”, mostly lost)

ab 5. DÙ.D[Ù.BI I]M *ka-a-r*[*i?* I]M? [..... TI-*qí* IM.KIŠ]IB DÙ-uš

a 6. ÉN *a*[*n-nit*]*a ina muḥ-ḥi ta-ša*[*t-ṭar ina* GU(?) GADA(?) (...)
t]*a-šak-kak*

a 7. Ú.x [x] x Ú.SIKIL.KUL.LA Ú.IGI-*lim* Ú.AŠ.TÁL.TÁL

a 8. *ina* [ŠU (...)]₁5-šú *ta-rak-kas-*[*m*]*a NE ina* SU-šú DU₈-*ir*

a 9. ÉN ^d[MAŠ SA]G.KAL DINGIR.MEŠ ŠEŠ.M[E]Š-šú NENNI A
NENNI

a 10. šá NE [*šab*]-*tu-ši-ma* NINDA.ḪI.A *ú-maṭ-ṭu-ú* NE *u lu-ba-ṭu*

a 11. *ina* SU-šú [*ú-su*]*ḥ-ma i-lik-ki lil-lik te* ÉN

a 12. [DÙ.DÙ.BI IM P]A₅ TI-*qí*-[*ma* I]M.KIŠIB DÙ-uš ÉN *an-nita*

ab 13. [*ana muḥ-ḥi* SAR-*ma ina* D]UR GA[DA] UD¹.DU-*ak ina* GÚ-šú
GAR-*an*

abc 14. [ÉN] x x x x [..... š]*a-ab-tu-uš* [.....]

c 15. [..... GABA.R]I NU TUKU-*ú te* ÉN

c 16. [ÉN *mim-ma le*]*m-nu* NU TE-*a te* ÉN

c 17. [DÙ.DÙ.BI IM.KIŠ]IB DÙ-uš

c 18. [..... *ina* GÚ-šú GAR]-*an*

(Remainder missing)

Critical Notes

7. a: unplaced ...] ^rka^r [...]
8. a: li]b-luṭ n[ar-...]; b: om. libluṭ; nar-^rbi^r-k[a ...]
9. a: [...] ina [...] UD.DU-ak ...; b: S[AR ...]
10. a: [... li]-^rba KUR-i im-^rqu^r-tu ...; b: li-[... i]m-qu-tu ...
12. a: a-ši-p[u-t]ú; b: ÉN-ú-tú; c: a-ši-pu-tu
13. a: ^rta^r-šaṭ-ṭar; b: SAR; c: [ta-š]aṭ-ṭar
15. a: [... mah]-šu [uṣ]-^rri^r-[... (over two lines); b: miḥ-šu uṣ-ri-ši-ma; c: trace only
16. a: [...] GAR-^ran^r; b: GAR
17. a: [... š]á ...; b: trace of ABZU(?) only
18. a: KÙ-ti; b: [K]Ù
5. b: unidentified trace at end of 19 only
13. a: GA[DA] UD¹.DU-ak ina [...]; b: ... GAD]A UD.DU [ina] GÚ-šú GAR-an
14. a: [...] x x x x [...]; b: unidentified trace at end of line; c: [š]a-ab-tu-uš at end of line

Translation

Obverse

1. ÉN. Zarpanitu, [mistress of]
 2. made her [body repellent,]
 3. on [..... ÉN]
-
4. [Its ritual:]
 5. [.....] [.....]
 6. [.....] you thread side by side on ... wool, and put it round her neck.
-
7. [ÉN]. Ninurta, fierce one of the gods, clad in scarlet wool, foremost of the gods his brothers!
 8. [So-and-so], whom fever has seized, tear out fever and *lubāṭu* from his body,
let him live to [declare] yo[ur] praise! [Spell; ÉN]
-
9. Its rit[ual]: take clay from a canal, mix it with canal water and make a clay cylinder.
Write this incantation on it, thread it on [a string of flax] and put it around his neck.
-

10. ÉN. Namtar, vizier of the Underworld! So-and-so, whom a witch has affected despite your protection, and upon whom mountain fever has fallen—
 11. you have struck him in his brain, made him delirious, had fever attack his body,
wasted his flesh,
 12. paralysed his sinews, snatched the food and drink from his mouth;
at the command of Asalluḫi, Lord of magic, let go! Be off! Spell; ÉN
-
13. Its rit[ual]: make a clay cylinder and write this incantation on it. Thread it on a
string of flax with lapis lazuli and carnelian one on each side, and hang it around his neck.
-
14. [É]N. Ereškigal, Mistress of the broad Underworld! As for So-and-so, whom a witch has affected despite your protection, and whom fever has seized,
 15. striking in the head, save her, let her live, that she may praise your divinity as long as she lives! te ÉN
-
16. [Its ritual]: make a clay seal cylinder and write this incantation on it. You thread ..., elephant-skin(?), *emesallu*-salt and *imḥur-lîmi*-plant in a leather bag and put it around his neck.
-
17. [ÉN Ea, Ki]ng of the Apsû, Lord of Eridu! [So-and-so, wh]om fever has seized,
and made her body repellent,
 18. may it be made to leave through your holy spell! Let it go else[where!]
-

Reverse

5. [Its] ritual: [take] clay from a quay, clay from a ... and make a clay seal cylinder;
 6. Wr[ite] this incantation on it, string it on thread of flax,
 7. [...] ...-plant, SIKIL.KULLA-plant, *imḥur-lîmi*-plant and *ardadillu*-plant;
 8. you tie it on his right hand, and fever be driven from her body.
-
9. ÉN. Ninurta, foremost of the gods, his brothers! (regarding) So-and-so, son of
So-and-so,

10. whom fever has attacked, and reduced her (appetite for) food, drive out fever and *lubātu*
 11. from her body! May it be on its way! Spell; ÉN
-
12. [Its ritual]: take clay from a canal [and] make a clay seal cylinder; [write this incantation
 13. on it]; string it [on a thr]ead of fl[ax] and hang it around her neck.
-
14. [ÉN] [..... whom] ... has seized [.....]
 15. [..... which] has no [ri]val... Spell; ÉN
-
16. [ÉN Any Ev]il, do not approach! Spell; ÉN
-
17. [Its ritual:] make a seal cylinder [of clay],
 18. [.....] and set it round his neck.
-

(Remainder missing)

Notes

Obv. 9. Amulets in this ritual are to be made of IM PA₅, usually read *ṭitti palgi*, “canal clay”, softened with canal water. As noted above, Kuyunjik can prescribe for the same purpose *kullatu*, given in CAD K 506 as “potter’s clay”, cf. Hg A 2 135: [im]-dù-a = *kul-la-tum* = IM PA₅. Although a compound IM.PA₅ is not entered in its own right in Hh, it is interesting that two most unusual Late Babylonian writing exercises(?) in the British Museum are exclusively given over to writing out this term as if it were an established IM compound. BM 47577 (81-11-13, 282) is an unfired small squashed ball of clay that looks like a tag or sealing, although it shows no sign of string or attachment; it is inscribed IM PA₅ three times; see Figs. 13.11 and 13.12.⁹ BM 47408 (81-11-3, 113) in the same collection is round, and inscribed (on one side only) twelve times with IM PA₅ over two columns (kindly showed me by E. Leichty). Perhaps then IM.PA₅ was later understood to stand for *kullatu*, in addition to its well-documented equivalents?

9 These items measure 2.1 (diam.) × 1.4 (thickness) and 4.8 (diam.) × 1.9 (thickness) cms respectively. The format of the former alone is highly uncharacteristic as any kind of credible practice tablet, but one might imagine that the two documents represent jotting exercises after a discussion of technical exorcistic usage in a classroom context.

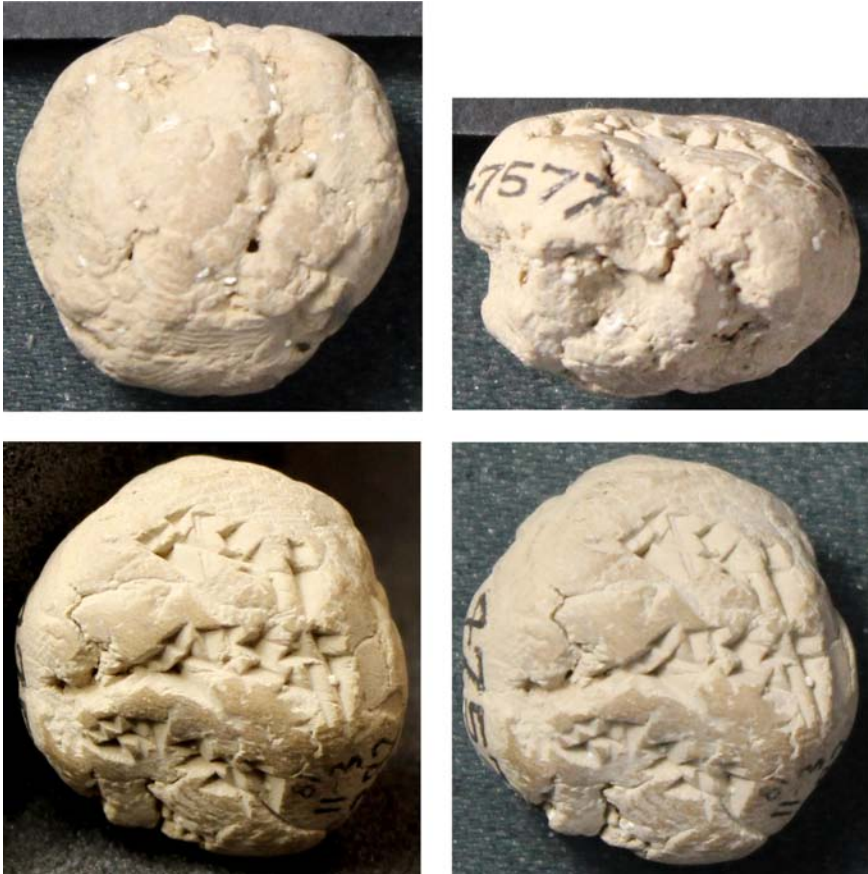


FIGURE 13.11 *BM 47577*
PHOTOS: S.V. PANAYOTOV

Conditions and Treatment

Ritual Tablet Nos. 1 and 5 (Amulet 4), addressed to Zarpanitu and Ea respectively, concern a case of what must be a persistent form of fever (*ummu*), elsewhere called *ummu lazzu*, in that the effects are already to be seen on the patient's body in a phrase not commonly found with this meaning (*ša ušam-saku zumurša*).

Ritual Nos. 2 and 6, however, like Amulet 1, are both addressed to Ninurta. The parallel spells concern fever (*ummu*) that in No. 6 has led to the patient's not eating, NINDA.ĦIA *ú-maṭ-tu-ú*, lit. "reducing food", and seek to remove both *ummu* and *lubâtu* from her body. This expression is a euphemism, and evidently really means "cannot keep any food down," to be compared with NINDA.ĦIA *u A.MEŠ te-ki-mu TA KA-šu*, "you snatched the food and drink out of his mouth," said of the agent of mountain sickness (*li'bi šadî*) in No. 3.



FIGURE 13.12 BM 47408

PHOTOS: S.V. PANAYOTOV, COPY I.L. FINKEL

The same symptom occurs in the therapeutic texts; compare *BAM* 579: i 8: DIŠ NA ŠÀ-šú NE ú-kal NINDA u A la i-maḥ-ḥar, “If a man’s belly holds fever, and he cannot take food or water;” compare *ibid.* i 25: DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú NE ú-kal NINDA u [A la i-maḥ-ḥar ...], “If a man’s epigastrium holds fever and [he cannot take] food or [water...].” A more serious case occurs in *BAM* 146: 43–46: DIŠ NA UZ[U.MEŠ-šú N[E.M]EŠ ŠED₆.MEŠ NINDA KÚ KAŠ NAG-ma [i]-ar-ru i-t[a-n]a-aš e-le-⟨U⟩-na UZU.MEŠ-šú ŠED₆ [ša]p-la-nu e-š[e-e]m-ta-šú šar-pa NA BI [UD.D]A TAB.BA-ma l[i]-²ba TUKU ana TI-šú ..., “If a man’s flesh is now hot, now cold; he eats food, drinks beer and vomits and is weakened, above ... his flesh is cold, below his bones are on fire, that man is sick with *ḥimīt šēti* and *lību*. To cure him ...”

How *lubātu*, also given as “fever” in *CAD* L 231, differs from *ummu* is not clear, but from this context it looks to be a development from primary *ummu*.



FIGURE 13.13

BM 47577

COPY I.L. FINKEL

Ritual Nos. 3 (Amulet 2) and 4 (Amulet 3), addressed in turn to Namtar and Ereškigal, paint a fuller picture. In No. 3, sorcery has intervened. The sequence MUNUS.UŠ_{II}.ZU stands for *kaššāptu*, “witch”, the human agent within whose power it evidently was to inflict *li’bu* once given a free hand. The expression *ina pāni-ka*, lit. “in your face”, addressed to Namtar, thus seems to imply that the latter has been responsible for maintaining protection. The medical omens sometimes attribute *li’bu* or *li’bi šadī* to sorcery, for example *TDP*, 176, Tablet 23: 1: ... *li’-bu* DIB-su GIG-su ŠU NAM.LÚ.U_x.LU, or *TDP*, 24, Tablet 3: 51: ... DIḫ KUR DIB-su KIMIN *kiš-pi* DIB.MEŠ-[šú ...].

The Ritual Tablet preserves seven incantations of this type, and might originally have included ten or more.¹⁰ It begins directly with the first spell, and the colophon, if there were one, is as yet missing, so its attribution to a wider series cannot be established. Such a composition as this amulet manual can be either a reference collection of related incantations in use for a variety of purposes (such as the series *Ḫulbazizi*), or a structured ritual with a sequence of activities for a specific purpose (such as *Muššu’u*). At first sight this ritual appears to be of the first type, collecting related spells from which a choice could be made by the practitioner. However, if this is true, it does not square well with the Nippur amulets, which preserve at least five of the prescribed spells (not counting the missing CBS 4559). Nothing, however, is known of where they were found. Certain observations can be made. Small and only partly baked objects like these amulets must often have eluded discovery in pre-modern excavations. The present group could have been found in a vessel or container, but are more likely to be the remnant of a single necklace from a grave. In either eventuality the set of prepared amulets existed. They had been made, finished and, presumably, handed over to the patient. The likely implication then is that normal treatment involved the manufacture of a group of related amulets for the same purpose, which were worn together until the patient was better.

10 Perhaps the following pairs: Ninurta No. 1 and [Gula No. 1]; Ninurta No. 2 and [Gula No. 2]; Ea and [Damkina]; Namtar and Ereškigal; [Marduk] and Zarpanitu.

Further Fever Magic

There are other signs that fever was an acknowledged target of the spells of first millennium exorcists, and that attempts were made to compile useful reference tools. Thus, fever (“fire”) incantations such as those published by Lambert (1970) were itemised into a structured sequence in the Nippur catalogue 12N-T 657 given by the recipient of this volume (2000, 234–236). Of the fifteen titles preserved in the relevant portion of the rev. of that catalogue, lines 6’ to at least 13’ are “fire” incantations; of these six occur in Lambert’s publication, of which 9’, 10’, 11’ and 12’ run in the same sequence.

Other solitary spells seem to have eluded editorial supervision altogether, such as the short mixed Sumero-Akkadian incantation to remove persistent fever (NE *la-az-zi* ZI) rendered in the Assur manuscript *BAM* 147 as follows:

BAM 147: rev. 17’–19’ (Assur)

- 17’. ÉN a-ra-zu ^dnin-a-zu me-téš ḥé-i-i
 18’. ^d15-a-ni ŠÚ.LU-zu-ub-bi MIN MIN : *i-na ni-pi-iḫ ni-ri šá* AN.x
 19’. ^den-líl-le ^dé-a TU₆ ÉN

CAD (N/2 243 and 264) understands AN KÙ, *nipḫu*, “rising”, and *nīru*, “the Yoke constellation”, in line 18’, but two unpublished versions of this spell cast light on the transmission (if not understanding) of this material in first millennium medical circles, suggesting that the original meaning was “at the girding of the yoke of Tiamat”, thus referring to the Creation Epic:

BM 41300: 22’–25’ (Babylon)

- 22’. [ÉN] a-ra < > ^dnin-urta me-téš ḥé-i-i
 23’. [AM]A.^dINNIN ù-su-ub-bi [MIN MIN]
 24’. [*i-na*] *né-bé-eḫ ni-ri šá ti-amāt*
 25’. ^den-líl-le ^dḫe-a (sic) *te* ÉN

ND 4405/12: 5’–7’ (Nimrud)

- 5’. ÉN a-ra < > ^dn[in-.....]
 6’. ^dAMA.^dINNIN [.....]
 7’. *ina ni-BI-iḫ n[i-.....]*

The incipit seems also to occur in *STT* 281: obv. ii 5: ÉN a-ra-zu ^d[nin]-a-zu.

As fully demonstrated by Stol (2007), there are certainly terms for fever in Akkadian other than *li'bu*, including the related *li'bi šadî*, and *li'bi šibit šadî*. Of these, *šibit šadî*, 'mountain fever', is partly treated by an amulet in BM 64526 (82-9-18, 4506), given as Fig. 13.13. This is a careful Late Babylonian copy that incorporates two old but incomplete spells from the mid-second millennium BC. Eleven of the thirty-three lines indicate old breaks by ^{he}*pi*. There is some textual connection both with the well-known Middle Babylonian fever ritual from Boğazköy (Meier 1939), and with a Late Assyrian medical passage from Kuyunjik (*AMT* 88/2).

BM 64526

Transliteration

Obverse

1. ÉN É.NU.RU
 2. *pa-na i-šu ar-ka-tam ú-ul i-šu*
 3. *ta-hi ta-ra za-ra-mi ta-ra* ^{he}*pi*
 4. *pa-ar ia-mu ar-pi-ia ga-ar*
 5. KA.INIM.MA *ši-bi-it* KUR.RA
 6. *qi-in-ni MUŠ ni-il DARA_x.MAŠ*
 7. *qar-ni DARA_x.MAŠ ta-sa-a-ak*
 8. *i-na Ì.NUN tu-ba-lal LÚ ta-pa-aš-ša-aš-ma*
 9. *ši-ib-tum 9 MU.BI in-na-* ^{he}*pi*
-
10. *a-na AK.AK-ṭi ša ši-bi-it* ^{he}*pi*
 11. IM KĪ.A ÍD.DA *ša* ^dUTU.È.A AK.AK-ṭi
 12. *ù IM KĪ.A ÍD.DA ša* ^dUTU.ŠÚ.A
 13. *i-na GA MUNUS U.KA (sic) tu-ba-lal*
 14. *i-na SÍG MÍ.ÁŠ.GAR GÌŠ.NU.ZU BABBAR u GI₆*
 15. *ša ZAG u GÙB MUNUS pa-ri-iš-tum* ^{he}*pi*
 16. *ze-eḫ-pi te-te-eb-bi* KA.INIM.MA ^{he}*pi*
 17. *i-na GÚ.BI ta-ša-ak-ka-* ^{he}*pi*
-

Reverse

18. ^{he}*pi* [.....]
 19. ^{he}*pi* *lu x* [.....]
 20. ^{he}*pi* *na-b*[*a*[?]-*šu*(?)]
-

FIGURE 13.14 *BM 64526*

PHOTOS: S.V. PANAYOTOV

21. Ú.GÍR Ú.[..... Ú *kam-k*]a-du ^{he-p[é]}
 22. Ú.ÁŠ.PI?.[PI(?)] Ú ... -[l]i-a-nu
 23. i-na K[UŠ? DÛ.DÛ-pl(?)] i-na G]Ú.BI GAR-an

24. Ú.ḪUR.S[AG Ú].BABBAR ù ^{he-pí}
 25. ta-š[a- i-n]a Ì.GIŠ ŠÉŠ-su

26. da-x (x) tu-na-kar-šu
 27. SÍG a-za-mi-il-la tu-ka-tam-šu
 28. ša qu-ut-tu-ri tu-qat-tar-šu
 29. ša-tam na-wi-ir-tam la i-im-mar
 30. ma-am-man it-ti-šu la i-dab_x(DUB)-bu-ub
 31. a-šar na-du-ú ma-am-man la ir-ru-ub

32. GABA.RI ša DA AŠ ur^l-^dnin-tin-ug₅-ga
 33. ù IM.GÍD.DA ur^dnanna

Translation

Obverse

1. ÉN É.NU.RU
 2. It has a front, it has no back
 3. *tahi tara zarami tara* ^{broken}
 4. *pāryamu arpiya gār*
 5. Spell for mountain seizure;
 6. You pulverize snake-nest, stag-semen
 7. (and) hartshorn,
 8. mix with ghee, and anoint the man.
 9. The seizure 9 lines will be ^{broken}
-
10. For the ritual against ^{broken} seizure
 11. You mix clay from the eastern bank of the river
 12. and clay from the western bank of the river
 13. together with a milk from a woman who has borne a child(?).
 14. With white and black wool from a virgin female goat,
 15. from right and left, a non-menopausal woman ^{broken}
 16. you ... a clay amulet and ^{broken} the incantation
 17. and pu ^{broken} it around his neck.

Reverse

18. broken [.....]
 19. broken ... [.....]
 20. broken scarlet wool(?) [.....]

-
21. *amsatu*-plant [...] -plant [.....] ... broken
 22. *arda*[*dillu*-plant] ... plant
 23. [put] in a leather [.....] and set it around his neck.

-
24. Mountain-plant [.....] white plant broken plant
 25. you [.....] and anoint him with it in oil.

-
26. You change the ... for him,
 27. cover him with a woollen *azamillu*-sack,
 28. fumigate him with the fumigants;
 29. he must not see the brightness of dawn;
 30. no one may speak with him,
 31. and where he was set down no-one must enter.

-
32. Copy of a *lê'u* of Ur-Nintinugga
 33. and an *imgiddû*-tablet of Ur-Nanna.

Notes

1–4. The quoted incantation against *šibit šadî* is only partly Akkadian, and invites comparison with the equally opaque spell in the MB fever text: ÉN a-ra-a-šér-ra a-ra-a-ba-šér-ra (Meier 1939, 208: 26). A Late Assyrian version of the latter short spell in *AMT* 20/1: 11 reads: ÉN a-ra-še-ra a-ra-ba-še-ra ne-ne-x [...].

2. This description suggests that the agent that brought the fever was conceived of as a shadow.

3–4. The language of these lines is unknown.

9. The verb at the end is surely to be completed *in-na-(as-sa-aḥ)*; *nasāḥu* is often used to mean “drive out”, said of fever.

10. *kikkittû*, “ritual”, a loan from Sum. *kìd-kìd*, is usually written *kìd-kìd-bi*. The missing signs at the end are <KUR.RA>.

11–12. KIA = PEŠ₁₀, *kibru*.

13. MUNUS U.KA is interpreted here as a spread-out MUNUS.UGU, and UGU explained by ú-gu KU = *ba-nu-ú, a-la-du* (Ea 1: 137–138), or Sum. *adda ugu-mu, abu bāniya*, “the father who begat me,” although *bānītu* is usually reserved

for goddesses. For milk of a woman who has just given birth used in recipes, see CAD M/2 239 sub *musukkatu* b.

15. A woman beyond menopause, MUNUS *pa-ri-iš-tum* (lit. “cut off”), is to spin and/or knot the strands of wool to support the amulet; cf. inter alia BAM 237: i 22: ... MUNUS TAR-*tu*₄ NU.NU (= *ṭamû*). The word is usually derived from *parāsu*; cf. CT 17 20: 76: munus mud-da-gi₄-a = *sin-niṣ-tu pa-riṣ-tu*. Such a woman is ritually free of impurity; see, generally, Thompson 1908, 161–173, and compare dictionary passages with *paršumtu*, in contrast with *ḥarimtu* and *musukku*. According to Reiner (1995, 126), however, it is equally possible that this is a euphemism for a menstruous woman.

16. This is the first documented occurrence of *zehpu/ze'pu* meaning “clay tablet amulet”, but the context leaves hardly any other interpretation possible.¹¹ The amulet is made of two kinds of river clay mixed with human milk. Probably the amulet, in accordance with an attested meaning of this word (CAD Z 86: “impression (on clay)”) was made in a mould. If so, the underlying verb *te-te-eb-bi* perhaps reflects a technical use of *ṭepû*, “to add, apply, extend”, meaning “to produce a cast”, despite the spelling with TE. It would certainly be practical for a professional exorcist to own a mould from which clay amulets to carry an inscription could be readily and cheaply produced.

A plausible example of a clay mould-made Babylonian amulet is BM 137497 (80-6-17, 1731). This, as is clear from Fig. 13.14, is a conventional “amulet” shape with a suspension loop at the top, made from baked clay. The profile of the hole recalls the characteristic slightly oval “firing-holes” of the second millennium BC that are supposedly produced with a stylus. The date of the object is uncertain. A second example is BM 139661 (9.2×6.6×1.5 cm) (courtesy of S.V. Panayotov). Perhaps the holder of baked clay allowed temporary inscriptions on fresh clay to be given in sequence. The clay squashed into BM 137497 could certainly be the remain of such a text.

The central framed inset area at the obverse of this object contains a deposit of different clay, from which one might conclude that originally the inlay was flush with the top. This could have been inscribed with an incantation, or alternatively used to affix element or elements now missing within the frame. At any rate it is clearly a “cheap and cheerful” version of a standard amulet, with the added possibility that it might have served to carry changeable contents.¹²

11 For *zehpu/ze'pu* in Old Babylonian and later see Kraus 1967, 12–14; Finkelstein 1972, 2; Walker 1976, *Preface*; Kraus and Klengel 1983, 51; Sallaberger 1999, 26; Dalley 1988, 105.

12 This most unusual object measures 5.9×4.7×1.5 cm. There are multiple erasures on the reverse, some of which seem to conceal linear marks, but others certainly show traces of cuneiform, and it is possible that the whole of the reverse and the lower edge were orig-



FIGURE 13.15 BM 137497

PHOTOS: S.V. PANAYOTOV

The missing words at the end of line 16 after KA.INIM.MA must be *ina muḫ-ḫišu tašatṭar*.¹³

17. That the restoration must involve *-(an)*, if not *-(an-ma i-ne-eš)*, is clear.

26–31. The specific elaborations here have multiple purposes. Shelter from heat and light could reflect understanding that the fever (if fever it is) was due

inally inscribed, and a top layer of clay removed leaving only scant traces behind. The top edge is inscribed with a large sign like an archaic BA, and there is a longer linear design down the left edge. A grouping of cuneiform signs in the middle of the reverse remains unclear; the signs look most like NA and ID, followed by a larger and higher NU sign, although the NA has two horizontals and the ID is misshapen. If *na-id* is correct, this probably represents the owner's name.

- 13 The full text therefore read: "For the ritual against mountain-seizure: you mix clay from the eastern bank of the river and clay from the western bank of the river together with a milk from a woman who has borne a child. A woman beyond menopause shall spin white and black wool from a virgin female goat for right and left; you press out a clay amulet, write the incantation on it, put it around his neck and he will recover."

to the sun; covering with a blanket would combat shivering as well as protect a prostrate patient from flies; fumigation would provide multi-level cleansing, while isolation from fellow man would prevent contagion. Interestingly, an *azamillu*-sack also occurs in the Middle Babylonian fever ritual (Meier 1939, 200: i 16), and, as noted in *CAD* A/2 525, is also mentioned in *AMT* 88/2, which proves to be related to the present text; see presently.

32–33. The colophon shows that this Late Babylonian tablet represents a recycling of two Middle Babylonian sources, one a *lê'u*, the other an *imgiddû*. The original scribes, Ur-Nintinugga and Ur-Nanna, are likely to be from well-known Kassite scribal families.¹⁴ The sign AŠ occurs for DIŠ before PN's elsewhere in such contexts (see Finkel 1991, 149, fn. 57). It is probable that lines 1–9, incantation and ritual with line total noted by the scribe, represent the contents of one tablet, and the remainder the other, in which a second ritual is given for the one incantation. It is interesting to observe how respectfully the text of damaged old documents has been transmitted, without input or “making good” by the scribe, even in cases where there is no ambiguity even to us. Old manuscripts are valued even when broken, and their contents carefully copied and amalgamated into the repertoire. In due course such texts would be “modernised”, and their original second millennium orthography changed into the terse professional shorthand of the later first millennium.

As already remarked, the unusual contents of lines 26–31 in BM 64526 find more than an echo in K 3395 (*AMT* 88/2): obv. 1–6, which must be read with 7–13. This Late Assyrian passage surely derives from an old tradition closely related to the preceding document. Nothing argues against its also being a fever text, although at present this remains uncertain.

K 3395 (AMT 88/2)

Transliteration

1. [DÙ.DÙ.BI GIŠ.NÁ-šú ina K]Á.GAL ḪUR-ir su-un-kìn-ni GIŠ.IG
KÁ.GAL *i-na-saḫ₄-ma*
2. [*ina* S]ÍG MÍ.ÁŠ.GAR GIŠ.NU.ZU NIGIN-*mi-ma ina* GÚ-šú GAR-*an*
3. [...^dUT]U *ina e-re-bi-šú ana É e-ṭi-i ša* IZI u ZALAG₂ NU IGI.DU₈
KU₄-šú
4. [NA BI š]*um-ma a-za-mil-la šum-ma TÚG GI₆ DU₆-tam šum-ma TÚG*
ina KÁ É-šú NIR-*as*
5. [...*ma-am-m*]a-*an ul ir-ru-ub* MU.NI NU iz-*za-kar* Ú.ḪI.A ma-^ʿ-*du-te*

14 See most recently on such individuals Lambert 2005, esp. xviii.



FIGURE 13.16 BM 139661

PHOTOS: S.V. PANAYOTOV

6. [ina GIŠxì ...] x u₄-mi ŠÉŠ.MEŠ-su-ma GIŠ.NÁ-šú te-eš-šir UD 3.KAM
ina É a-ši-ib

-
- 7.-11. [.....] (*materia medica*) Ú.ĦI.A ŠÉŠ SÚD ina GIŠxì li-it-ti
12. [.....] ĦI].ĦI ŠÉŠ.MEŠ-su maš-ṭa-ra KI.TA ĦÌR-su TAG-at
13. [... ina DUR ... ta-šak-k]ak ina GÚ-šú GAR-an-ma NA BI TI-uṭ
-

Translation

1. [Its ritual:] you draw [his bed on the ga]te; he should remove the wood shavings from the door of the gate;
2. you wrap them [in wo]ol from a virgin she-goat and place it around his neck.
3. [..... when the su]n rises you should have him enter a dark house whether neither fire nor light is to be seen,

4. [.....], you cover him with either an *azamillu*-sack or a black cloth, or you spread out a cloth at the gate of his house;
 5. [.....] no-one can enter, his name is not to be uttered. (With) many plants
 6. [in ... oil on the] ... day you massage him, you draw his bed; he must stay in the house for three days.
-
- 7.–11. [.....] (items of *materia medica*) these plants, in ... oil
 12. [.....] you massage him. You *touch* the underside of his feet with the inscription,
 13. [you thre]ad it [on] and hang it around his neck, and that man will recover.
-

Notes on K 3395

1–2; 6. Probably the shavings for the amulet bag are produced by the process of drawing on the wood with a sharp point. Perhaps the image showed the patient lying on a bier-like bed seen from the side, such as occurs in some Lamaštu amulets. Is this drawing designed merely to indicate that a sick man is lying inside and to keep visitors away, as in line 5, or is there more to it?

7–13. These lines appear to be an amplification of the preceding passage in which the “many plants” are specified one by one, rather than separate activity. Line 12 is obscure since *lapātu* has such a range of meanings, but it seems probable that *maštaru* here, lit. “inscription”, applied first to the foot of the recumbent patient¹⁵ and then placed round his neck, represents another amulet against fever.

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15 One might think that the patient's foot on the amulet might symbolise his triumph over the problem afflicting him, although J.V. Kinnier Wilson has plausibly suggested (by letter) that perhaps the edge of the tablet is scraped along the sole of the foot of the unconscious patient to determine whether he is in fact still alive by testing the plantar reflex.

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A Tale of Two Lands and Two Thousand Years: The Origins of Pazuzu

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Introduction

The wind demon Pazuzu is one of the most awe-inspiring supernatural beings to populate the imagination of the people of Mesopotamia.¹ It is generally assumed that he was a relative newcomer there. Visual representations of Pazuzu are not attested before the eighth century BCE, while the earliest texts related to him (with one possible exception, to be discussed below) come from the seventh century BCE. The latest attestations of the demon belong to the Seleucid period. Pazuzu's iconography remains essentially unchanged during these centuries: a prominent rectangular head, combining theriomorphic and anthropomorphic elements, and a partly canine body equipped with bird's talons, two pairs of wings, a scorpion tail, and a *penis erectus* ending in a snake's head. All these features contribute to Pazuzu's stunningly terrifying appearance.

* This paper evolved from lectures that I gave in March 2012 at the 222nd Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society in Boston and one month later at a workshop on ancient demonology at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World in New York. Even though several respondents expressed their skepticism vis-à-vis the main idea communicated in these lectures, and despite my own awareness of the hypothetical character of my argument, I believe that it deserves to be put forward for further discussion. Doing so in a *Festschrift* for Markham J. Geller seems appropriate, first and foremost, because a study on the “early history” of Pazuzu, one of the great magical figures of the ancient Near East, is likely to find Mark's interest, given that he is one of the leading scholars of Mesopotamian magic and medicine and their transmission in the ancient world, but also because Mark has never shied away from more “experimental” approaches to scholarship—his article on Freud and Mesopotamian magic (Geller 1999) is one of many examples.

1 A recent monograph (Heeßel 2002) and a number of even more recent articles (Böck 2005–2006, Heeßel 2006, Heeßel 2011, Wiggermann 2003–2005, and Wiggermann 2007), although not always reaching a consensus, conveniently summarize our current knowledge about Pazuzu. These works form the basis of the following brief discussion of the demon. For a short introduction to Mesopotamian demonology, see Wiggermann 2011.

For the people of ancient Mesopotamia, Pazuzu was an agent of white magic—they put his frightfulness to good use. Several first millennium amulets against the demoness Lamaštu, who was believed to threaten young children, pregnant women, and young mothers,² suggest that Pazuzu had both apotropaic and exorcistic functions. Pazuzu's head on top of the amulets prevented the evil child-snatcher from approaching her victims, while the scene below, which shows Pazuzu chasing Lamaštu away from the patient, indicates belief in the demon's dynamic, exorcist-like powers.³ Several ritual compendia on clay tablets claim that Pazuzu also helped against various forms of epilepsy and other afflictions.⁴

Important insights into Pazuzu's character and background can be gleaned from a short text written on several Pazuzu figurines and also known from the ritual compendia. In the Sumero-Akkadian bilingual version of the text, Pazuzu identifies himself as follows:

én gá-e 𐎶pà-zu-zu dumu 𐎶ḫa-an-bu lugal líl-lá-ḫul-a-meš
 a-na-ku 𐎶pà-zu-zu DUMU 𐎶ḫa-an-bi LUGAL li-le-e lem-nu-tu
 ḫur-sag kala-ga ba-an-ḫuš ba-an-e_{II}-dè gá-e-me-en
 a-na KUR.MEŠ dan-nu-tu uš-tar-i-bi / e-la-a a-na-ku

(Incantation:) I am Pazuzu, son of Ḫanbu, king of the evil *lilû*-demons.
 I was enraged (in violent motion) against the strong mountains and
 ascended them.⁵

This statement is followed by the claim that Pazuzu, a wind himself,⁶ was capable of breaking the wings of other, dangerous winds (*im-e-ne-ne* / *šāri*)—an act of *similia similibus curantur*.⁷ With regard to the argument that will be made

2 For Lamaštu amulets in general, see most recently Götting 2011. On the numerous texts outlining rituals and incantations to fight Lamaštu, see Farber 2014.

3 Thus Wiggermann 2003–2005, 372–373.

4 Heeßel 2002, 55–74.

5 Heeßel 2002, 59, 97, 109. The passage is not without grammatical and lexical pitfalls. My translation follows Gabbay 2010, 66–67.

6 For *líl-lá* / *lilû* as a term associated with wind, see below.

7 Böck (2005–2006, 355–356) argues that the inimical winds fought by Pazuzu may have represented the aggressive *lilû*, *lilitu*, and *ardat lilû* demons, who had much in common with Lamaštu. Pazuzu, according to this interpretation, had left this stormy clan to become himself a benevolent *lilû*.

further below, it is noteworthy that Pazuzu portrays himself in the incantation as a king, and that his self-predication, as observed by Heeßel,⁸ is reminiscent of royal inscriptions.

The numerous images of Pazuzu found at various sites all over the ancient Near East testify to the great popularity the demon enjoyed for at least half a millennium.⁹ But where did Pazuzu actually come from? This is the question that will be discussed in this essay.

Pazuzu and Bazi

Several hypotheses regarding the matter of Pazuzu's origins have been put forward, but none so far has provided an entirely satisfactory answer. Some scholars have pointed out that certain elements of Pazuzu's iconography, for example his wings, have parallels in earlier Mesopotamian art,¹⁰ and that figurines depicting his grotesque head are comparable to representations of the head of Gilgameš's opponent ̕uwawa.¹¹ During the second and early first millennium BCE, ̕uwawa heads seem to have been used to ward off evil—probably because Huwawa was famous for his “look of death.”¹² But while it may well be that the Pazuzu heads replaced the earlier ones of ̕uwawa in terms of **function**, there is little **iconographic** overlap between the two groups. Other scholars have entertained the possibility that Pazuzu was modeled on the Egyptian god Bes, a suggestion to which I will return, for the parallels are indeed striking and the Egyptian connection cannot be so easily dismissed.

The main goal of this article, however, is to reexamine Pazuzu's **Mesopotamian** pedigree. My inquiry begins at the beginning, in the world of Mesopotamia's first kings as outlined in the famous Sumerian King List.¹³ This list is the foremost cuneiform treatise on early Mesopotamian history. Its later ver-

8 Heeßel 2002, 68.

9 Heeßel 2002 lists 164 different Pazuzu representations. For additional examples, identified or discovered since 2002, see Heeßel 2011, 359–360.

10 Wiggermann 2007 argues, mainly on the basis of representations of the winds on seals, that Pazuzu originated among Middle Assyrian wind demons.

11 On ̕uwawa and ̕uwawa heads, see Wilcke 1975 and Graff 2013.

12 The Sumerian epic “Gilgameš and ̕uwawa” claims of ̕uwawa: **igi mu-ši-in-bar igi-úš-a-kam**, “He laid eyes on him—they were the eyes of death” (Edzard 1991, 207–208).

13 Important editions and discussions of the various versions of the Sumerian King List include Jacobsen 1939; Vincente 1995; Steinkeller 2003; Glassner 2004, 117–127; George 2011, 199–205.

sions, written during the Old Babylonian period (2002–1595 BCE), include the names of roughly 140 ancient monarchs, 86 of whom are said to have reigned prior to the kings of Akkad, the dynasty that came to power around 2350 BCE. While many of these pre-Sargonic rulers are attested only in the King List, some are also known from contemporary inscriptions and documents.

A few of the early monarchs named in the King List had become legendary figures in the course of the third millennium and remained famous throughout Mesopotamian history. The most prominent of them is Gilgameš, mentioned in the King List as the fifth king of the first dynasty of Eanna, or Uruk.¹⁴ Gilgameš is otherwise best known from the various second and first millennium epics celebrating his deeds, but he also appears, metamorphosed into a deity, in god lists and ritual texts, as well as in some additional compositions.¹⁵ Other pre-Sargonic monarchs from the King List with interesting “afterlives” in Mesopotamian literature and religion include Alulim (or: Alulu), the first antediluvian king; Etana, known from fragmentary epics and cylinder seals for his flight on an eagle; and Dumuzi, a putative ruler of Uruk who is elsewhere presented as the doomed lover of the goddess Inanna/Ištar. Here, however, the focus will be on the *post mortem* history of yet another early ruler from the King List, a king of Mari named Bazi.

The entry on the early rulers of Mari, mostly lost or damaged in the other manuscripts of the text, only became available with the publication of the Old Babylonian Tell Leilan version of the Sumerian King List in 1995. It begins as follows:

ʿma¹-ri^{ki}-a An-bu lug[al-àm] mu 90 (var.: 30) in-ak
 An-ba dumu An-bu-ke₄ mu 7 in-ak
 dBa-zi lú^{aš}gab mu 30 in-ak
 Zi-zi lú^{áz}lag mu 20 in-ak

In Mari, Anbu was king and reigned 90 (var.: 30) years. Anba, the son of Anbu, reigned 7 years. (The divine) Bazi, the leather worker, reigned 30 years. Zizi, the fuller, reigned 20 years.¹⁶

14 As recently argued by Marchesi (2004, 195–197), the reference to an individual named Pabilgames-Utu-pada (“Pabilgames, whom [the sun god] Utu called”) in the archaic texts from Ur seems to corroborate the assumption that Gilgameš was a historical ruler, probably during the Early Dynastic I period (ca. 2900–2700 BCE).

15 For an overview, see George 2003, 91–137. George 2007 presents a new text that replaces Gilgameš’s name with that of the moon god Šin.

16 Vincente 1995, Tell Leilan King List: ii 24’–27’. See also Frayne 2008, 295 and Cohen 2012, 141–142.

The passage names four pre-Sargonic kings who successively ruled the city of Mari on the Middle Euphrates: Anbu, his son Anba, Bazi, whose name is written with the divine determinative and who is said to have been a leather worker, and Zizi, a fuller. As recently established through collation by Yoram Cohen, CBS 14220, a Nippur fragment of the Sumerian King List in which the Mari section is badly damaged but can be reconstructed with the help of the Tell Leilan text, leaves out Anba and states that either Bazi or Zizi—the text is too broken to be sure—was a son of Anbu.¹⁷

Anbu, whose name has been read as Anubu, Ansud, Ilšu, and Ilum-pû in earlier scholarship,¹⁸ may have been a real king of Mari. As originally suggested by Amedeo Alberti,¹⁹ it is possible that he is to be identified with the Mari king *A-nu-bu*₁₇(KA) mentioned in the letter that Enna-Dagan of Mari sent to an unnamed 24th century king of Ebla,²⁰ or with a namesake of this ruler.

At some point, probably long after his reign, King Anbu was apparently deified. Frans Wiggermann and Douglas Frayne have shown that there are good reasons to assume that the Mari ruler served as the model for the god Anbu, or Anubu, known from the Old Babylonian Genouillac list and later god lists such as An = *Anu*.²¹ The god was closely associated with Amurru,²² the eponymous deity of the Amorite tribes that played an important role in the Middle Euphrates region around Mari in the third millennium BCE.²³ So both onomastically and geographically, Anbu the king and Anbu the god have a lot in common.

Wiggermann saw yet another connection, one that is crucial for our argument. He proposed that the god Anbu was later metamorphosed into Ḫanbu, the father of Pazuzu, whom we have encountered in the inscriptions on Pazuzu

17 Cohen 2012, 142.

18 See Marchesi in Marchesi and Marchetti 2011, 117, n. 193.

19 Alberti 1990. For additional discussion, see Cohen 2012, 143.

20 The relevant passage reads: *a-bù-ru*₁₂^{ki} ù *il-gi*^{ki} KALAM-*tīm* KALAM-*tīm* *be-la-an*^{ki} *a-nu-bu*₁₇(KA) EN *ma-ri*^{ki} GÍN.ŠÈ DU₆.SAR in KUR.KI *la-ba-na-an*^{ki} GAR, “Anubu, ruler of Mari, defeated the cities of Aburu and Ilgi in the lands of Belan and raised tumuli (honoring his dead?) in the mountainous country of Labnan” (Frayne 2008, 300, 1.10.1.1). Note that the attribution of an inscribed mace-head from Ur to “An-bu” (Frayne 2008, 300–301, 1.10.1.2) has recently been contested by Marchesi (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011, 117, n. 193).

21 Wiggermann 2003, 29–30; Frayne 2008, 299. For additional discussion of this complex issue, see Cohen 2012, 144–145.

22 Note, for instance, the entry ^d*a-nu-bu* = ^dMAR.TU (*Amurru*) in An = *Anu* 6: 236 (Litke 1998, 217).

23 See Verderame 2009. Beaulieu (2005) has argued that Amurru was not a genuinely Amorite god but rather a construct created by the theologians of Sumer and Akkad.

figurines.²⁴ Like that of Pazuzu, Ḫanbu's name is usually preceded by the divine determinative. Wiggermann's suggestion is based, in part, on Pazuzu's alleged relationship with the west wind and, consequently, the west country. Nils Heeßel has questioned Pazuzu's association with the west wind,²⁵ but the connection between Anbu and Ḫanbu remains, nonetheless, compelling. In support of the shift from the glottal stop ' to *ḫ* or *h*, one can point to parallels in Neo-Assyrian where *anni'u* ("this") became *ḫanni'u* and *annaka* ("here") *ḫannaka*.²⁶ There is, hence, no linguistic reason why "Anbu" should not have developed into "Ḫanbu".

All this leads to a decisive question: If Anbu did indeed serve as the model for Ḫanbu, is it then not reasonable to conclude that the name of Bazi, or perhaps rather the sequence ^dBa-zi—Zi-zi, is behind the name of the demon Pazuzu?²⁷ Ḫanbu, as we have seen, is presented as the father of Pazuzu in the inscriptions on the Pazuzu figurines, while Anbu appears as the predecessor of Bazi in the Mari section of the Sumerian King List, with at least one manuscript of the list possibly claiming that he was Bazi's father. Thus, the relationships between Anbu and Bazi on the one hand, and between Ḫanbu and Pazuzu on the other, are more or less analogous, and neither the *b/p* change nor the different vowel patterns of the names present insurmountable linguistic obstacles for an attempt to connect Bazi with Pazuzu.²⁸ It should also be noted that previous attempts to etymologize the name Pazuzu have failed to gain general approval.²⁹

24 Wiggermann 2003, 19–20.

25 Heeßel 2002, 62–64, 66.

26 On this sound shift, see GAG, 30. Note, moreover, that the inscription on the Pazuzu head AO 2490 renders the name of Pazuzu's father as *an-bi*; see Cohen 2012, 145, n. 48.

27 The possibility that Pazuzu was originally an ancient king has already been entertained by Lambert (1970, 47), who failed, however, to suggest any specific candidates. One who might have come to mind is a certain Pù-zu-zu (or Pù-sú-sú), perhaps a king of Akšak(?) (thus Steinkeller 2013, 149–150), who (or his father) is said in a vase inscription from Nippur to have vanquished the Assyrian land of Ḫamazi (see Frayne 2008, 441–442, 1.15.11). There is no evidence, however, that this ruler left any traces in later tradition.

28 With regard to the vowel pattern, one could speculate that the name Pazuzu was modeled on that of the antediluvian king Alulu, with whom Pazuzu may be associated in a Middle Assyrian literary text discussed further below. In addition, P/Baz/suz/su is attested as a personal name throughout much of Mesopotamian history (see Heeßel 2002, 80).

29 Since no Akkadian root seemed to provide an explanation for the name, scholars have suggested Sumerian and Elamite etymologies, but without much success (see Heeßel 2002, 79–80). Wiggermann's attempt to link the name to the West Semitic root *pzz*, "to

More problematic is the large time gap that separates King Bazi, whom the Sumerian King List places in the mid-third millennium,³⁰ from our Iron Age demon. In order to narrow this gap, let us next take a look at Bazi's afterlife. References to the king are not only found in the Old Babylonian manuscripts of the Sumerian King List, but also in a well known text from the Late Bronze Age. The Emar version of the so-called "Ballad of Early Rulers", which had Sumerian language forerunners going back at least to Old Babylonian times,³¹ invokes Bazi in a passage that asks about the whereabouts of a number of famous early monarchs:

Where is Alulu, the king who reigned [for 36.000 years]? Where is (King) Entena (= Etana), who ascended [to heaven]? Where is Gilgameš, who, like Ziusudra, sought (eternal) life? Where is Ħuwawa, who [...] *in* [...] ? Where is Enkidu, who *proclaimed* (his) strength throughout the land? Where is Bazi, where is Zizi? (**me-e** **ba-[z]**i **me-e** **zi-zi** / *a-le-e* **ba-zi a-le-e** **zi-[zi]**). Where are the great kings of whom (the like) from then to now are not (anymore) engendered, are not born?³²

This reference to Bazi is important because it shows that the ruler was not completely forgotten during the second half of the second millennium, bringing him closer in time to Pazuzu. But it does not help us explain why King Bazi became a demon. In order to address this conundrum, we have to take a look at yet another text: a Babylonian literary composition known from an Old Babylonian tablet presumably found in southern Iraq and published a few years ago by Andrew George.³³ The colophon of the tablet identifies the text as the "Song(?) of Bazi",³⁴ but the Bazi whom it celebrates is not a human king of Mari. It is

be impetuous, agile" (Wiggermann 2003–2005, 376), is speculative as well. For the possibility that Pazuzu is related to the name of the Egyptian god Bes, see below.

30 The name Bazi is attested in the pre-Sargonic onomasticon of Mari, and the names Bazi and Zizi are both mentioned in the Early Dynastic "Names and Professions List" (NPL 132 and 238), see Steinkeller 1993, 238 and Steinkeller 2013, 151, n. 87. Even though there is no additional evidence, Bazi, just like Anbu, may well have been a historical king.

31 For the most recent assessment and edition of the text, see Cohen 2013, 129–150.

32 See Alster 2005, 314–315 and Cohen 2013, 132–135, 140–141. The passage is also discussed in great detail in Cohen 2012, 139–140.

33 George 2009, 1–15 (No. 1). For a new (German) translation, see Zgoll 2014. Zgoll emphasizes the cultic elements in the "song" and assumes that its performance, possibly by different "speakers", was accompanied, drama-like, by ritual acts.

34 ¹šī²ṣ³-[i⁴?]-[i⁵?]-[i⁶?] ¹ir²? ¹[⁴b]a-¹zi² (George 2009, 8: 58).

instead a god, a son of Enki, who after growing up in the Apsû is sent by his father to dwell in the mountains Šaššar and Bašar, the modern Jebel al-Bishri³⁵ in the Syrian desert:

¹wa-ši-ib ¹am-x-x¹ ni[m] ²[k]a-az-zum bu-ku-ur ¹den-ki¹ x [...] ³DINGIR^{i-lum} ba-a-ri te-né-še₂₀-e¹ tim¹ ⁴mu-¹ú¹-de li-ib-bi-im za-wa-nim ù i-ša-ri-im ⁵i-na qé-re¹-eb ZU.AB na-bi šum-šu ⁶šar-ru-ti-iš DINGIR^{i-li} den-ki iš-ši-i-šu ¹⁵a-na ^dba-zi ^den-ki a-bu-šu še-e-ri ta-ak-li-ma-a-tim i-ta-wu-ú-šum ¹⁶ad-¹dī¹-ik-kum ša-aš-ša-a-ar ù ba-ša-a-ar ša-di-a-am-ma ³²né-e-er-ma ^dšakkan ša ru-še-e ³³dUTU ša da-mi ^dÍD GAL ša ki-iš-pi ³⁴el-le-e-tim ni-ši i-bé-e-el ³⁵ka-az-zum e-te-el-lum ša a-li-i-šu

¹⁻⁶He who dwells in ... [...], ram, son of Enki ... [...], the god who surveys the human race, who knows the minds of the wicked and the just, in the midst of the Apsû his name was chosen, Enki elevated him to kingship of the gods. ¹⁵⁻¹⁶To Bazi his father Enki talked in songs of revelation: "I hereby give you the mountain Šaššar and Bašar." ³²⁻³⁵"Slay, o Šakkan, the one associated with sorcery (?). (Slay), o Šamaš, the one who has blood (on his hands); (slay), o great Divine River, the one associated with witchcraft." He (Bazi) rules the sacred people, the ram, monarch of his city.³⁶

Can one pinpoint the background of the god thus described, a god who is otherwise practically unknown? Modern scholarship tends to be skeptical with regard to euhemerist approaches towards ancient religions,³⁷ but it is tempting to consider the Bazi of the song a deified version of King Bazi of Mari.³⁸ This would not be a unique scenario—a few other Mesopotamian deities owed their names and some of their attributes to (real or legendary) ancient rulers and renowned figures of the past as well. A prominent possible example, already mentioned before, is Dumuzi (and a number of gods closely related to him);³⁹ another is Kubaba, a legendary queen of Kiš mentioned, inter alia, in the

35 For the role of the Jebel al-Bishri in Mesopotamian history and literature, see Pappi 2006.

36 After George 2009, 6–7 and Zgoll 2014, 69–72.

37 On euhemerism, the idea that gods were in origin human beings, especially rulers, and the applicability of this concept to ancient Near Eastern religions, see the short remarks and bibliographical references in Machinist 2011, 220.

38 Thus already George 2009, 11–12.

39 For a discussion of the rather complicated situation, see Selz 2014.

Sumerian King List. Her association with fish in the “Weidner Chronicle” makes it likely that memories of her helped shape the image of the goddess Kubaba of Karkemiš, a deity with strong piscine associations.⁴⁰

Bazi may well represent a similar case. The western connection to which the song alludes, and the fact that the song talks about Bazi’s appointment as “king of the gods” by his father Enki, both lead to the conclusion that he was modeled after his namesake, the king of the western city of Mari.⁴¹ At the same time, Bazi’s connection with Ea-Enki, the patron god of white magic, and the references in the song to the “slaying” of sorcerers and witches by Šamaš, Šakkan, and the “great Divine River”, associate Bazi with the world of magic and exorcism, aligning him with Pazuzu. The prominent role assigned in the song to the mountains Šaššar and Bašar represents another possible link with Pazuzu, who, as pointed out above, used to proceed “enraged (in violent motion) against the strong mountains”.

With regard to the Amorite character of the god Bazi, emphasized in the song through his depiction as a ram,⁴² an additional observation seems warranted. The Amorites were occasionally called *líl-lá* people in Mesopotamian literary and scholarly texts. Examples include Išme-Dagan’s Hymn A, which refers to the Amorites as those “who know no house and no city, the *líl-lá* people dwelling in the mountains”,⁴³ and an Old Babylonian lexical list where the entry “*lú-líl-lá*” is followed by references to the Suteans and Amorites.⁴⁴ The designation of the Amorites as *líl-lá* people finds a notable parallel in Pazuzu being “the king of the evil *lilû*-demons”.⁴⁵

40 See Radner 2005 and (for links between Kubaba, the Semiramis legend, and the Biblical story of Jonah) Frahm 2016.

41 The fact that Bazi’s name is written with the divine determinative in the Tell Leilan version of the King List corroborates this hypothesis.

42 This feature provides an obvious link with the Amorite pastoralists of the Western desert.

43 *MAR.TU é nu-zu uru^{ki} nu-zu / lú-líl-lá ħur-sag-gá tuš-a* (Römer 1965, 53: 271–272).

44 OB lú B: vi 26 ff., quoted after Edzard 2003, 180. It may be worth noting, in parenthesis, that the Sumerian King List presents the father of Gilgameš as another member of the *líl-lá* class (Glassner 2004, 120–121: iii 17–18).

45 It should be stressed that the Amorites were not originally called *lú-líl-lá* because they were considered “wind-demons” or “phantoms”. The term, as recently pointed out by George (2010, 114–115), referred instead to their dwelling in the open country. According to George, *líl-lá* originally meant “outside”, “in the open air”—the meaning “wind demon” developed because outside locations were unprotected and often believed to be haunted. That both the Amorites and Pazuzu are associated with the *líl-lá* / *lilû* sphere remains, nonetheless, intriguing.

Also worth pondering is whether the title of a first millennium bilingual “series” of exorcistic incantations, Ḫul-ba-zi-zi, literally, “Evil is eradicated”,⁴⁶ might not play with and allude to the names “Bazi—Zizi”. It is noteworthy that incantations from the Ḫul-ba-zi-zi series were occasionally written on Pazuzu figurines.⁴⁷

It must be admitted that the evidence currently available for the suggested link cannot be considered conclusive. Several problems with our proposal will be highlighted further below. All in all, however, there are enough features that Bazi and Pazuzu share to seriously consider the possibility of some genetic relationship between the two. Bazi was a figure of many faces: a peripheral king, a god, and, according to some versions of the Sumerian King List, even a leather worker. His unstable nature may have been one of the reasons why he was a fitting model for a demon, a classical “being betwixt” or “Zwischenwesen”.⁴⁸



Recently, Ursula Seidl published from a private collection a little stone head of a man.⁴⁹ It had originally belonged to a statue created in the Middle Euphrates region, possibly at Mari, during the Early Dynastic period. Removed from the body of the statue, probably by some conqueror, the head was later, during the first millennium, covered with gypsum to convert it into a protective amulet. All this represents a remarkably close analogy to what has been suggested here about the trajectory that led from the Mari king Bazi to the demon Pazuzu with his apotropaic powers.⁵⁰

46 An up-to-date edition of the Ḫul-ba-zi-zi series has been announced by Irving Finkel; currently, none is available. A large new manuscript has been published in *SpTU* 3 82.

47 See Heeßel 2002, 112–113; Wiggermann 2003–2005, 373–374.

48 For demons (and angels) as “Zwischenwesen” and “Grenzgänger” (“border crossers”), see Ahn 1997. Sumerian and Akkadian narratives whose protagonists undergo various types of metamorphoses are discussed by Sonik (2012). Her article mentions Enlil’s transformations in *Enlil and Sud* and *Enlil and Namzitara*; Šin’s in *A Cow of Šin*; Dumuzi’s in various Sumerian literary texts; and the metamorphoses of the lovers of Ištar in the Epic of Gilgameš.

49 Seidl 2007.

50 See also the somewhat similar story, reconstructed by Blocher 1999, of a statue of the 21st century BCE Mari king Puzur-Eštar that was seized at Mari by Hammurapi of Babylon and later refashioned into the image of a deity.

In Search for Missing Links

So far, we have no unequivocal references to the demon Pazuzu in Mesopotamian texts before the seventh century BCE.⁵¹ As mentioned previously,⁵² “Pazuzu” is attested as a personal name in Mesopotamian sources from the mid-third millennium onwards, but those who bear it seem to be unrelated to the later demon. There is, however, one possible exception. A recently published badly damaged late Middle Assyrian literary text from Assur mentions, in broken context, someone whose name may have been [P]a-zu-z[u] and, a little later, Alulu, the first antediluvian king:

b 1' [..... (1)P]a²-zu-z[u x x (x)] 2' [.....] x-an-ni³ 'ú⁴? x [x x] 3' [.....]-⁵ka⁶-an-ni
uš-na-la-an-[ni] 4' [.....]-⁷la⁸?/⁹lu¹⁰?-lu LUGAL 1A-lu-l[u o?] 5' [..... h]i-ra-a-
tu ib-¹¹ta¹²-ka-a e-na-a-tu [o?] 6' [..... ú¹³-ba]q¹⁴-qi-na ba-tu-la-t[u] 7' [..... š]e-
¹⁵he¹⁶-er ra-bi ba-tu-lu ù pír-su 8' [..... (uru)]¹⁷KÁ.DINGIR¹⁸ i-¹⁹da²⁰-mu-mu su-
mi-iš

[.....] Pazuzu(?) [.....] me ... [.....] ... me (and) made me lie down [.....]
... King Alulu [.....] the wives, the *entu*-priestesses wept [.....] the young
girls tore out(?) [their hair(?)] young and old, adolescent and child
[..... of] Babylon were moaning like doves.⁵³

This juxtaposition of both Pazuzu (if the reading is correct) and Alulu is reminiscent of the references to Alulu, Bazi, and Zizi in the Sumerian King List and the Emar version of the Ballad of Early Rulers, and makes one wonder whether the Assur text may not represent some sort of “missing link” between the earlier Bazi tradition and the Pazuzu *historiola* of the first millennium.⁵⁴ While the

51 What is particularly striking is that the “canonical” Lamaštu incantations collected in a series edited towards the end of the second millennium BCE (Farber 2014) do not mention Pazuzu. The reference to *pasusātu* discussed by Heeßel 2002, 74–75 is not really an exception. The only unequivocal mentioning of Pazuzu in a Lamaštu text occurs in a non-canonical Lamaštu incantation recorded on a tablet from the Hellenistic period (see Heeßel 2002, 74).

52 See above, note 28.

53 KAL 3 74: b 1'–8'. The dating of the text to the late Middle Assyrian period (ca. 1100–1000 BCE) is based on the sign forms alone and therefore not absolutely certain. A slightly later date (tenth or ninth century) cannot be completely excluded.

54 At first glance it might be tempting to see yet another connection. The Assur text mentions women in mourning, which brings to mind the pregnant women and young mothers who used Lamaštu amulets and Pazuzu figurines to ward off the child-snatching Lamaštu.

text is so broken that one can only speculate about its true scope, it deserves attention that Frans Wiggermann, based on iconographic criteria, has argued that “the evidence on the date and place of Pazuzu’s creation seems to converge on the Middle Assyrian Empire”.⁵⁵

Of course, the dearth of additional references in second millennium sources to Bazi and/or Pazuzu as agents of white magic still remains striking. This colossal void is hardly the result of the chances of discovery. There is only one possible explanation for it: that the Bazi/Pazuzu *historiola* had its origin in a marginal and non-scholarly niche of ancient Near Eastern magic, from where it entered the realm of “official” exorcism and scholarship only in extremely exceptional cases.⁵⁶ But such a situation would not be without parallels in the history of religion—religious practices and beliefs not primarily based on writing are often hard to trace.⁵⁷

“Institutionalized magic” in ancient Mesopotamia was characterized by a tradition in which exorcists regarded themselves as successors of a line of semi-divine sages, the most prominent of whom was Adapa.⁵⁸ Bazi/Pazuzu may have been Adapa’s non-official mirror image. Both Adapa and Pazuzu are known to have broken the wings of evil winds, and to have fought malevolent demons and various illnesses.⁵⁹ But Pazuzu, so it seems, remained for a long time unacknowledged by the religious and intellectual elites of ancient Mesopotamia. Only in the first millennium was he included in the compendia of Mesopotamian exorcists, and even then textual references to him remain scarce. His great popularity among the common people of this time can be gauged, however, from the numerous visual representations of him that were found all over the Middle East.

However, as pointed out to me by Kathryn Slanski, the communal mourning suggested by the text seems incompatible with the individual grieving caused by miscarriage or the early loss of a child.

55 Wiggermann 2007, 135.

56 One such case would have been the copying of the “Song of Bazi” by a southern Babylonian scribe during the Old Babylonian period.

57 For theoretical perspectives on gaps in the source material, and a discussion of the relationship between written, oral, and pictorial ways of passing on and handing down traditions, see Henkelman 2006, 809–816.

58 I owe the following thoughts to Uri Gabbay, who is currently completing an article on the question of “official” versus “non-official” magic in ancient Mesopotamia.

59 This has already been observed by Michalowski 1980, 79–81.

The Egyptian Connection

The Bazi complex was probably not the only tradition that shaped the image of Pazuzu as we know it from first millennium Mesopotamia. Starting with Anthony Green,⁶⁰ several scholars have pointed to a number of rather striking parallels between Pazuzu and the popular Egyptian dwarf god Bes, parallels that are so pronounced that they seem to indicate some sort of genetic relationship. There are correspondences on three levels, which have been discussed in great detail in a recent article by Oskar Kaelin⁶¹ so that we can be brief. In terms of iconography, Bes and Pazuzu share similar facial features, their animal tail, their long phallus, raised hands, and wings. Particularly pronounced similarities exist between the so-called Horus stelae, which feature a Bes head on top, and Lamaštu amulets from Mesopotamia with Pazuzu heads in the same position. With regard to function, both Bes and Pazuzu are benevolent supernatural beings that specialize in the protection of pregnant women and young mothers. They are primarily at home in a non-official sphere. And finally, the names Bes and Pazuzu seem quite similar as well.

It is, moreover, noteworthy that at least one Pazuzu figurine was apparently found in Egypt,⁶² and that several representations of Bes have come to light in Mesopotamia, in layers dating to the first half of the first millennium BCE (a period that has produced Bes figurines from locations in Iran to the western Mediterranean). In a seventh century context in Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud, five Pazuzu heads were found in close proximity to a Bes amulet and a scarab inscribed with the word *ms*, “to give birth”.⁶³ Horus stelae were discovered in Babylon and Nippur.⁶⁴ All this demonstrates that Egyptians and Mesopotamians made use of the protective spirits of the other side and suggests that they were aware of the comparable functions and iconographies of Bes and Pazuzu.

The crucial question is how one accounts for the similarities between the two figures. That some borrowing is at play seems very likely. Kaelin, reviewing the evidence, argued that the influence was unidirectional, with Egypt as the source and Mesopotamia at the receiving end. He based his thesis on the fact that the earliest known visual representations of the Bes type and the earliest Horus stelae from Egypt are much older than the earliest Pazuzu figurines

60 Green 1985.

61 Kaelin 2007.

62 See Heeßel 2002, 118; Vittmann 2003, 115–116, 267. The figurine seems to come from the city of Tanis.

63 Mallowan 1966 (vol. 2), 439–440. See also Orosz and Brianza 2014.

64 Kaelin 2007, 376.

from Mesopotamia. The Bes type appears in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom; the earliest representations of a winged “Bes” figure date to the reign of Amenophis III (14th century BCE); and Horus stelae are attested since the late second millennium BCE.⁶⁵

Some Egyptian influence on the iconography of Pazuzu seems indeed likely. In other respects, however, the matter is less straightforward. Kaelin assumed that the name “Pazuzu” derives from “Bes” and even tentatively suggested some—rather unconvincing—Egyptian etymologies for the name of Pazuzu’s father Ḥanbu.⁶⁶ It is conspicuous, however, that “Bes” is not attested in Egypt as a divine name before the 21st dynasty (ca. 11th century BCE), and that it is unequivocally related to representations of the Bes type (“le dieu bésoide” in Meek’s terminology) only during the Ptolemaic period.⁶⁷ Earlier in the second millennium BCE, representations of the Bes type bear different names, among them, most prominently, *ḥꜥ*, “the Fighter”.⁶⁸ It also needs to be stressed that no entirely satisfactory Egyptian etymology for the divine name Bes has been found so far. Michel Malaise suggested that *Bs* derives from Egyptian *bs3*, “to protect”,⁶⁹ while Meeks considered it likely that the name is based on the word *bs*, “aborted, or prematurely born, child”,⁷⁰ but neither proposal has gained universal acceptance.⁷¹ This opens up the possibility that the name *Bes* is of foreign origin, and that it might go back, most likely via Levantine intermediaries, to *Bazi*—always provided the ideas put forward in this paper are correct.⁷²

65 For the origins of the Bes image, see Altenmüller 1975; Romano 1980; Malaise 1990; and Romano 1998.

66 Kaelin (2007, 375) proposes that the name might go back to the Egyptian place name *Ḥbnw*, attested in the designation “Horus of Hebenu”, or to *Jnpw*, “Anubis”. For (equally speculative) attempts to find Akkadian or West Semitic etymologies of the name Ḥanbu, see Cohen 2012, 145, n. 48.

67 See Meeks 1992, 423. Toro-Rueda 2003, a brief assessment of the use of *Bes* in theophoric names, fails to provide a really clear picture.

68 For details, see Romano 1998.

69 Malaise 1990, 692.

70 Meeks 1992, 426.

71 Takács (2001) found Meeks’s proposal “tempting”, not the least because there is an Afro-Asiatic root **b-s* that is attested in several languages. Yet at the same time, he pointed to the “unresolved large gap” between the few occurrences of the word *bs* in Old Kingdom texts and the appearance of the corresponding name in the second half of the second millennium. Alternatively, Takács considered connections of the name with Berber **v-s* (“help”) or Afro-Asiatic **b-s*, “bad”, while ruling out explanations of *bs* as “secret image of god” (L. Kákosy) or “panther skin” (W. Vycichl).

72 The Amarna letter EA 14, an inventory of Egyptian gifts sent to the Babylonian king, men-

Perhaps, an early version of the *historiola* of the demon Bazi/Pazuzu reached Egypt from Western Asia at some point during the late second millennium BCE. The demon's function reminded the Egyptians of their own dwarf god, who had been mainly known as *ḥ* until then, and since the name Bazi sounded to them like *bs*, "fetus, dwarf" (or like *bs(3)*, "to protect"), that designation became eventually associated with the dwarf god.⁷³ The latter, in a reversal of fortunes, influenced in due course the iconography of the Mesopotamian Pazuzu.

Of course, such a "network-based" scenario is unpleasantly complicated and cannot be proven;⁷⁴ but it is not unfeasible. Another—far less contentious—case of Egyptians adopting Mesopotamian medical-magical ideas is their appropriation of the *sāmānu* demon and the related disease during the Rameside period.⁷⁵

Conclusion

Pazuzu had a remarkable afterlife as well as pre-history. As recently suggested by Uri Gabbay, he may have passed on some of his characteristic attributes to the Judeo-Iranian demons Bagdana and Ašmedai.⁷⁶ In this regard, his fate was similar to that of Gilgameš, who became a wicked antediluvian angel in the Qumranic *Book of Giants* and a demon, called Ġilgamiš, in later Arabic tradition.⁷⁷ Pazuzu has also gained some prominence in our own time. When

tions in iii 60 the figurine of a *lūpe-es-sū-u* "holding *kirru*-jars made of stone in his hands". *Pes(s)ū* means "cripple" in Akkadian, but CAD K 409a interprets this instance as an early reference to the bowlegged god Bes. If correct, this might point to a scenario different from the one suggested here, but there remains much uncertainty.

73 Note the remark by Malaise (1990, 692): "Si Bès est bien un avatar d'Aha, le changement du nom indiquerait que l'accent se déplaça alors sur le résultat bénéfique escompté de la nature guerrière originelle."

74 One apparent complication is that the Pazuzu figurine allegedly found in the Egyptian city of Tanis bears an Aramaic inscription that reads (*lssm br pdd*?). Several scholars, pointing to a similar sequence of signs on one of the amulets from Arslan Tash, have suggested that this is an alternative, West Semitic name of Pazuzu ("SSM, son of PDD"). It may be more likely, however, that the inscription on the figurine refers to the personal name of a human being. For some discussion of the matter and further literature, see Berlejung 2010, 14, n. 50.

75 See Fischer-Elfert 2011 and Beck 2015. For cultural contacts between Mesopotamia and Egypt during the late second millennium BCE see also Frahm 2011, 73–75.

76 Gabbay 2010.

77 See George 2003, 60–63, 89, 147, 155; Henkelman 2006, 828–829, n. 48.

resurrected by 20th century scholarship, he began again to unleash his frightening powers, especially in the extremely successful Exorcist movie series.⁷⁸ One can, of course, dismiss this factoid as irrelevant for the questions discussed in this paper. But the reemergence of Pazuzu in the popular culture of today reminds us of an important feature of Pazuzu's peculiar role in the ancient world. Like Bes, he was primarily at home not in the realm of highbrow theology and the official cult but in popular religion. This is the reason why there is so little textual evidence for him—and why, consequently, establishing his pedigree is such a difficult task.

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78 For discussion, see Heeßel 2002, 87–90.

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Hermeneutics and Magic in the Commentary to Marduk's Address to the Demons

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I Introduction

This article examines two entries from a commentary on the exorcistic composition Marduk's Address to the Demons, with the aim of contextualizing these entries both within their magical background and within their wider hermeneutical background. First, two complementary hermeneutical methods in which commentaries deal with texts will be presented: explaining textual equations and creating textual equations (§§ II–III). The two entries from the commentary on Marduk's Address to the Demons will be discussed in relation to the hermeneutical creation of textual equations with special attention to the unique religious perception they express, namely the identification of the *āšipu*-priest with Marduk and Ea (§ IV). Next, this identification of priest and god will be considered within the larger magical context of the composition Udug-ḫul (Evil Demons), to which Marduk's Address to the Demons belongs (§ V). Then, the magical perception of the *āšipu*-priest as a reflection of the god Marduk, found in the commentary entries on Marduk's Address to the Demons and throughout the composition Udug-ḫul, will be re-examined in light of a passage from Udug-ḫul (§ VI). Lastly, I will return to the hermeneutical methods discussed in the beginning of the article and consider how they relate to the two entries from the commentary on Marduk's Address to the Demons (§ VII).

* I thank Prof. Yoram Cohen for reading an earlier version of this article and providing many suggestions and corrections. Abbreviations follow those listed in the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (CAD). After the article was submitted to the editors, Dr. Luděk Vacín informed me that the honoree's new edition of Udug-ḫul has just been published (Geller 2016). I added references to this new publication, and also realized that some of the points discussed in this article have already been anticipated by Geller in his recent book.

II Explaining Textual Equations

One of the basic concerns of Akkadian commentaries is to make sense of a text in its immediate or broader context. Commentaries seek the inner logic that supplies the connection between different parts of the text, or between a text and a certain reality, or between a text and another text. The search for inner logic is often anchored in the very nature of the base texts, i.e., the texts that are commented on. Many of these texts are formulated according to an $A = B$ or $A \rightarrow B$ logic; in other words, the texts consist of equations (e.g., lexical texts) or conditional sentences (e.g., omen texts). The commentaries on these texts attempt to explain why an equation of two terms is valid, or why a given set of circumstances implies a particular outcome.

Thus, commentaries on omen texts try to elucidate the connection between the situation, phenomenon, or reality described in the protasis of an omen entry and the ominous prediction in its apodosis (Frahm 2011, 80–81). For example, the following commentary on an omen from the first tablet of the diagnostic series Sagig explains how the protasis of an omen relates to its apodosis (George 1991, 148–149: 18):

[DIŠ GU₄ *ik-ki*]p-šú GIG BI *na-qud* NU TE-šú šá *iq-bu-ú ina* ŠÀ šá GU₄ :
al-pi : GU₄ : *e-tem-mu*

“[If an ox butt]s him (= the healer on his way to the patient)—that patient is dangerously sick, one must not go near him,” which it said, because GU₄ = ox, GU₄ = ghost.

The commentary seeks the connection between the protasis and the apodosis in the base text. Why does the unfortunate encounter of the healer with an ox on his way to the patient indicate that the patient is dangerously sick? The connection is found through a lexical equation. The commentary, pairing the term *ša iqbû*, “which it said,” used to cite the base text before commenting on it, with *ina libbi ša*, “because of,” which identifies the reason for the prediction in the base text,¹ notes that the word for “ghost” can be written with the same sign used for “ox.” Thus, according to the commentary, the ox in the protasis indicates that the patient’s illness is caused by a ghost, and this explains why the illness is severe, as stated in the apodosis.²

1 See Gabbay 2016, 221–223; differently: George 1991, 149.

2 Geller (2010, 144) understands this slightly differently, concluding that the healer actually saw a ghost.

Likewise, commentaries on therapeutic medical texts attempt to discover the connection between symptoms in the base text and their treatment. For example, a commentary on a medical text dealing with a stroke and facial paralysis seeks the reason for a certain ingredient used in the treatment of this medical condition (*SBTU* 1 47: 14–15; Frahm 2011, 398):

A PÚ šá E-ú : ina ŠÀ šá MAŠKIM *mu-sa-a*^r *a*¹-[*ti*] / *d*šu-lak : *lu-ú* *d*šu-lak šá *mu-sa-a*-[*ti*]

“Well water,” which it said, because of the demon of the lavatory = Šulak, (who) is indeed Šulak of the lavatory (referred to earlier in the commentary).

The commentary cites an ingredient, well water, listed in the base text,³ and proceeds to explain why it is used, pairing the term *ša iqbû*, “which it said,” with *ina libbi ša*, “because of,” as in the previous example.⁴ Fresh water from a well is required because it was the demon of the lavatory who caused the sickness. This demon is identified as Šulak who was linked earlier in the commentary with poor toilet hygiene.⁵ Thus, the commentary explains the use of well water by citing the context in which it is used: the treatment is intended to counter the poor hygiene associated with the lavatory (and its demon) that caused the sickness.⁶

Another commentary deals with a medical treatment as well. A magical-medical text dealing with a woman having trouble during labour contains a series of incantations that are formulated as instructions for her treatment. At one point the text instructs the healer to use “the dust of the road” as an ingredient for the treatment of the woman. The commentary on this text notes (Civil 1974, 332: 9):

saḥar sil-la : saḥar : *e-pe-ri* : saḥar u *ša-ḥar iš-ten-ma*

“dust (saḥar) of the road”—saḥar = dust; saḥar and “baby” (*šaḥar*) are one.

3 See *SBTU* 1 46: 28 (Frahm 2011, 397).

4 See above with n. 1; differently: Frahm 2011, 398, 400.

5 See *SBTU* 1 47: 2–5 (Frahm 2011, 398); see Geller 2010, 147–148.

6 See Frahm 2011, 403.

The commentary seeks to answer the question: How does the use of dust in the treatment facilitate birth? The commentary explains that the Sumerian word for dust, *saḫar*, is a near-homophone of the Akkadian word for child or baby, *šaḫar* (< *šeḫru*), thus relating the treatment mentioned in the text to its intended consequence.

A similar concern is found in commentaries on lexical lists. These commentaries deal with the equation of a Sumerian word or logogram with its Akkadian equivalent. Often, when the relation is rare or not obvious, they explain this equation, as in the following example (*SBTU* 2 54: 12–13; see Veldhuis 2015):

DIŠ sa-a-al SAL ... *ra-ka-su* / *aš-šum* SA : *rik-si* AL : *šu-ú* ...

(The sign) SAL, (pronounced) *sal* = ... to bind, because SA = bond, AL = he ...

The commentary, through a chain of lexical equations not cited here, arrives at the meaning “to bind” for the sign SAL. This definition is then justified by a *notariqon* of the elements comprising the phonetic value *sal*: the element *sa* means “bond,” and the element *al* is the Sumerian verbal prefix often used for simple stative verbs in the third person, i.e., “he, it,” and thus SAL corresponds to the verb “to bind.”

Commentaries on mythological texts also address equations. The last tablet of the Babylonian myth *Enūma eliš* contains a list of the names of Marduk, each associated with a certain trait of Marduk. The commentary on this tablet discovers the connections between Marduk’s names and the traits associated with them (Bottéro 1977; Frahm 2011, 114–116; Lambert 2013, 139–142; Frahm and Jiménez 2015, 295). For example, *Enūma eliš* Tablet 7: 1–2 combines the name Asare with several epithets (Lambert 2013, 124–125):

^d*asar-re šá-rik mi-riš-ti šá is-ra-ta ú-kin-nu*
ba-nu-ú ŠE-am u qé-e mu-še-šu-ú ur-qé-t[i]

Asare, the giver of arable land who established plough-land,
The creator of barley and flax, who makes plant life grow.

The connections between the divine name and the epithets are not apparent. The commentary attempts to derive them through an etymological analysis of the name Asare, showing that all the elements in the epithets are actually contained in the syllables constituting the name Asare (Lambert 2013, 140: 1–2):

^rdasar¹-re šá-rik

RU	šá-ra-ku
SAR	mi-riš-tú
A	is-ra-tu
^{si} DU	ka-a-nu
^{ru} DÙ	ba-nu-u
SAR	ŠE-im
SAR	qu-ú
^{ma} SAR	a-šu-ú
SAR	ár-qu

“Asare, the giver (of arable land who established plough-land, the creator of barley and flax, who made plant life grow)”—RU = to give, SAR = arable land, A = plough-land, DU (pronounced) si (cf. sa₄) = to establish, DÙ (pronounced) ru (= rú) = to create, SAR = barley, SAR = flax, SAR (pronounced) ma (cf. mú) = to grow, SAR = plant.

By matching the syllables of the name of Asare, namely *a*, *s(i)*, *sar*, and *r(u)*, with elements of the epithets that follow the name, the commentary demonstrates the connections between them.

III Creating Textual Equations

The examples above dealt with base texts that are formulated as lexical equations or, in the case of omens and medical treatments, as a condition and its consequence (which is another sort of equation). The task of the commentary was to tease out the connection between the two parts of this pair. But there are also commentaries that deal with texts that do not contain within themselves an equation or consequence that needs to be explained. Nevertheless, the commentaries on such texts often proceed to establish such a connection, seeking a second element, whether a text or a reality, that will correspond to the text under discussion. Thus, they create an equation, and consequently also find out the connection between the text and its newly identified equivalent element or implied consequence.

Commentaries that create an equation are often commentaries on ritual acts, incantations, or myths, all compositions that do not contain within themselves an obvious equation or connection between two elements. Commentaries on rituals explain the cultic acts by equating them with mythic events

or beings, often known from mythological texts. For example, a cultic commentary from Assur explains a ritual act as a reflection of a mythical episode (Livingstone 1989, No. 39: r. 20–24):

LUGAL ša TA *qé-reb* É.KUR AGA KÙ.GI *ina* SAG.DU-šú ÍL-šu-ma *ina*
^{giš}GU.ZA TUŠ-bu u *i-na-áš-šú-šú-ma ana* É.GAL DU-ku / ^dMAŠ šá ŠU^{II}
 AD-šú *ú-tir-ru* DINGIR.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-šú *ina qé-reb* É.KUR TÉŠ.MEŠ-šu
^{giš}PA ^{giš}GU.ZA BALA SUM-šú *me-lám* LUGAL-u-ti *ú-za-'i-nu-šu-ma ana*
 KUR È

The king who carries on his head a golden tiara from the midst of the temple and sits on a throne, and they carry him and go to the palace = Ninurta, who avenged his father; the gods, his fathers, decorated him (= Ninurta) in the midst of the temple; they gave him the scepter, the throne and the reign, adorned him with the splendor of kingship; and then he left for the mountain.

The commentary creates an equation between ritual acts concerned with the king and the mythology of Ninurta, the god most often associated with Mesopotamian kingship.

Sometimes, the opposite can be observed: commentaries on myths may connect the narrative of the base text to a ritual act, thus forming an equation between myth and ritual. For example, a commentary on *Enūma eliš* attempts to connect a line from the myth with a cultic act that took place during the New Year's festival:⁷

DINGIR.MEŠ *maḥ-ri-šú li-še-ri-bu kàd-ra-šú-un qí-šá-a-tú šá ina* ^{iti}BÁRA
 TA UD.6.KÁM EN UD.12.KÁM SUM-na MU ^dza-ba₄-ba₄ ki DU_{II}-u

“The gods will bring in their gifts before him” (*Enūma eliš* Tablet 7: 110)—
 The presents which are given in the month of Nisannu from the sixth day until the twelfth day; it is as if it were said (lit.: it is like it is said) concerning Zababa.

The commentary attempts to draw a line connecting the myth *Enūma eliš* with a cultic reality in the New Year's festival, a festival which is indeed known to

7 CT 13 32+: r. 6' (and parallels); see Lambert 2013, 134 ad 109–110 (cf. Frahm 2011, 113) Frahm and Jiménez 2015, 312.

have been closely associated with the myth. Therefore, the commentary creates an equation between the presents that were given to Marduk in the myth and the cultic presents that are annually given to Zababa of Kiš, who participated in the Babylonian New Year's ritual.

The invention of new equations is also found in commentaries on incantations, where divine traits are explained as mythical or ritual elements. This is common in the commentary on the exorcistic composition Marduk's Address to the Demons (Frahm 2011, 123–127); for example:⁸

[KI.MIN šá] *a-šar šil-la-te la i-qab-bu-u a-na-ku*
 ʾMUʾ EN šá *ina á-ki-it ina qa-bal tam-tì áš-bu*

“Ditto (= I am Asarluhi/Marduk) who does not speak in the place of blasphemy, am I!”⁹

Concerning Bēl (= Marduk) who is seated in the midst of the Sea in the Akītu-temple/festival.

In this commentary the general statement that refers to Asarluhi/Marduk's truthfulness is shifted to a concrete mythological and cultic setting, namely the victory over Tiāmat and its ritual enactment in the Akītu festival.

IV Creating Equations in the Commentary on Marduk's Address to the Demons

There are two more occasions in the commentary on Marduk's Address to the Demons where epithets of Marduk are explained in cultic terms. However, in both cases the god's epithets are explained not in relation to Marduk himself but rather in relation to the *āšipu*-priest:¹⁰

8 *AfO* 19, pl. XXVI, A 163: r. 4'–5'; Lambert 1954–1956, 315–316, F: 4; Lambert 1959–1960, 119; Geller 2014, 66: 7; Geller 2016, 394: 7; see Frahm 2011, 94. For the base text, see Geller 2007, 155, Excerpt 3: 2; Geller 2016, 350: 45.

9 Or: “Whom they do not mention in the place of blasphemy” (this may be reflected in the alternative interpretations to this line in the commentary, not cited here); or: “Who says ‘no!’ in the place of blasphemy;” see Frahm 2011, 94 with n. 470.

10 *AfO* 19, pl. XXVI, A 163: 1–4; see Lambert 1954–1956, 313, 316, B: 6; Lambert 1959–1960, 115; Geller 2014, 65, 67: 11–12; Geller 2016, 394: 11–12; see W.G. Lambert *apud CAD* S 130a; Frahm 2011, 82. For the base text, see Geller 2007, 155, Excerpt 4: 1–2; Geller 2016, 354: 61–62.

[*ana-k*]u ^dasar-lú-*ḥi* *ša nam-ri-ir lit-bu-šu ma-lu-u pul-ḥ[a-a-ti]*
 MU EN *ša TA* ^{iti}ZÍZ EN ^{iti}ŠE *mé-e-qa šal-t[i]*
^dlaḥ-mu *il-la-bi-šu* ^da-nu-ta'("UM") DÛ-*šu*
ša-niš MU ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ *ša* ^{túg}ÁB.SAG SA₅ GAR-nu *iq-t[a-bi]*
 KI.MIN *a-pir a-ge-e ša me-lam-^rmu^r-šu ra-šub-ba-tú za-'na*
ša ina É me-sír ^{lú}MAŠ.MAŠ ^{túg}ÁB.SAG SA₅ GAR-nu *iq-t[a-bi]*

"[I am] Asarluḥi who is clothed with splendour, filled with ter[rer]"—
 Concerning Bēl (= Marduk) who from the month of Šabātu to the
 month of Addaru is dressed in Laḥmu's batt[le(?)]-...(garment)(?),¹¹
 and exercises the Anu-ship(?); alternatively: it sa[id] (it) concerning
 the *āšipu*-priest who is clad in a red ...-garment.
 "Ditto (= I am Asarluḥi), wearing a crown whose radiance is adorned
 with awe"—

It sa[id] (it) concerning) that in the House of confinement(?)¹² the *āšipu*-
 priest is clad in a red ...-garment.

In this passage, the first entry from Marduk's Address to the Demons is the subject of two interpretations, and the second entry is the subject of one interpretation. The first interpretation of the first entry relates the figurative language of being "clothed" with splendour and terror to the costume of the god in the mythological and cultic realms. Thus, the figurative clothing mentioned in the base text is interpreted as the actual clothing that is placed on Bēl's cult image, and which is probably related to the mythological ancestral combat.¹³

11 Geller 2014, 67 (Geller 2016, 395): "... quarrels, he is a dressed-up Laḥmu."

12 I follow Lambert (1954–1956, 313) in reading *me-sír* here, referring to the *bīt mēseri*, a cultic location that gave its name to a therapeutic and exorcistic series. It should be noted, though, that the use of *sír* is not the expected orthography here. Nevertheless, it is not entirely rare either, and furthermore, *bīt mēseri* is elsewhere attested as *bīt mēser* (but using the *sír* sign, see CAD M/2 28b). Geller (2014, 65 and 67; 2016, 394–395) reads the signs as *šip-pu*, and translates: "in a ... chamber." It is tempting to understand *šippu* here as "red," since the commentary deals also with a red garment and since the base text deals with radiance adorned with (perhaps understood as: within) awe, which would agree with a priest wearing a red garment within a red house. Nevertheless, this interpretation is uncertain, especially since *šippu* does not otherwise refer to buildings but rather to spots visible on celestial bodies or to decorations applied to clothing; see CAD Š/3 72.

13 Note that although not fully preserved, the Late Babylonian commentary to these lines interprets them as referring to concrete clothes as well; see BM 47529+: 3–7; Geller 2014, 61: 2–3; Geller 2016, 396: 1–2; Wee 2016, 136: 3–6.

Indeed, in *Enūma eliš*, when Marduk is sent (by Laḥmu and Laḥamu) to battle against Tiāmat (Tablet 3: 67–138), he goes out to war dressed in a manner that recalls the text from Marduk's Address to the Demons cited above. Thus in *Enūma eliš* Tablet 4: 57–58 (Lambert 2013, 88–89):

na-aḥ-lap-ta ap-luḥ-ti pul-ḥa-ti ḥa-lip-ma
mé-lam-mi ra-šub-ba-ti a-pi-ir ra-šu-uš-šu

He was clad in a garment, an armor of terror,
 Wearing radiance and awe on his head.

Thus, the first interpretation in the commentary is in line with those interpretations discussed above (§ III) in which a general theological statement in the base text is equated with a cultic-mythological setting.

But in the second interpretation of the first entry, and in the interpretation of the second entry, the commentary does not simply draw a parallel between figurative and literal clothing, or between a general epithet and a mythological narrative. Rather, the divine protagonist of the base text, namely, the god Asarluḥi clothed in dread, is changed in the commentary to the human *āšipu*-priest clothed in a specific garment. As in the previous interpretation, the figurative language “clothed with splendour” is again interpreted in concrete terms, here as a red garment that was actually worn by the *āšipu*-priest (see § VI below and Lambert 1954–1956, 319). The association of splendour and terror with the colour red here is not random, since red is elsewhere associated with these phenomena.¹⁴

By applying the description of Marduk to the *āšipu*-priest, the commentary explains the figurative language associated with the divine realm in terms of a more realistic and concrete cultic setting. At first, the commentary's construction of an equation between the god Marduk, the subject of the base text, and the human *āšipu*-priest performing cult might seem radical. In fact, however, the commentary's translation of theological imagery from the divine to the human sphere reflects the more general ancient Babylonian perception that the *āšipu*-priest, when performing rituals, especially exorcism, associated or even identified himself with Asarluḥi, who, like his father Ea, was considered a divine exorcist (Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet 2003–2005, 619).

14 See, e.g., ḥuṣ, meaning both “furious” and “red” (Akkadian *ḥuṣṣû*), and especially ní-ḥuṣ = *rašubbatu*, “awe, dread.”

V The *āšipu*-Priest as the Agent of Ea and Marduk in Udug-ḫul

In order to understand the association of Marduk with his priest in the commentary and elsewhere, it is worth looking at the wider context of Marduk's Address to the Demons which comprises Tablet 11 of the larger exorcistic composition Udug-ḫul (Lambert 1999). The main part of Marduk's Address to the Demons consists mostly of epithets and traits of Marduk spoken by the god himself in the first person; exorcism is not mentioned in this part. Nevertheless, this hymnic self-praise of Marduk must be considered in its larger exorcistic context. When the *āšipu*-priest recites the first-person text of Marduk's Address to the Demons during an exorcistic ritual, he is effectively introducing himself as a messenger of Marduk or even as Marduk himself (Lambert 1999, 292, 295; Geller 2016, 15).

Marduk is one of the main divine exorcists called upon in the Udug-ḫul incantations. Thus, for example, the following phrases appear in Tablet 2: 1–2 of Udug-ḫul (Geller 2007, 96, 194; Geller 2016, 60):

ÉN *pu-ṭur lem-nu ina* IGI ABGAL DINGIR.MEŠ^dAMAR.UTU
dup-pir lem-nu ina IGI *te-e šá*^d*é-a u*^d*asar-lú-ḫi i-na* IGI ABGAL
 DINGIR.MEŠ^dAMAR.UTU

Incantation: Let go, o evil, before the sage of the gods, Marduk,
 Depart, o evil, before the incantation of Ea and Asarluḫi, before the sage
 of the gods, Marduk.

These sentences imply that Marduk and Ea are present as exorcists reciting their own incantations.¹⁵ But in reality, during the actual ritual, it is the *āšipu*-priest who performs the exorcism, calling upon the authority of Marduk and Ea. Similarly, when speaking in the first person as Marduk during the recitation of Marduk's Address to the Demons, the *āšipu*-priest identifies himself with Marduk, the divine exorcist, and obtains the authority for the exorcism. This is explicitly stated in the series Udug-ḫul, for example in the following passage from Tablet 3: 54–56 (Geller 2007, 102–103, 198; Geller 2016, 101–103):¹⁶

15 According to Geller (2016, 4–5, 8), in earlier texts Ea plays a greater role in incantations, and is only assisted by Asarluḫi/Marduk. Later, as the theology of Marduk becomes more prominent, so does the role of Marduk in the incantations become more dominant.

16 See also the similar passages in Tablet 2: 8–11, 15–16 (Geller 2007, 97, 194–195; Geller 2016, 62–63); Tablet 3: 7–9 (Geller 2007, 100, 197; Geller 2016, 91–92); and Tablet 3: 147–153 (Geller 2007, 107, 201; Geller 2016, 121–122). Note also other attestations where the *āšipu*-priest

ġá-e lú ^den-ki-ga me-en
 [šá ^dé-a ana]-ku
 ġá-e lú ^ddam-gal-nun-na me-en
 [šá ^ddam-ki-na] a-na-ku
 ġá-e lú-kiġ-gi₄-a ^dasar-lú-ḥi me-en
 m[ar šip-r]i šá [^dAMA]R.UTU ana-ku
 níġ-tu-ra-a-ni lú ti-la-a-ni-šè
 mar-ṣu-us-su ana bu-ul-lu-tu
 en gal ^den-ki-ke₄ mu-un-ši-in-ġen-na
 be-lu GAL-ú ^dé-a iš-pur-an-ni
 tu₆ kù-ga-a-ni tu₆-ġu₁₀ ġál-la-na
 ta-a-šú el-lu ana te-e-a iš-kun
 ka kù-ga-a-ni ka-ġu₁₀ ġál-la-na
 pi-i-šú el-lu ana pi-ia iš-kun
 uš₁₁ kù-ga-a-ni uš₁₁-ġu₁₀ ġál-la-na
 i-mat-su el-le-tú ana im-ti-ia iš-kun
 šùd kù-ga-a-ni šùd-ġu₁₀ ġál-la-na
 ik-rib-šú el-lu ana ik-ri-bi-ia iš-kun
 zag-meš ḥé-em-ma-an-ḥul-a lú-tu-ra su-na ġál-la-na
 mu-šal-pit eš-re-e-ti šá ina zu-mur mar-ša ba-šá-a
 tu₆-du₁₁-ga inim ^den-ki-ga-ke₄
 ina MIN-e a-mat ^dé-a
 e-ne-ne-ne ḥul-a-meš ḥé-em-ma-an-bu-re-eš-àm
 šú-nu lem-nu-ti li-in-na-as-ḥu
 ġišma-nu ġištukul maḥ an-na-ke₄ šu-ġu₁₀ mu-un-da-an-ġál
 e-ri kak-ku ši-i-ri šá ^da-nim ina qa-ti-ia na-šá-ku

I belong to Ea,

I belong to Damkina,

I am Marduk's messenger.

In order to heal the patient's illness,

The great lord Ea sent me.

(When) he placed his pure incantation upon my incantation,

(When) he placed his mouth upon my mouth,

(When) he placed his pure spittle upon my spittle,

presents himself as the messenger of Ea and Marduk, e.g., Tablet 3: 79–89, 100–102, 115–117, 124–126, 177–186 (Geller 2007, 104–109, 199–202; Geller 2016, 107–130). See the discussions in Geller 2010, 29 and 50, as well as Geller 2016, 9. See also Lenzi 2010.

(When) he placed his pure prayer upon my prayer,
 The “limbs-attacker” (demon) who is in the patient’s body,
 Through an effective incantation—the word of Ea—
 May those evil ones be uprooted.
 I hold Anu’s exalted *e’ru*-wood scepter in my hand.

Here and elsewhere in the exorcistic composition Udug-ḥul the text emphasizes that the *āšipu*-priest is the messenger or agent of Enki-Ea and his son, Asarluḫi-Marduk. In these references one finds an attempt to identify, or at least to obliterate the borders between, the divine exorcist, Marduk, and the actual human exorcist, the *āšipu*-priest. Therefore, not only does the *āšipu*-priest emphasize that he acts according to the authority of Ea and Marduk, as in the passage cited above, he also notes that the actions he undertakes during the process of exorcism (both the formulations he pronounces and the cultic acts he performs) are actually those of Ea and Marduk; see Tablet 1: 54’–55’ (Geller 2007, 94, 192; Geller 2016, 51):¹⁷

ÉN *a-nam-di* A.MEŠ *šá maš-maš* DINGIR.[MEŠ]
ta-a a-man-nu šá ^dAMAR.UTU DUMU ^d[é-a]

Incantation: I cast the waters of the incantation-priest of the god[s],
 I recite the spell of Marduk, son of [Ea].

While this passage distinguishes between the *āšipu*-priest, who casts water and recites incantations in reality, and Marduk, who possesses this water and incantation, in another passage it is Marduk himself who is considered to do this; see Tablet 6: 91 (Geller 2007, 131, 217; Geller 2016, 236):

^dasar-lú-ḫi dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄ šu-na ugu-na im-mi-in-[gub] nam-šub
 ba-an-sì
^dAMAR.UTU *mar eri₄-du₁₀ qat-su* UGU-šu um-mid-ma [š]*ip-ta id-di*

Marduk, son of Eridu, laid his hand upon (the patient) and cast the spell.

17 Note also that the *āšipu*-priest calls upon the name of Marduk when treating the patient in Tablet 2: 58–59 (Geller 2007, 99, 196; Geller 2016, 79).

Elsewhere in Udug-ḥul, however, the divine and human exorcists are fused: the *āšipu*-priest actually becomes Marduk when he approaches the patient to heal him after he has been attacked by demons. Thus in Tablet 3: 167–169 (Geller 2007, 108, 202; Geller 2016, 126):

lú-tu-ra-šè te-ĝé₆-e-dè-ĝu₁₀-NE níĝ-bi ki ĝar-ĝar-ra-e-dè
 ana mar-ša ina ټe-ĥe-e-a mim-ma šum-šú i-pa-áš-šá-ḥu
 lú-mu₇-mu₇ eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄ mu-un-tu-ud-da me-en
 a-ši-pu šá ina eri₄-du₁₀ ib-ba-nu-ú ana-ku
 eridu^{ki} ku'ar^{ki}-šè mu-un-na-ri ḥé-me-en
 šá ina eri₄-du₁₀ u ku-ma-ri re-ḥu-ú ana-ku

When I approach the patient he (= Ea) soothes everything,
 I am the exorcist born in Eridu,
 I am the one spawned in Eridu and Ku'ar.

In this passage, the *āšipu*-priest describes in the first person how he approaches the patient for treatment, but then asserts that when he does this, he is not just the human *āšipu*-priest, but rather the one “born in Eridu” and “spawned in Eridu and Ku'ar,” epithets that refer to Asarluḥi/Marduk. In the cultic act of exorcism, the human priest actually identifies himself with the divine exorcist.

Of course, all the “Marduk-Ea type” incantations, which present a dialogue in which Ea commands Marduk about the actions he must take, are closely related to the *āšipu*-priest: the act to be done by Marduk is the act done in reality by the *āšipu*-priest.¹⁸ Note especially that after Ea instructs Marduk about the ritual process in Udug-ḥul Tablet 7: 106–114, the *āšipu*-priest recites a passage where he identifies himself with Ea, using phrases similar to those noted above from Tablet 3; see Tablet 7: 115–120 (Geller 2007, 140, 223; Geller 2016, 272–275):

ᵈasar-lú-ḥ[i igi : níĝ ĝá-e] : ĝen dumu-ĝu₁₀
 ì šim ḡ^{is}eren šu u-me-ti
 šá-man riq-qu e-r[e-ni] le-qé-e-ma
 lú-u₁₈-lu-b[i s]u-bi u-me-ni-tag-tag
 [a-me-lu šu-a-t]ú SU-šú lu-up-pi-it-ma
 ...

18 See Tablet 7: 9–25, 41–51, 81–96, 106–127 (Geller 2007, 135–141, and 220–224; Geller 2016, 251–278). For a recent discussion, see Geller 2010, 27–29.

šir galam-ma šir ^densi-maḥ u-me-ni-íb-te-sì
 ši-pat ni-kil-ti ši-pat ^dMIN i-di-šum-ma
 a-a-zu lugal diġir-re-e-ne-ke₄ saġ-ba ì-íb-ta-è
 a-ba-ka LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ ma-mit tùm-ma šu-ši-iš
 ġá-e lú ^den-ki-ga me-en
 [šá ^dé-a] a-na-ku
 [ġá-e] lú ^ddam-gal-nun-na [me-en]
 [šá ^ddam-k] i-an-na a-na-ku
 ġá-e lú ^den-líl-lá me-en
 [šá ^den-líl] a-na-k[u]
 [ġá-e lú lugal-ùr-ra me-en
 [šá šar] ú-ri ana-ku
 [ġá-e] lú ^dasar-lú-ḥi dumu eridu^{ki}-ga me-en
 [šá] ^dAMAR.UTU DUMU eri₄-du₁₀ a-na-ku
 [ġá-e] ka-tu₆-ġál abzu-ke₄ mu-un-kù-ga-eš-àm
 šá KA.[TU₆].ĠÁL ap-si-i mul-li-li a-na-ku

Marduk took note; (Ea): “whatever I (know, you already know)! Go my son,

take aromatic cedar oil.

And apply it to the victim's body

...

Recite for (the patient) the spell of ingenuity, the spell of Ensimaḥ.

On behalf of your father (= Ea), lord of the gods, remove the oath which has been sworn!”

I belong to Ea,

I belong to Damkina,

I am the man of Enlil,

I am the man of the Lord-of-the-Roof,

I am the man of Marduk, son of Eridu.

I am the man of the purifying exorcist of the Apsû.

In this passage, after Ea instructs Marduk about the ritual process to be carried out, the *āšipu*-priest, in charge of actually performing this act, introduces himself as acting as the agent of Ea and Marduk.

Thus, it is evident that in the composition Uduġ-ḥul the ritual performed by the human *āšipu*-priest is closely associated with the divine exorcism performed by Marduk. Consequently, the human *āšipu*-priest is closely associated with Marduk himself.

VI The Commentary on Marduk's Address to the Demons and Its Reflection in Udug-ḫul

In the commentary entries on the lines from Marduk's Address to the Demons cited above (§ IV), the phrases in the base text describing Marduk as “clothed with splendour, filled with terror,” and “wearing a crown, whose radiance is adorned with awe” were interpreted as referring to the *āšipu*-priest clad in a red garment. As we have seen above, this is in line with the close association between the human exorcist and Marduk, the divine exorcist, in ancient Mesopotamian magical thought. But the evidence from Udug-ḫul, in which Marduk's Address to the Demons is embedded, for the concrete realization of these epithets in cult is more specific than the association of the *āšipu*-priest with Marduk commonly found in magical texts.

In a passage in Udug-ḫul, the *āšipu*-priest first introduces himself in the regular manner as acting in the name of Ea and Asarluḫi. But then the passage reveals that he is clad in a red garment of splendour and terror, agreeing with both the text from Marduk's Address to the Demons (“clothed with splendour, filled with terror”) and its commentary (“concerning the *āšipu*-priest who is clad in a red ...-garment”) cited in § IV above; see Tablet 8: 24–36 (Geller 2007, 144, 226; Geller 2016, 293–298):

ḡ[á]-e lú-mu₇-mu₇ ^{lú}sáḡa-maḥ me kù-ga eridu^{ki}-ga me-en
a-ši-pu šá-an-gam-ma-ḫu mu-ul-lil par-ši šá eri₄-du₁₀ a-na-ku
 lú-kiḡ-gi₄-a iḡištu-ra ^den-ki-ga me-en
mar šip-ri a-lík maḥ-ri šá ^dé-a ana-ku
^dasar-lú-ḫi maš-maš kù-zu dumu-saḡ ^den-ki-ke₄ lú-kiḡ-gi₄-a me-en
 šá ^dAMAR.UTU maš-maš en-*qí* ma-ri reš-ti-i šá ^dé-a DUMU šip-ri-šú
 ana-ku

...

^{tú}ḡgú-è sa₅ ní-te-na-ke₄ ḡú-ḡá bí-in-mu₄
na-aḥ-lap-ta sa-an-ta šá pu-luḥ-ti aḥ-ḫa-lip-ka
 túḡ sa₅ túḡ ní-gal-la-ke₄ bar kù-ga bí-in-mu₄
ṣu-ba-ta sa-a-mu ṣu-bat nam-ri-ir-ri zu-mur el-lu ú-lab-biṣ-ka

I am the *āšipu*-priest, the chief purifying priest, the purifier of the rites
 of Eridu,

I am the messenger, the pre-eminent one of Enki,

I am the messenger of Asarluḫi, the wise incantation priest, firstborn of
 Enki

...

I am clad against you (= the demon) with a red garment of terror,
I covered (my) pure body with a red dress, a dress of splendour, against
you.¹⁹

This passage expresses the same imagery of being clad in terror and splendour using the same vocabulary found in the base text from Marduk's Address to the Demons, as well as the image of the actual red dress found in the commentary on that text (Geller 2016, 396).

As seen above, although the words "I am Asarluḫi who is clothed with splendour, filled with terror," are presented in the base text as spoken by Marduk, they are cultically recited by the *āšipu*-priest speaking in the first person. According to the passage just cited, the *āšipu*-priest is dressed in red as he recites this text. Thus, although it is likely that "clothed with splendour" is indeed a figurative expression in the base text, its explanation as the red garment of the *āšipu*-priest is not that far-fetched. This interpretation synthesizes the figurative language of Marduk's Address to the Demons with details of actual cultic practice in a way that reflects contemporary religious ideas about the relationship between the human and divine exorcists.

VII Creating or Explaining an Equation in the Commentary to Marduk's Address to the Demons?

In the first sections of the discussion above, two types of commentaries were introduced: those that explain an equation in the base text (§ II), and those that equate an element of the base text with something else (§ III). The comments on Marduk's Address to the Demons discussed in this article were assigned to the second category. They create an equation by relating a cultic fact (the *āšipu*-priest dressed in red) to a general figurative description in the base text (Marduk clad in splendour). But one can also argue that this interpretation belongs to the first category because it explains an existing equation rather than creating a new one. As demonstrated above, not only was the identification of the *āšipu*-priest with Marduk a well-known element of the exorcistic tradition in ancient Mesopotamia, in Udug-ḫul the red clothing of the *āšipu*-priest is

19 See Geller 2016, 295, notes to lines 27–40, for a discussion of these lines, with reference to a Neo-Assyrian letter (SAA 10 238) mentioning similar cultic acts by the *āšipu*-priest, who is dressed in a red garment.

portrayed using the same imagery of splendour and terror attributed to Marduk himself in Marduk's Address to the Demons. Thus the association, or better the equation of Marduk clad in splendour with the *āšipu*-priest clad in a red dress was part of the general perception of magic during the first millennium BCE in Mesopotamia, and the commentary only notes that this equation is latent within the formulation of Marduk "dressed with splendour" in the entry from Marduk's Address to the Demons.

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A New Medical Therapeutic Text on Rectal Disease

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At first sight it may seem a little audacious to offer this edition of a new text on rectal disease to Mark Geller, the leading specialist in this particular field of Babylonian medicine. However, as there is hardly an Assyriologist keener to get texts published and less interested in hording texts for future publication, we dare to offer him this edition of a quite unusual rectal disease text as a token of appreciation and gratitude.

The tablet BM 103386 (1911-4-8, 76), published here by kind permission of the *Trustees of the British Museum*, contains 38 prescriptions for treating *lam-ṣatu*, a kind of haemorrhoid. The structure of the prescriptions and the materia medica used resemble those in the published corpus of rectal disease texts,¹ but the text exhibits several interesting characteristics: In addition to a new form of treatment for haemorrhoids, not yet attested in cuneiform medicine, the existence of duplicates to this new text calls into question the present state of reconstruction of the medical therapeutic series *šumma ina lā simānīšu*. Furthermore, the colophon refers to a hitherto unknown medical therapeutic series and the text contains several new writings and words.

BM 103386 belongs to the British Museum's 1911-4-8-collection which contains many texts that can be shown to come from the city of Assur.² Considering the scribal ductus, this is certainly also true for this text and it is further corroborated by several writings typical for the scribal conventions in the city of Assur.³ According to its ductus, the text dates to the Neo-Assyrian period but in

* It is a pleasure to thank the participants of the October 2014 workshop of the BabMed-Group, Berlin for their comments on the text edited here. We also had the possibility to present this text in the "Cuneiforum" of the Lehrstuhl für Altorientalistik, University of Würzburg and we are deeply indebted to all those offering their remarks and comments. Thanks are also due to Dr. med. Yvonne Kinet (Frankfurt), who patiently answered many questions concerning anal disease. Abbreviations follow the conventions of CAD.

1 Geller 2005, Nos. 20–47.

2 See Lambert 1992, 76–77.

3 See the comments to obv. 3' and 19'.

view of the almost completely broken colophon it is impossible to date it with any degree of certainty to the 9th, 8th or 7th century B.C.

lamšatu, *masdaru* and *allān bīni*—New Information on Treating Haemorrhoids

Several words of the Akkadian language have been interpreted as haemorrhoids: *baškiltu*, *umšatu*, *uršu*, as well as *lamšatu*.⁴ However, as Mark Geller has pointed out, “one difficulty in analysing types of rectal disease is to distinguish between haemorrhoids and other types of anal sores or lesions.”⁵ Several prescriptions of BM 103386 now allow us to have a better understanding of the affliction *lamšatu* and the treatments for its relieve.

First of all, let us consider the instructions for treating the *lamšatu*-affliction. Our text leaves no doubt that a *lamšatu* of the anus had to be cut open or even removed by the practitioner. The different prescriptions use different words for this small surgery:

ina šurri zaqte salte eli lamšātēšu takar aḥennû tešši: “You rub with a sharp-cut flint blade over his *lamšatus*, you cut out each separately.”

obv. 23'–24'

masdara teppuṣ tanassaḥašši: “You use the *masdaru*-instrument, you tear it (= the *lamšatu*) out.”

obv. 26'

masdara teppuṣ simma itteneḥpû zaku: “You use the *masdaru*-instrument (and) the affected part, which is continuously crushed, is clean.”

obv. 46'

ina masdari lamšātū^(sic)šu tuqattap: “You cut out his *lamšatus* with a *masdaru*-instrument.”

rev. 33

4 For *baškiltu*, *umšatu* and *uršu* see Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 149–150. *lamšatu* has been tentatively translated as “hemorrhoid” in CAD A 306a and CAD E 64a.

5 Geller 2005, 2.

ina masdari tanassaḥaššina: “You tear them (= the *lamṣatus*) out with a *masdaru*-instrument.”

rev. 36

Two different methods are described here: On the one hand, the practitioner “scrapes” (*kāru*) and “slits” (*eṣû*) the *lamṣatu* using a sharp-cut flint blade in order to cut open the blood filled haemorrhoid and let the blood flow out.⁶ On the other hand, he “tears out” (*nasāḥu*) and “cuts off” (*qatāpu*) the *lamṣatu* using a surgical instrument called *masdaru*, so that “the affected part, which is continuously crushed, is clean” (*iteḥpû-zakû*).

Marten Stol has shown that the word *masdaru*, “knife”, until then only known from lexical texts, is attested in context in an incantation and in the Gula hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi.⁷ BM 103386 now provides the first attestations of the word in therapeutic instructions, where it is mentioned no less than four times. The phrases in which the word appears are quite interesting; twice the expression *masdara teppuṣ*(*ḏû-uš*), “you ‘do’ the *masdaru*,” is used and twice the phrase *ina masdari* (*lamṣātû*^(sic)*šu*) *tuqattap/tanassaḥaššina*, “with the *masdaru* you cut off/tear out (his *lamṣatus*).” It is obvious that the *masdaru* is used to remove the *lamṣatu*, while a sharp-cut flint blade (*ṣurru*) is used to incise it. Considering the fact that at least some of the *lamṣatus* mentioned in the text were located inside the anus—as we shall see presently, this is made likely by the further treatment of the wound—a flint blade was probably inadequate for this surgical operation and a different instrument, the *masdaru*, was more appropriate here. We know nothing about the form of the *masdaru*, whether it was a kind of lancet or a different instrument. In the light of the etymology of the word, which comes from the verb *sadāru*, “to do regularly”, and has a homophonous cognate in *masdaru*, “duration, permanence”, one wonders how *masdaru* came to denote a kind of instrument used to treat haemorrhoids; perhaps this refers either to the cauterisation or to the ligation of the haemorrhoids, but this remains idle speculation as long as we do not have a more explicit description of the usage of the *masdaru*.⁸

Another novelty of BM 103386 concerns another kind of instrument used in the therapeutic process. Various prescriptions describe the usage of a

6 Compare also the prescription obv. 9'–15' which describes the scraping and the blood.

7 Stol 2007, 238. See Böck 2014, 19, fn. 66 for another instance in the incantation text K 6057 (ii 23).

8 Both cauterisation and ligation are detailed in the book “on haemorrhoids” of the Corpus Hippocraticum, see LCL 482 and Ellesmore and Windsor 2002, 1.

suppository made of tamarisk wood (*allān bīni*) and its application to the anus of the patient.⁹ At first glance, this seems to be very odd; a suppository is usually made of medical ingredients mixed with a carrier material, often suet, which melts inside the anus and releases the ingredients at the appropriate place. A solid suppository made of wood, therefore, seems to be useless. However, considering the small surgeries at the anus, the suppository made of tamarisk wood may serve a good purpose: As the prescriptions detail, the practitioner coats the tamarisk-suppository with the ingredients (*allān bīni teppuṣ tulabbaš*) before he applies it to the anus (*ana šuburrišu taš(tan)akkanma*). This formulation might very well describe a usage of such a solid suppository directly behind the anal opening (the anal sphincter) after a surgery of haemorrhoids or sores. A suppository made of tamarisk wood and coated with the pharmaceutical agents would then ensure that the pharmaceutical agents are held in place where needed, while a normal suppository could easily slip deeper into the anus where the ingredients would be less useful. A solid suppository could have had an additional desired effect: after the surgical removal of haemorrhoids or the like inside the anus, an inserted solid body would put pressure on the wound and help to close the wound after the surgery performed.¹⁰ That such solid suppositories were indeed used is also corroborated by the reference to an *allān*(šU.SI) *abāri*(A.BÁR), “lead suppository”, in another rectal disease text.¹¹

Regarding such treatments it is rather likely that some of the surgeries were performed internally, just inside the anus. This leads to the question what exactly the *lamṣatu* designates. BM 103386 gives the following indication for *lamṣatu*:

*šumma amīlu šuburra maruṣ lamṣat šuburrišu imruṭ lak/q-s/šat*¹² *u dāma*
[*malāt*]

9 See obv. 31'–32', 33'–34', 36'–38', 50'–51'; rev. 1–2, 3–4, 7–8, 25–27.

10 In this case, the ingredients used to coat the suppository might be presumed to have a haemostatic effect. Suppositories could be used to stop bleeding, as is made clear by *AMT* 53/9: rev. 4': *allānu*(NAGAR-*nu*) *dāma*(MÚD) *parāsi*(TAR-*si*), “a suppository to staunch blood”; see *BAM* 7 22: iii 4'. Another text, *BAM* 104: obv. 20, mentions: *ebbūba*(^{gis}GI.GÍD) *teppuṣ*(DÛ-uš) *lubāra*(TÚG.ĤÁ) *tu-la-ba-áš ana šuburrišu*(DÚR-šú) *tašakkan*(GAR-[*an*]), “You make a reed tube, coat it with linen-cloth (and) put it into his anus.”

11 K 8369 (*AMT* 101/3, *BAM* 7 38): ii 13'. For a Mari letter referring to lead in the context of medicine and Pliny mentioning a haemostatic effect of lead and its usage to cure haemorrhoids see Arkhipov 2009, 48.

12 For this verb see the commentary to obv. 22'.

If a man is sick on the anus, the *lamšatu* of his anus itches, is ... , and [is full of] blood;

obv. 22'

and

šumma amīlu šuburra maruṣ lamšat šuburrīšu [imr]uṭ lak/q-s/šat kibru dāma mali

If a man is sick on the anus, the *lamšatu* of his anus [itch]es (and) is ..., the edge is full of blood.

rev. 32

The wording *lamšat šuburrīšu* seems to denote a part of the body and not a disease. In the pathological state, this part of his anus itches and is full of blood. It seems a viable proposition to see in this a quite accurate description of pathological haemorrhoids, rather than other anal sores like, especially, perianal thrombosis.¹³ Particularly the combination of itching and the *lamšatu* being full of blood points in the direction of pathological haemorrhoids, while perianal thrombosis is not as much itching as painful; the treatment of cutting open and removing the affected part, however, could be applied in cases of pathological haemorrhoids and perianal thrombosis alike.

All the indications are that *lamšatu* refers to a haemorrhoid. Yet, it is difficult to further delineate the pathological conditions, considering the symptoms and treatments described. While the treatments involving “cutting off” and “tearing out” using the *masdaru*-instrument point to internal haemorrhoids, it is impossible to tell whether the operation involving “scraping until blood comes out” and “incising each separately” with a flint blade refers to external haemorrhoids or prolapsing internal haemorrhoids.

Looking for the 2nd Tablet of the Therapeutic Series *Šumma amīlu ina lā simānīšu*

BM 103386 offers both a catch line and a tablet numbering and this raises the fundamental question of how the text relates to the rectal disease series *Šumma*

¹³ Other anal sores and diseases that can be treated by surgery include fistulae and rectal cancer but none of these illnesses fits the described symptoms.

amīlu ina lā simānīšu. Let us first consider the catch line *šumma*(DIŠ) *amīlu*(NA) *li-k/qis/š durugiqqi*(DÚR.GIG) *maruṣ*(GIG) *qerbūšu*(ŠÀ.MEŠ-šú) *ittanappaḫū* (MÚ.MEŠ-ḫu) *it-(te)-né-bi-tu amīlu*(NA) *šū*(^rBI¹) [... ...],¹⁴ “If a man suffers from a ... of rectal disease, his bowels are swollen and distended: This man [... ...].” This line is identical with the catch line of the fragment K 7925 which according to its colophon belonged to the series *Šumma amīlu ina lā simānīšu*, but whose tablet numbering is, unfortunately, broken off. The same line can be harmonized with the entry for Tablet 3 of the same series in the Assur Medical Catalogue:¹⁵

K 7925: 11' [DIŠ NA *l*] *i-k/qis/š* DÚR.GIG ŠÀ.MEŠ-[šú]
Assur Catalogue: DIŠ NA *li-[k/qis/š*]

The preserved text of K 7925 is a direct parallel to BM 103386: rev. 33–43. It was the honoree himself who joined K 7925 to Sm 36+ which represents the first tablet of the series *Šumma amīlu ina lā simānīšu*, and edited it in his edition of the rectal disease texts.¹⁶ This join, however, poses several problems: For one, if K 7925 represents the end of Tablet 1 of the series, it should be possible to bring the text of BM 103386 into accord with the rest of the text of that tablet, which is impossible. But more importantly, it is hard to explain that Tablet 1 of the series should have a catch line to Tablet 3 instead of Tablet 2. Concerning these qualms, the obvious thing to do was to have the alleged join reconsidered by independent scholars; both Irving Finkel and Jon Taylor of the British Museum checked the join and came to the conclusion that K 7925 does not join Sm 36+.¹⁷

This “un-join” solves several problems in reconstructing the rectal diseases series. K 7925, therefore, represents the first fragment that can be assigned to the 2nd Tablet of the series *Šumma amīlu ina lā simānīšu*. Another duplicate to BM 103386, Sm 1563+, is presumably also a fragment of the 2nd Tablet of that series.¹⁸ We may now safely assume that the *lamṣatu*-haemorrhoids are the topic of this tablet of the rectal disease series.

14 For the question of how to read the logogram DÚR.GIG and other lexical difficulties in this line see the commentary to obv. 22', rev. 3 and 44.

15 The Assur Medical Catalogue is currently being edited by the BabMed-group in Berlin under the aegis of Ulrike Steinert. In the meantime, see *BAM* 7 48: 12' and Scurlock 2014, 302: 12'+8' (in both editions the restoration must now be corrected).

16 Geller 2005, 127–143 and copy on pls. 15–18 (*BAM* 7 22).

17 Email from Jon Taylor, 30 April 2015: “K 7925 has not been physically joined to S 36+. There is no point of contact or possible scope for affixing it.”

18 Sm 1563 (*AMT* 31/3)+Sm 2061 (*AMT* 96/6) duplicates BM 103386: obv. 30'–38'. It is edited

Evidence for a Hitherto Unknown Medical Therapeutic Series

Turning now to the tablet numbering and series title preserved in the fragmentary colophon, it is surprising that the series *Šumma amīlu ina lā simānīšu* is not mentioned. Since BM 103386 is a direct parallel to the 2nd Tablet of that series, one would have expected it to be part of this series. Instead, the colophon files the text as the 29th¹⁹ Tablet of a series with the title *šumma(DIŠ) amīlu(NA) šēta(UD.DA) kašid(SÁ.SÁ)*, “If a man is caught by the heat of the sun.” This title of a series is, as far as the present author knows, not previously attested. It is, however, in a slightly different form—written *šumma(DIŠ) amīlu(NA) šēta(UD.DA) kašid(KUR-id)*—known as the incipit of the 4th Tablet of the series *Šumma amīlu suālam maruṣ*, “If a man is suffering from *suālu*-cough with phlegm.”²⁰ From this we must conclude that the text of BM 103386 had been incorporated into more than one series. In the light of almost identical texts being incorporated into different series of the same text genre, like e.g. the Diagnostic Handbook *sakikkû* or the extispicy series *bārûtu*,²¹ such a conclusion does not seem surprising. The present case, however, is one of the first attestations of such a usage of the same text in a different series within the cuneiform medical corpus.

Edition of BM 103386

BM 103386 (1911-4-8, 76) is an almost completely preserved tablet, only the upper edge is missing, the upper right side is damaged and a pickaxe blow hit the middle of the reverse. The tablet measures 175 × 82.5 × 30 mm. Approximately six or seven lines are missing from the beginning on the obverse and the major part of the colophon on the reverse. The tablet has been known since 1992 when W.G. Lambert labelled it “medical” in his third supplement to the *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection*.²² While

in *BAM* 7 24a. Mark Geller (2010a, 15) duly noted that this fragment might well belong to the series *Šumma amīlu ina lā simānīšu*.

19 The tablet number is not entirely clear, see the commentary to rev. 45.

20 For this series and its present state of reconstruction see Johnson 2014. The incipit is attested in K 4114 (*AMT* 14/7): obv. 1 and as the catch line of K 61+ (*BAM* 578): iv 47. In the Middle Assyrian text VAT 9475+ (*BAM* 66): rev. 4', this incipit introduces a new text passage after a double ruling.

21 Heeßel 2000, 105–107 and Heeßel 2012, 14–15.

22 Lambert 1992, 76.

the obverse is quite intact, the signs on the reverse are often blurred and indistinct and, therefore, very hard to read and in places even rubbed to the point of illegibility. Furthermore, the copyist was not particularly experienced as is obvious from several mistakes, and this includes the possibility that some passages, which failed to yield sense, might indeed be corrupt.²³ Future identifications of more duplicates will no doubt lead to a better understanding of passages poorly understood and rectify mistakes in the present edition. It is quite likely that the scribe or someone checking the tablet noticed some of the mistakes: On the left margin of three lines on the obverse (18', 37' and 45') appears the sign AŠ, which cannot be a mark for a line counting, and it is hardly a coincidence that exactly these three lines contain words and signs that defy explanation. We may, therefore, assume that the AŠ sign on the margin indicates a problem in the line.

While the tablet contains 38 prescriptions, only four indications are mentioned on the tablet, in lines obv. 22', rev. 3, 15 and 32, another one surely appeared in the broken first line of the obverse; all other entries are alternative prescriptions introduced by DIŠ KI.MIN, "If ditto". Although no clear order of the entries is discernible in the text, some principles of arrangement can be observed. Three of the four prescriptions mentioning the *masdaru*-instrument (obv. 26'–27', 46'–47' and rev. 36–37) are quite similar: All describe the usage of the *masdaru*-instrument, then as an ingredient a part of an animal (which might be an alternative name for a plant)²⁴ and a tendril of a wild melon, followed by an almost identical preparation and application of the two pharmaceuticals. The four prescriptions in rev. 13–24 share a rather similar structure: All four name an animal (or a part of it) as the main ingredient, then one *kisal* of suet of the same animal and always a long sheep bone, as well as having the same preparation and application. These four prescriptions are the only ones in the text prescribing the gentle rubbing (*eqû*) of the anus as the method of application of the pharmaceuticals. One may assume that these four prescriptions were incorporated into the text as a coherent group.

A further peculiarity of the text is evident in different writings of the same Akkadian word on the obverse and reverse of the tablet. So, *ištēniš* is written with the logogram TÊŠ.BI on the obverse, but pseudo-logographically *i-niš* on the reverse (see the remarks on rev. 6). The word *annûte*, "these", in *šammē annûte*, "these plants", is spelled out syllabically on the obverse, but

23 Scribal mistakes appear in obv. 36'–38', rev. 5, 10, 14, and 29.

24 For alternative names of plants and its alleged use as "cover names" see Kinnier Wilson 2005, 48–49 and Stiehler-Alegria 2008.

logographically (ŠEŠ) on the reverse.²⁵ *Allānu*, “suppository”, is written with the logogram AL.LA.NA on the obverse, but pseudo-syllabically *alla*(sign: NAGAR)-*an* on the reverse.²⁶ In light of these differences, we may infer that prescriptions from different traditions were amalgamated in this text. Once the second tablet of the series *šumma amīlu ina lā simānīšu* is reconstructed, it will be intriguing to see if these differences were smoothed out in that edition.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the *ašqulālu*-plant is not mentioned even once in the text, whereas *Šammu šikinšu* § 34 explicitly refers to this plant as being effective in tearing out *lamṣatu* as well as *umṣatu*-sores: *a-na umṣate*(SAMAG-te) *ù lam-ša-te nasāhi*(ZI) *damiq*(SIG), “Good for tearing out *umṣatus* and *lamṣatus*.”²⁷ However, the *kalû*(IM.KAL.LA)-paste is mentioned as an ingredient in rev. 3, and according to Uruanna 3: 51 this can be an alternative name for the *ašqulālu*-plant.²⁸

Transliteration

Obv. 1'	[x x (x)] 'ta-kar' [x x] x [	5–6 signs]
2'	[ina mē(A) kasî(GAZ) I ^{r sar}] ir-ta-'na-muk ¹ -ma x [	5–6 signs]
3'	ištu(TA) ip-ta-ru-ú [	5–6 signs]
4'	ukāl(DIB-'al') tu-(uš)-tal-bi-ik kasû(GAZI ^s [ar])	4–5 signs]
<hr/>			
5'	šumma(DIŠ) KI.MIN ½ qa kukra(^{šim} GÚR.GÚR) ½ qa burāša(^{šim} LI) 1/3 [x x x x]		
6'	10 KISAL iškūra(DUḪ.LÀL) 10 KISAL tūra(^{šim} ḪAB) 10 KISAL ḫīl(IL[LU] baluḫḫi(^{šim} BULUḪ))]		
7'	2 qa qí-líp suluppí(ZÚ.LUM.MA) taḫšaššal(GAZ) ina nādi(KUŠ.EDIN) teṭerri(SUR) x [x x]		
8'	tašammissu(LAL-su) šakirû(^{úš} AKIRA) Šamši(^d UTU) tasâk(SÚD) ina šikari(KAŠ) išattīma(NAG-m[a] ina-eš]		
<hr/>			
9'	šumma(DIŠ) KI.MIN ina mē(A) g ^{iš} šu-nim tarahḫassu(RA-su) tušellešuma(E _{II} -šu-ma) šum ₄ -ma x [x (x)]		

25 See the remarks to obv. 36'–38'. Furthermore, *tuqattaršu*, “you fumigate him”, is written syllabically in obv. 18', but logographically (SAR-šú) in rev. 6 and 11, and *tulabbaš*, “you coat”, is again written syllabically in obv. 32', 34', 38', but logographically (MU₄.MU₄) in rev. 27.

26 For AL.LA.NA see obv. 32', 33', 38' and for *alla-an* rev. 2, 4, 8, 26.

27 Stadhouders 2011, 13.

28 KADP 12: 41' (Köcher 1955, No. 12: '43'), cited by CAD K 95a.

- 10' *ubānka*(ŠU.SI-^r*ka*¹) *a-zap-pi sisé*(ANŠE.KUR.RA) *talammi*(NIGIN)
šamna(Ī.GIŠ) *tasallaḥ*(SÙ) *šammu*(^rÚ¹) [*pešû*(BABBAR)]
- 11' *ta-sàk ta-^rza¹-ru-ma ta-kar adi*(EN) *dāmu*(MÚD) *uṣṣûni*(È-ni) *ištu*(TA)
dāmu(MÚD) *uṣṣûni*(^rÈ¹-[*ní*])
- 12' *tušellamma*(E₁₁-*ma*) *al-la-na kasî*(GAZI^{sar}) *taštanakkan*(GAR.GAR-*an*)
arkānu(EGIR-[*nu*])
- 13' *qēm*(Zì) *ḥallūri*(GÚ.GAL) *ta-sàk ina mē*(A) *kasî*(GAZI^{sar}) *ta-là*-[*aš*]
- 14' *al-la-na teppuṣ*(DÙ-uš) *ana šuburrišu*(DÚR-šú)
taštanakkan(GAR.GAR-*an*) ^h*i*-p[[?] (x)]
- 15' *ina mē*(A) *u šikari*(KAŠ) U₄ 6-KÁM *išattīma*(NA[G-*ma*) *ina-eš*
-
- 16' *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN ^ú*pi-zer mu-tap-ri-šu* ^ú*pi-zer*¹ ("mu" over erased
sign) ^ú*r*¹
- 17' *nīnû*(^úKUR.RA) *saḥ-lé-e kukru*(^{šim}GÚR.GÚR) *burāšu*(^{šim}LI) *ina*
pēnti(NE) *a-šá*-[*gi*]
- 18' *ṣap²-re-e-tu₄* *ina litti*(^{giš}ŠÚ.A) *gallābi*(ŠU.I) *tu-še-šib-šu tu-qat-tar-šú-ma*
ina-e[š]
-
- 19' *našmadāte*(LAL.MEŠ) *tukappar²*(ŠU.GUR-*par²*) *tabbal*(ḪÁD.DA)
šabaṭu(^{iti}ZÍZ) U₄ 12-KÁM *na-še-er ša arḫi*(ITI)
tašammissuma(LAL-su-*ma*) *ina-e*[š]
-
- 20' *adi*(EN) *našmadāte*(LÁL.MEŠ) *an-na-te tašammidu*(LÁL.MEŠ)
kasî(GAZI^{sar}) *nūna*(KU₆) (erasure) *lapta*(LU.ÚB^{s[ar]})
- 21' *šīr*([U]ZU) *alpi*(GU₄) *šīr*(UZU) *urīši*(MÁŠ) *ar-sà-na lā*(NU) *ikkal*(GU₇)
ina mē(A) *kasî*(GAZI^{sar}) *ir-ta-na*-[*muk*]
-
- 22' *šumma*(DIŠ) *amīlu*([N]A) *šuburra*(DÚR) *maruṣ*(GIG) *lam-ša-^rat¹*
šuburrišu(DÚR-šú) *im-ruṭ lak/q-s/šat u dāma*(MÚD) *malât*(S[A₅])
- 23' *ina šurri*(^{na4r}ZÚ¹) *zaq-te sal-te eli*(UGU) *lam-ša-te-šú* [*t*]*a-k*[*ar²*]
- 24' *a-ḥe-nu-ú te-eṣ-ši a-la-pa-a ša išid*(SUḪUŠ) *eleppi*(^{giš}MÁ) *lipî*(Ī.^rUDU¹)
kalīt([ÉL]L[AG]) [*immeri*(UDU.NÍTA)]
- 25' *ištēniš*(TÉS.BI) *tasâk*(SÚD) *ana šuburrišu*(DÚR-šú)
taštanakkanma(GAR.GAR-*an-ma*) *ina-eš*
-
- 26' *šumma*(DIŠ) ^rKI¹.MIN *mas-da-ra teppuṣ*(DÙ-uš) *ta-na-sa-ḥa-ši*
marat(ZÉ) *im-du-ḥal-la-te*
- 27' *šarūr*(ŠIR₄.ZI) *irrê*(ÚKUŠ.LAGAB) *tur-ár tasâk*(SÚD) ^r*ina¹ lipî*(Ī.^rUDU¹)
kalīt(^rÉLLAG¹) *immeri*(^rUDU¹.NÍTA) *ina šuburrišu*(DÚR-šú)
taštanakkanma(GAR.^rGAR¹-*ma*) *ina-eš*
-

- 28' *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN *qaran*(SI) *ayyali*(DÀRA.MAŠ) *šuruš*(SUḪUŠ)
nuḫurti(^uNU.LUḪ.ḪA) *ballukka*(^{šim}BAL) *ištēniš*(TÉŠ.BI) *tasâk*(SÚD)
- 29' *ina šamni*(Ì.GIŠ) *u liši*(NÍG.⟨PI⟩)SILA_{II}.GÁ *ina itquri*(^{giš}DÍLIM)
tuballal(ḪE.ḪE) *ana šuburrišu*(DÚR-ŠÚ)
taštanakkanma(GAR.GAR-ma) *ina-eš*
-
- 30' *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN *šunâ*(^{giš}ŠE.NÚ.A) *tasâk*(SÚD) *itti*(KI)
isqūqi(ZÌ.ṚKUM¹) *qadūt*(IM.GÚ) *adatti*(NÍG.NIGIN.NA) *ina mē*(A)
suluppî(ZÚ.LUM) *tuballal*(ḪE.ḪE) MIN
-
- 31' *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN *lipî*(Ì.UDU) *irré*(ÚKUŠ.LAGAB) ^u*pi-ze-er*
ištēniš(TÉŠ.BI) *tasâk*(SÚD) *ana ṭābāti*(A.GEŠTIN.NA) *tanaddi*(ŠUB) *ina*
lipî(Ì.UDU) *kalīt*(ÉLLAG) *imмери*(UDU.NÍTA) *tuballal*(ḪE.ḪE)
- 32' *ḫi lit?* *allān*(AL.LA.NA) *bīni*(^{giš}ŠINIG) *teppuš*(DÙ-uš) *tu-la-ba-áš* *ana*
šuburrišu(DÚR-ŠÚ) *taštanakkanma*(GAR.GAR-ma) *ina-eš*
-
- 33' *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN *qadūt*(IM.GÚ) *adatti*(NÍG.NIGIN.NA)
taḫaššal(GAZ) *ina lipî*(Ì.UDU) *kalīt*(ÉLLAG) *imмери*(UDU.NÍTA)
tuballal(ḪE.ḪE) *allān*(AL.LA.NA)
- 34' ^Ṛ^{giš}*[b]*-*ni teppuš*(DÙ-uš) *tu-la-ba-Ṛ áš*¹ (erasure) *ana šuburrišu*(DÚR-ŠÚ)
taštanakkanma(GAR.GAR-ma) *ina-eš*
-
- 35' *šumma*(DIŠ) ^ṚKI¹.MIN *lipî*(Ì.UDU) *ayyali*(DÀRA.MAŠ) *ina išāti*(IZI)
tušabšal(ŠEG₆) *saḫ-lé-e* *tasâk*(SÚD) *itti*(KI) *a-ḫa-miš* *tuballal*(ḪE.ḪE)
MIN
-
- 36' *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN *šammu*(Ú) *pešû*(BABBAR) *kukru*(^{šim}GÚR.GÚR)
burāšu(^{šim}LI) *šumlalû*(^{šim}GAM.MA) *ballukku*(^{šim}BÚLUG)
nīnû(^uKUR.RA^{sar}) *ziqqatû*(NUN.BAR.⟨ḪUŠ⟩^{ku₆}) *ablu*(ḪÁD.A)
- 37' *uḫūlu*(^uNAGA) *qarnānu*(SI) *pa-ša-ti šamaššammû*(ŠE.GIŠ¹ (sign:
NIGIN).Ì) *suluppû*(ZÚ.LUM.MA) *munus tuk nun na 9 šammē*(Ú.ḪÁ)
an-na-te
- 38' *ištēniš*(TÉŠ.BI) *tasâk*(SÚD) *lipî*(Ì.UDU) *kalīt*(ÉLLAG)
imмери(UDU.NÍTA) *tuballal*(ḪE.ḪE) *allān*(AL.LA.NA) ^{giš}*bi-nu*
teppuš(DÙ-uš) *tu-la-ba-áš* *ana šuburrišu*(DÚR-ŠÚ)
taštanakkanma(GAR.GAR-ma) *ina-eš*
-
- 39' *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN *isqūqa*(ZÌ.KUM) *ina šikari*(KAŠ.SAG) *ina*
diqāri(ÚTUL) *ta-tab-bak dišpa*(LÀL) *u šamna*(Ì) *ḫal-ša* *ana libbi*(ŠÀ)
tanaddi(ŠUB-di) *lipî*(Ì.UDU) *irré*(ÚKUŠ.lagab) *ana lib-bi*

- 40' tuš te bi ú² la² ši² *ki-ta-a lā*(NU) *ú-maš-šar la i-sa-ḥu-ra-ma lā*(NU)
immar(IGI) *asû*(A.ZU) *la i-pa-rík*
-
- 41' *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN *šaman*(Ì.GIŠ) *dup-ra-ni sīkti*(GAZ) *riqqī*(ŠIM.ĤĀ)
 2 KISAL *lipī*(Ì.UDU) *kalīt*(ÉLLAG) *immeri*(UDU.NÍTA) ½ *šiqil*(GÍN)
ḥīl(ILLU) *baluḥḥi*(^{šim}BULUḤ) ½ *qa*
- 42' *kabūt*(ŠURUN) *alpi*(GU₄) *qalâ*(BIL) 1/3 *qa uḥūlu*(NAGA) *qarnānu*(SI)
pa-ša-te ½ KISAL *kibritu*(PIŠ₁₀.^dÍD) 7 *šammē*(Ú.ĤĀ) *an-nu-te*
ištēniš(TÉŠ.BI) *tasâk*(SÚD) *tuballal*(ĤE.ĤE) MIN
-
- 43' *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN 1/3 *qa ṭābāta*(A.GEŠTIN.NA) 4 KISAL *ṭabta*(MUN)
 2 *šiqil*(GÍN) *saḥ¹-lé-e tasâk*(SÚD) *ana libbi*(ŠĀ) *tahaššal*(GAZ) *ana*
šuburrišu(DÚR-ŠÚ) *tašappak*(DUB-ak) *ubānka*(ŠU.SI-ka)
- 44' *pušikka*(^{sik}GA.RÍG¹.AK.A) *talammi*(NIGIN-mi) *saḥ-lé-e ki-ši-te*
tasallaḥ(SÜ) 1-šú 2-šú 3-šú *šuburrišu*(DÚR-ŠÚ) *tu-kap-pár-ma ina-eš*
-
- 45' *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN *igī gīg šu igī qalâ*(BIL) *suluppī*(ZÚ.LUM) *ina*
lipī(Ì.UDU) *tuballal*(ĤE.ĤE) *ana šuburrišu*(DÚR-ŠÚ)
tašakkanma(GAR-ma) *ina-eš*
-
- 46' *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN *mas-da-ra teppuš*(DÛ-uš) *sím-ma it-te-né-eḥ-pu*
za-ku qaran(SI) *ayyali*(DÀRA.MAŠ)
- 47' *šarūr*(ŠIR₄.ZI) *irrê*(ÚKUŠ.LAGAB) *tur-ár tasâk*(SÚD) *ina lipī*(Ì.UDU)
tuballal(ĤE.ĤE) *ana šuburrišu*(DÚR-ŠÚ)
taštanakkanma(GAR.GAR-ma) *ina-eš*
-
- 48' *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN *qaran*(SI) *ayyali*(^rDÀRA¹.MAŠ) *ša šumēli*(150)
šupur(UMBIN) *ayyali*(DÀRA.MAŠ) *ša šumēli*(150)-ma *šuruš*(SUḤUŠ)
nuḥurti(^{giš}NU.LUḤ.ĤA) *šarūr*(ŠIR₄.ZI) *irrê*(ÚKUŠ.LAGAB)
- 49' [*t*]ur-ár *tasâk*(SÚD) *ina lipī*(Ì.UDU) *tuballal*(^rĤE.ĤE¹) *ana*
šuburrišu(DÚR-ŠÚ) *tašakkanma*(GAR-ma) *ina-eš*
-
- 50' [*šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN] x x 2 KISAL *nuḥurtu*(NU.LU[Ĥ.ĤA])
- 51' [allān ^{gi}]^šbi-ni *teppuš*(DÛ-uš) [MIN]
-

Obverse ends.

- Rev. 1 [*šumma*(DIŠ) K]I.^rMIN¹ 1 KI[SAL x x] ^r2 KISAL¹ *lipī*(Ì.UDU)
kalīt(ÉLLAG) *immeri*(UDU.NÍTA) 4 KISAL *uḥūla*(N[A]GA) *qarnāni*(SI)
 ½ ^rKISAL¹ *ḥīl*(ILLU) *baluḥḥi*(^{si}[^mBULUḤ] x x)

- 2 *rikibti*(^rU₅¹) *arkabi*(ARGAB^{mušen}) ^r1¹ *q*[*a kabūt*(ŠUR)UN] *alpi*(GU₄)
qalâ(BIL) ½ KISAL *saḥ-lé-e ištēniš*(1-niš) *tasâk*(SÚD) *alla-^ran¹ gišbi-ni*
teppuš(DÛ-u[š]) ^rMIN¹
-
- 3 *šumma*(DIŠ) *amīlu*(NA) *duruḡiqqa*(DÚR.GIG.GA.K[ÁM]) *maruṣ*([G]IG)
^ú*lam-ša-ta karān*(^úGĒŠTIN) *šēlebi*(KA₅-A) *kibrītu*(PIŠ₁₀.^dÍD)
kalû(IM.KAL.^rLA¹) x ni/uš x []
- 4 *uḥūlu*(NAGA) *burāšu*(^{šim}LI) 7 *šammē*(^rÚ¹.ḤÁ) *annûte*(ŠEŠ) *ištēniš*(1-niš) *tasâk*(SÚD) *lipî*(Ì.UDU) *kalīt*(ÉLLAG) *immeri*(UDU.NÍTA)
tuballal(^rḤE.ḤE¹) ^rina¹ *išāti*(IZI) *tušabšal*(ŠEG₆) *alla-an gišbi-ni*
teppuš(D[Û-uš] MIN)
-
- 5 *šumma*(^rDIŠ¹) KI.MIN *ḥabbūr*(^{giš}ḤÉNBU^r) *irrê*(ÚKUŠ.LAGAB)
kašî(G[AZI]^rsar¹) ^rina^{1?} *lipî*(Ì.UDU) *alpi*(GU₄) *tuballal*(ḤE.ḤE) <<ina>>
pēnti(NE) *ašāgi*(KIŠI₁₆) *ina kirri*(^{dug}KÍR) *tašakkan*(GAR-an)
šammē(Ú.ḤÁ) šá-š[u-nu ana libbi(šÀ)]
- 6 *tanaddi*(^rŠUB¹) *amīla*(LÚ) *šu-a-tú ina muḥḥi*(UGU) *t*[*u[?]-še[?]-ši*]*b[?]-šu*
tuqattaršu(SAR-šú) *šaman*(Ì) *a-si mut-(tal)-li-ki itti*(KI) *lipî*(Ì.UDU)
ayyali(DÀRA.MAŠ) x bi *tuballal*(Ḥ[E[?].HE[?]] MIN)
-
- 7 *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.[MIN] x šu x ku x x x *ḥīl*(^rILLU¹) *abukkati*(LI.^rDUR¹)
kibrītu(PIŠ₁₀.^dÍD) *nīnû*(^úKUR.RA) *asu*(^{šim?}AZ[?]) [x x]
- 8 4 *šammē*(Ú.ḤÁ) *annûte*(ŠEŠ) *ištēniš*(1-niš) *tasâk*(SÚD) *ina lipî*(Ì.UDU)
alpi(GU₄) *tuballal*(Ḥ[E.ḤE] ḥ)i[?] lit *alla-an gišbi-ni teppuš*(DÛ-uš) [o]
MIN
-
- 9 *šumma*([DI]Š) KI.MIN *kukru*(^{ršim}GÚR.GÚR¹) *burāšu*(^{šim}LI)
ataišu(^úKUR.KUR) *kibrītu*(^rPIŠ₁₀.^dÍ[D]) *nīnû*(^rú¹KUR.RA[?])
ṭūru(^{ršim?}[ḤAB]) *ḥīl*(I[LLU]) *baluḥḥi*(^[šim]BULUḤ)
- 10 *kurkanû*(^úKUR.GIÉRIN.NA) 8 *šammē*(Ú.ḤÁ) *annûte*(ŠEŠ) ^r*ištēniš*(1-niš) *tasâk*(SÚD) <<ina>> *pēnti*(NE)¹ *ašāgi*(KIŠI₁₆) *ina kirri*(^{dug}KÍR¹)
tašakkan(GAR-^ran¹)
- 11 *šammē*(Ú.ḤÁ) šá-šu-nu ana *pāni*(IGI) *tanaddi*(ŠUB) *amīla*(NA) ^r*šu-a-tu¹* *ina muḥḥi*(UGU) *tušeššibšu*(TUŠ-šú) *tuqattaršu*(SAR-šú) *adi*(EN)
pit[?]-ru-šú
- 12 *i-lab-bi-ku u zu'ta*(IR) *inaddû*(ŠUB-^rú¹) *illak*(DU-ak) *ina šāri*(IM)
zunni(IM.A.BI) *u šēti*(UD.DA) ^r*tu¹-ser-šú-ma iballuṭ*(TÍ)
-
- 13 *šumma*(DIŠ) KI.MIN *ina* U₄ 27-KÁM MUŠ ud ne? li ^re¹-[liš] *ana šap-liš*
tu šal x i KISAL lipišu(Ì.UDU-^ršú¹) *teleqqe*(^rTÍ¹) *ešemta*(^rGÌR.PAD¹.DU)
arikta(GÍD.DA)

- 14 'šá¹ immeri('UDU¹.NÍTA) tur-ár tasâk(SÚD) ina itquri(DÍLIM.A.'BÁR¹)
tuballal(ĤE.ĤE) ku-ul⁷ šuburrišu(DÚR-šú) 'te¹-te-né-'qí-ma
muršu(GIG²) šu² ana amīli(NA) šu-a-tu ul(NU) isaḥḥur(NIGIN)
-
- 15 'ana¹ muršišu(G[I]G-šú) lā(NU) sa-ḥa-ri bāb(KÁ) šuburrišu(DÚR-šú)
lā(NU) našbute(DAB-te) šūr(UZU) ayyali('DÀRA¹.MAŠ)
tušabšal(ŠEG₆-šal) tušakkalšu(GU₇¹(text: nag)-šú)
- 16 '1 KISAL¹ lipišu(Ĭ.'UDU¹-šú) teleqqe(TI-qé) ḥīl(ILLU)
baluḥḥi(^{šim}BULUḤ) zēr(NUMUN) šurdunī('SISÁ) kīrbān
eqli(ÚLAG-'A.ŠĀ¹) ešemta('GĪR.PAD¹.DU) arikta(GÍD.DA)
- 17 'šá¹ immeri('UDU¹.NÍTA) tur-ár tasâk(SÚD) ina itquri(DÍLIM.A.BÁR)
tuballal(ĤE.ĤE) šuburrašu(DÚR-šú) te-te-né-qí
- 18 murussu('GIG¹-su) ul(NU) isaḥḥurma(NIGIN-ma) ul(NU)
itâršuma(GUR-šu-ma) iballuṭ(TI)
-
- 19 ana KIMIN 'i¹-gi-ra-a^{mušen} tušabšal(ŠEG₆-šal) tušakkalšu('GU₇-šú)
lipišu('Ĭ¹.(UDU)-šú) teleqqe(TI-qé) lipī(Ĭ.UDU) kalbi(UR.GI₇)
- 20 irrê('ÚKUŠ¹.LAGAB) ešemta('GĪR.PAD¹.DU) arikta(GÍD.'DA¹) 'šá¹
immeri('UDU.NÍTA¹) 'tur¹-ár tasâk(SÚD)
- 21 ina itquri(DÍLIM.A.'BÁR¹) tuballal(ĤE.ĤE) šuburrašu('DÚR-šú)
'te-te¹-né-'qí-ma¹ ina-eš
-
- 22 ana KIMIN marat(ZÉ) kuppī(GÚ.[B]í^{ku₆}) teleqqe(TI-'qé¹) itti('KÍ¹)
ḥīl(ILLU) baluḥḥi(^{šim}BULUḤ) zēr(NUMUN) šurdunī('SISÁ)
- 23 kīrbān eqli(ÚLAG-A.ŠĀ.GA) ešemti('GĪR¹.PAD¹.DU¹) šá
immeri(UDU.NÍTA) tur-ár tasâk(SÚD)
- 24 ina itquri(DÍLIM.A.BÁR) tuballal(ĤE.ĤE) 'ku²-ul⁷ šuburrišu(D[ÚR-š]ú)
te-te-né-'qí¹-ma iballuṭ(TI)
-
- 25 ana KIMIN eri(PA) ašāgi(KIŠI₁₆) qudra(ÚKÍ²-d²?[IŠKU]R²)
arqūssunu(SIG₇-su-nu) ištēniš(1-niš) tasâk(SÚD)
- 26 ina šikari(KAŠ) ina tangussi(^{urudu}ŠEN.TUR) kīma(GIM) rib-[k]i
tara-bak alla-an ^{giš}bi-'ni¹
- 27 teppuṣ(DÛ-uš) tulabbaš(MU₄.MU₄) ina ikuki(Ĭ.HAB) 'x¹ ana
šuburrišu(DÚR-šú) tašakkanma(GAR-ma) iballuṭ(TI)
-
- 28 ana KIMIN qaran(SI) ayyali(DÀRA.MAŠ) ša šumēli(150)
šupur(U[MBI]N) ayyali(DÀRA.MAŠ) ša šumēli(150)-ma
- 29 šuruš('SUḤUŠ¹) nuḥurti(ÚNU.LUḤ.ḤA) šarūr(ŠIR₄.[ZI])
irrê('ÚKUŠ².LAGAB) tur-ár tasâk(SÚD)

- 30 1/3 KISAL rikibtī(U₅) arkabī(ARGAB^{mušen}) 6 šammē(ʿÚ¹.[Ḫ]Á)
annûte(ŠEŠ) mál-ma-liš
- 31 teleqqe(TI) ištēniš(1-niš) tasâk(SÚD) ina dām(MÚD) ^{giš}eri²-[ni]
tuballal([Ḫ]E.[Ḫ]E) ana šuburrišu(DÚR-šú)
taštanakkanma(GAR.GAR-ma) iballuṭ(TI)
-
- 32 šumma(DIŠ) amīlu(NA) šuburra(DÚR) maruṣ(ʿGIG¹) lam-ša-ʿat¹
šuburrišu(ʿDÚR¹-šú) [im-r]uṭ lak/q-s/šat kib-ru dāma(MÚD) mali(SA₅)
33 ina mas-ʿda¹-ri lam-ʿša-tu¹-šú ʿtu¹-qa-tap 1 šiḡil(GÍN) a-la-pa-a
34 1 šiḡil(GÍN) tittī(^{giš}PĒŠ.MEŠ) ablūti(ḪÁD.DU) 1 šiḡil(GÍN) ṭabat(MUN)
eme-sal-lim ištēniš(1-niš) tasâk(SÚD)
35 ina lipī(Ì.UDU) tuballal(ḪE.ḪE) lam-ša-tu-šú tašammidma(LÁL-ma)
iballuṭ(TI)
-
- 36 šumma(DIŠ) ʿKÍ¹.MIN ina mas-da-ri tanassaḡaššina(ZI-ši-ʿna^{1?})
marat(ZÉ) šakkadiri(^dNIN.KILIM.TIR.RA)
37 šarūr(ŠIR₄.ZI) irrê(ʿÚKUŠ.LAGAB¹) ʿtur¹-ár tasâk([S]ÚD) ina
lipī(Ì.UDU) tuballal(ʿḪE¹.ḪE) ana šuburrišu(DÚR-šú)
taštanakkanma(GAR.GAR-ma) ina-eš
-
- 38 šumma(DIŠ) KÍ.MIN qaran(SI) ayyali(ʿDÀRA¹.MAŠ) šuruš(SUḪUŠ)
nuḡurti(^úNU.LUḪ.ḪI) ballukka(^{šim}BAL)
39 1 šiḡil(GÍN) TA.ĀM teleqqe(TI) ina lipī(Ì.UDU) tuballal(ḪE.ḪE) ana
šuburrišu(DÚR-šú) tašakkanma(GAR-ma) iballuṭ(TI)
-
- 40 šumma(DIŠ) ʿKÍ¹.MIN šuruš(SUḪUŠ) ^{giš}šu-še qadūt(IM.GÚ)
adatti(NÍG.NIG[IN].NA) itti(KI) isqūqi(ZÌ.KUM) u lipī(Ì.UDU)
[tuballal(ḪE.ḪE) MIN]
-
- 41 šumma(DIŠ) KÍ.MIN šuruš(ʿSUḪUŠ¹) pillī(^{giš}NAM.TAR) zikari(NÍTA)
irrê(ÚK[U]Š.LAGAB) šamma(Ú) pešâ(BABBAR) ištēniš(1-niš)
tasâk(S[Ú]D) ina lipī(Ì.[UDU] tuballal(ḪE.ḪE) MIN]
-
- 42 šumma(DIŠ) KÍ.MIN qadūt(ʿIM.GÚ¹) adatti(NÍG.NIGIN.NA)
tasâk(SÚD) ina lipī(Ì.UDU) tuballal(ḪE.ḪE) MIN dām(MÚD)
^{giš}ER[EN²]
43 šamma(Ú) pešâ(BABBAR) eli(UGU) lam-ʿša¹-te-šu []
-
- 44 šumma(DIŠ) amīlu(NA) li-k/qis/š durugiqqi(DÚR.GIG) maruṣ(GIG)
qerbūšu(ŠĀ.MEŠ-šú) ittanappaḡū(MÚ.MEŠ-ḡu) it-⟨te⟩-né-bi-ʿtu¹
amīlu(NA) šū(ʿBÍ¹) []

Colophon

45 *tuppu*(^rDUB¹) ^r29²¹-KÁM *šumma*(DIŠ) *amīlu*(NA) *šēta*(UD.DA)
kašid(SÁ.SÁ) x []

46 [] ša ki []
 Remainder lost.

Translation

Obverse

¹[...] you rub [...] ... [...] ²he bathes repeatedly [in *kas*]-[water], then ...
 [...] ³[...] after he has vomitted [...] ⁴he holds it there, *you let it soak in*,
kasû(-)[... ...]

⁵If ditto, ½ litre of *kukru*-aroma, ½ litre of *burāšu*-juniper, 1/3 [...], ⁶10 kisal
 of wax, 10 kisal of *ṭūru*-aroma, 10 kisal of [*baluḥḥu*]-re[sin], ⁷2 litres of date
 skin you crush, on a skin you spread it out, ... [...], ⁸you bind him (with
 it), *šakirû*-plant of Šamaš you pound, he drinks (it) in beer, th[en he will
 recover].

⁹If ditto, you wash him with *šūnu*-water, have him get out, then, if ... [...] ¹⁰you
 wrap your finger with horse hair, sprinkle oil, [white plan]t ¹¹you pound (and)
 scatter, then you scrape until blood comes out. As soon as blood appears, ¹²you
 dab (it) off, then you apply continuously a suppository *with kasû*. Afterwards,
¹³you pound *ḥallūru*-legumes, knead (them) with *kasû*-water, ¹⁴a suppository
 you produce (with this), into his anus you insert it continuously, ¹⁵six
 days he drin[ks] (it) with water and beer, [then he will recover].

¹⁶If ditto, “flying cobweb”-plant, “cobweb”-plant, ...-plant, ¹⁷*nīnû*-plant, *saḥlû*-
 cress, *kukru*-aroma, *burāšu*-juniper, with coals from *ašāgu*-thornwood, ¹⁸..., on
 a barber’s stool you let him sit, you fumigate him, [then he will recover].

¹⁹The poultices *you rub clean (and) dry*, month *Šabaṭu*, twelve days/twelfth day
 you bandage him, then he will recover.

²⁰While you use these poultices, ²¹he shall not eat ²⁰*kasû*, fish, turnips, ²¹beef,
 ram’s meat (or) barley groats, he bathes repeatedly in *kasû*-water.

²²If a man is sick on the anus, the *lamṣatu* of his anus itches, is ..., and is f[ull
 of] blood, ²³[yo]u r[ub] with a sharp-cut flint blade over his *lamṣatus*, ²⁴you

cut out each separately. Algae from the keel of a ship (and) suet from a [ram's ki]dn[ey] ²⁵you pound together, to his anus you apply it continuously, then he will recover.

²⁶If ditto, you use the *masdaru*-instrument, you tear it (= the *lamṣatu*) out, bile from an agama (and) ²⁷tendril of a wild melon you dry (and) pound, with suet from a ram's kidney you apply it continuously to his anus, then he will recover.

²⁸If ditto, "stag's horn", root of *nuḥurtu*-plant, *ballukku*-aroma you pound together, ²⁹with oil and dough you mix it in a wooden bowl, you apply it continuously to his anus, then he will recover.

³⁰If ditto, you pound *ṣunû*-tree, with *isqūqu*-flour (and) "nest's dirt" you mix it in date-water, ditto.

³¹If ditto, marrow of a wild melon (and) "cobweb"-plant you pound together, you throw it in vinegar, with suet from a ram's kidney you mix it, ³²... a suppository of tamarisk wood you produce, you coat it (with the ingredients), you apply it continuously to his anus, then he will recover.

³³If ditto, you crush "nest's dirt", with suet from a ram's kidney you mix it, a suppository of ³⁴tamarisk wood you produce, you coat it (with the ingredients), you apply it continuously to his anus, then he will recover.

³⁵If ditto, you boil stag's suet over fire, *saḥlû*-cress you pound, mix it together, ditto.

³⁶If ditto, white plant, *kukru*-aroma, *burāšu*-juniper, *ṣumlalû*-aroma, *ballukku*-aroma, *nīnû*-plant, dried *ziqqatû*-fish, ³⁷"horned" pestled alkali, sesame, *precious Dilmun* dates. These 10 (text: 9) plants ³⁸you pound together, with suet from a ram's kidney you mix it, a suppository of tamarisk wood you produce, you coat it (with the ingredients), you apply it continuously to his anus, then he will recover.

³⁹If ditto, *isqūqu*-flour you pour into a pot with beer, syrup and pressed oil you add to it, marrow of a wild melon ⁴⁰you let ... ³⁹into it. ⁴⁰... . He shall not loosen the linen, not turn back, not check, the physician shall not *oppose*.

⁴¹If ditto, *duprānu*-scented oil, powdered aromatics, 2 kisal suet from a ram's kidney, ½ sheqel *baluḥḥu*-resin, ½ litre ⁴²roasted ox dung, 1/3 litre pestled

“horned alkali”, ½ kisal sulphur. These 7 plants you pound together, you mix, ditto.

⁴³If ditto, 1/3 litre vinegar, 4 kisal salt, 2 sheqel *saḥlû*-cress you pound, you divide into doses, into his anus you fill it, your finger ⁴⁴you wrap with combed wool, grated *saḥlû*-cress you sprinkle, once, twice, thrice you wipe his anus, then he will recover.

⁴⁵If ditto, roasted ... (and) dates you mix in suet, you apply it to his anus, then he will recover.

⁴⁶If ditto, you use the *masdaru*-instrument (and) the wound, which is continuously broken out, is clean, ⁴⁷you dry (and) pound ⁴⁶“stag’s horn” (and) ⁴⁷tendrill of wild melon, with suet you mix it, you apply it continuously to his anus, then he will recover.

⁴⁸If ditto, left “stag’s horn” and also left stag’s claw, *nuḥurtu*-root, tendrill of wild melon ⁴⁹you dry (and) pound, with suet you mix it, you apply it to his anus, then he will recover.

⁵⁰[If ditto,] ... , 2 kisal *nuḥurtu*, ⁵¹[... ... , a suppository] of tamarisk wood you produce, [ditto].

Reverse

¹If ditto, 1 kis[al of ...], 2 kisal suet from a ram’s kidney, 4 kisal “horned” alkali, ½ kisal *baluḥḥu*-resin, [...] ²“bat’s dirt”, 1 l[itre] roasted ox [du]ng, ½ kisal *saḥlû*-cress you pound together, a suppository of tamarisk wood you produce, ditto.

³If a man suffers from anus disease, *lamṣatu*-plant, “fox-grape”-plant, sulphur, *kalû*-paste, ... , ⁴alkali, *burāšu*-juniper. These seven plants you pound together, with suet from a ram’s kidney you mix (it), you boil it over fire, a suppository of tamarisk wood yo[u produce, ditto].

⁵If ditto, shoot of wild melon (and) *kasû* you mix with beef suet, coals from *ašāgu*-thorn embers you place in a pot, the[se] plants ⁶you put ⁵[into it], ⁶you have this man s[*i*]t upon it, you fumigate him. Oil scented with creeping myrtle yo[u mix] with stag’s suet, ... [...].

⁷If ditto, ... , *abukkātu*-resin, sulphur, *nīnû*-plant, *asu*-aroma, [...]. ⁸These four

plants you pound together, with beef suet you m[ix it] ... a suppository of tamarisk wood yo[u produce, ditto].

⁹If ditto, *kukru*-aroma, *burāšu*-juniper, *ataʾišu*-plant, sulphur, *nīnû*-plant, *tūru*-aroma, *baluḥḥu*-resin, ¹⁰*kurkanû*-plant. These 8 plants you pound together, coals from *ašāgu*-thorn embers you place in a pot, ¹¹these plants you put onto it, you have this man sit upon it, you fumigate him. Until his ... ¹²soften and become sweaty he walks (around). From wind, rain, and heat of the sun you shield him, then he will get well again.

¹³If ditto, on the 27th day ... , you take 1 kisal of its suet, a long ¹⁴sheep ¹³bone ¹⁴you dry (and) pound, in a bowl you mix it, the *whole* of his anus you rub continually, then *this* illness will not come back to this man.

¹⁵In order that his disease does not come back (and) his anus will not be seized, you have stag's meat cooked, you let him eat it, ¹⁶you take 1 kisal of its suet, *baluḥḥu*-resin, seeds of *šurdunû*-plant, "field-cloth"-plant (and) a long ¹⁷sheep ¹⁶bone ¹⁷you dry (and) pound, in a bowl you mix it, his anus you rub continually, ¹⁸his disease will not return, so that it will not turn back on him, then he will get well again.

¹⁹In order that ditto, you have a heron cooked, you let him eat it, you take its suet, dog's suet, ²⁰wild melon, a long sheep bone you dry (and) pound, ²¹in a bowl you mix it, his anus you rub continually, then he will recover.

²²In order that ditto, you take eel's gall, with *baluḥḥu*-resin, seeds of *šurdunû*-plant, ²³"field-cloth"-plant (and) a long sheep bone you dry (and) pound (it), ²⁴in a bowl you mix it, the *whole* of his anus you rub continually, then he will get well again.

²⁵In order that ditto, *ašāgu*-leaves (and) *qudru*-plant, in their freshness you pound (them) together, ²⁶with beer you stir it in a copper kettle into a mash, a suppository of tamarisk wood ²⁷you produce, you coat it (with the mash), with ill-smelling oil ... you apply it to his anus, then he will get well again.

²⁸In order that ditto, left "stag's horn", stag's claw—also from the left, ²⁹root of the *nuḥurtu*-plant, tendril of the wild melon, *you dry and pound*, ³⁰1/3 kisal "bat's dirt". These 6 plants ³¹you take ³⁰in equal quantities, ³¹pound them together, with exudation of *ced[ar]* you mix it, you apply it continuously to his anus, then he will get well again.

³²If a man is sick on the anus, the *lamṣatu* of his anus [itch]es (and) is ... , the edge is full of blood, ³³you cut out his *lamṣatus* with a *masdaru*-instrument, 1 sheqel of algae, ³⁴1 sheqel dried figs, 1 sheqel *emesallu*-salt you pound together, ³⁵with suet you mix it, his *lamṣatus* you bandage (with it), then he will get well again.

³⁶If ditto, you tear them (= the *lamṣatus*) out with a *masdaru*-instrument, bile from a skink, ³⁷tendrils of a wild melon you dry (and) pound, with suet you mix it, you apply it continuously to his anus, then he will recover.

³⁸If ditto, “stag’s horn”, *nuḥurtu*-root, *ballukku*-aroma, ³⁹one sheqel each you take, with suet you mix it, you apply it to his anus, then he will get well again.

⁴⁰If ditto, root of sweet wood (and) “nest’s dirt” [you mix] with *isqūqu*-flour and suet, [ditto].

⁴¹If ditto, root of male mandragora, wild melon, (and) white plant you pound together, [you mix it with] ta[llow, ditto].

⁴²If ditto, “nest’s dirt” you pound, with suet you mix it, ditto. Exudation of *ced*[ar ...] ⁴³white plant on his *lamṣatus* [... ...].

⁴⁴If a man suffers from a ... of rectal disease, his bowels are swollen (and) distended: This man [... ...].

Colophon

⁴⁵^{29th} tablet of “If a man is caught by the heat of the sun” ... [... ...]

⁴⁶[... ...] ... [... ...]

The tablet breaks off.

Commentary

Obv. 1': Henry Stadhouders (private communication) suggests to restore the traces in this line as EN/a-di MÚ]D U[D.DU(=È)-ni, following obv. 11'.

Obv. 2': For the restoration see obv. 21'.

Obv. 3'–4': The interpretation and translation of these fragmentarily preserved lines assume a formula like the one attested in *AMT* 5/3: 3 or *AMT* 98/3: 5: *adi iparrû ukāl*, “He holds (the medication there) until he vomits.” The phrase *īštu*(TA) *ip-ta-ru-ú*, “after he has vomited”, also occurs in *BAM* 393: 49 and *AO* 11447: rev. 2', for which see Geller 2007, 11. For *kīma ip-ta-ru-ú*, “as soon

as it (the boiling medicine) overflows”, cf. BM 42272: obv. 35 (Bácskay 2015, 6 and 12–15).

Here, the reading *tu-(uš)-tal-bi-ik* has been proposed as the sign sequence *tu ri bi ik* does not make any sense. However, this solution is not without problems, as a perfect Š or preterite Št of *labāku* after the present tense *ukāl* is odd. A reading *ri-bi-ik kasî*, “a *kasû*-mash”, seems highly unlikely as this would on the one hand leave the sign TU unexplained, and on the other hand the status constructus of *ribku* is always *ribki*.

The scribe writes the sign *ru(šUB)* in lines 3', 11', 31', rev. 12, and 32 with four vertical wedges, whereas in obv. 39' and rev. 11 there are only the usual three vertical wedges. This alternating writing with three or four vertical wedges in signs like RU or ŠÀ is quite typical for certain tablets written in the city of Assur in the first millennium B.C.

Obv. 6': For the weight unit KISAL see Borger 2004, 330–331, No. 435 and Frahm 2009, 56 on l. 7. Based on an unpublished weight stone with the label “5 KISAL” weighing 48 grams, Frahm concludes that one KISAL equals 9.6 grams and is, therefore, only insignificantly heavier than one sheqel (8 1/3 grams). One wonders what brought the scribes to use side by side two weight systems that differed only marginally.

The restoration of *baluḥḥu*(^{šim}BULUḪ) seems quite certain, as it appears repeatedly in the text (obv. 41', rev. 1 [partly restored], 9, 16, 22), while the only other mentioned resin (*ḥil abbukkati*) is attested only once (rev. 7). A reading *ṭābātu*(A.GE[ŠTIN.NA), “vinegar”, instead of *ḥil*(IL[LU) *baluḥḥi*(^{šim}BULUḪ), although possible according to the sign traces, seems unlikely as vinegar would not be measured in KISAL but in litres, see obv. 43'.

Obv. 7': Only two horizontal wedges remain of the last sign at the end of the line before the break. This excludes the possible restoration *ur-ra u mūša*(GE₆) as well as the assumption of a phonetic complement to the logogram SUR, as this would have to be *-ri*.

Obv. 10': The restoration of *šammu*(^rÚ¹) [*pešû*(BABBAR)], which fits in the very small gap at the end of this line, is inspired by K 8182+ (*BAM* 7 37): i 13': *šammu*(Ú) *pešû*(BABBAR) *tasâk*(SÚD) in a similar context.

Obv. 12': The phrase *al-la-na kasî*(GAZISAR) *taštanakkan*(GAR.GAR-an) is understood here as a double accusative construction. For the restoration to *arkā-nu*(EGIR-[nu]) see *inter alia* K 2386+ (Johnson 2014, 19): iv 5', *AMT* 50/4: 3 and Geller 2010, 48: rev. iii 21'.

The last sign in *“pi-zer¹* looks as if the scribe first wrote a wrong sign, realized his mistake, and then wrote, erroneously again, MU, perhaps copying the preceding ingredient (*“pi-zer mu-tap-ri-šu*). It is fairly probable that the plant meant here is indeed *“pizzer*, “cobweb-plant”.

Obv. 17': Instead of *ina pēnti*(DÈ) *a-šá-[gi]* one could read *ina pēnti*(DÈ) *piqqanni*(A.GAR.[GAR]) at the end of the line. Though the *ašāgu*-plant is always written logographically in this text (rev. 5, 10, 25), this is *per se* no argument against a syllabic writing, as different writings on the obverse and reverse occur elsewhere in this text; see the introduction.

Obv. 18': *šap²-re-e-tu₄* (from *ša/ep_{ru}*, “pinched”?) at the beginning of the line is unclear. The nominative plural form is difficult to reconcile with the preceding genitive as well as the following phrase *ina litti gallābi tušēšibšu tuqattar-šuma ina'eš*. This problematic word might also have found the notice of the scribe or someone checking the tablet, as the sign AŠ on the left margin might indicate; see the introductory remarks to the edition.

Obv. 19': This line has proven to be an enigma to us. Only the phrase *tašam-missuma*(LAL-su-ma) *ina-eš* at the end is entirely clear. In the beginning, the signs LAL.MEŠ seem to be reasonably distinct. We take the next two signs to stand for the verbal form *tukapp_{ar}*(ŠU.GUR), “you rub clean”, but an alternative reading *teqebbir*(ŠU.GUR), “you bury” seems equally possible, if less likely. The following reading HÁD.DA seems secure; however, the DA could also be a ŠA as in *ša arḫi*(IT₁) further in the line. The preceeding sign UD(HÁD) could then be a phonetic complement *-par* for *tukapp_{ar}* or *-bír* for *teqebbir*. This sign form of ŠA is unusual, but not untypical for the city of Assur: For a reading ŠA it lacks the fourth horizontal wedge. However, this also appears in other Assur-texts, for example in BM 108872+ (another Assur tablet in the British Museum): obv. 17' and rev. 3, taken erroneously by the present author in 2008, 166–167 as the sign DA and transliterated *ša'* (Text: da). *na-še-er* should be a stative 3rd sing. G-stem from *našāru* A, “to remove”, or B, “to pour out”, but it is unclear what subject it refers to.

It is possible that the whole line is somewhat corrupt, as this and the following entry show a striking resemblance to two entries of another text on rectal diseases, K 8182+ (*BAM* 7 37): ii 22'–24':

22' UD-ma LAL.MEŠ an-na-a-ti LAL-uš ina it_izíz[?] it_i[?] ...]

23' a-di LÁL.MEŠ an-na-a-ti sum ḫa x [...]

24' ina A GAZI^{r sar} x x x[?] [...].

Obv. 21': It cannot be ruled out that *-ma ina-eš*, “then he will recover”, has to be restored at the end of the line, even if this means that the scribe would have had to write over the edge of the tablet.

Obv. 22': For this indication see also rev. 32. We read the signs šid/mes kur here *lak/q-s/šat* and take it as a feminine stative 3rd sing. of a hitherto

unattested verb *lak/qās/šu*, referring to the feminine *lamšatu*. The main argument for this assumption is the writing *li-k/qis/š* DÚR.GIG in rev. 44, which should be a status constructus of a noun *lik/qs/šu* derived from this verb. Another stative form of the verb *lak/qās/šu*, this time in the 3rd masc. sing. stative, may be attested in SA.GIG 33/36–37, 44–47, 51–53, for which see von Weiher 1993, 88 on l. 36 and Heeßel 2000, 369 on l. 36. However, the meaning of the expression *ina la-ku-ti-šú la-k/qis/š-ma* attested there remains equally unclear.

Obv. 23': For this line compare the same instruction in *BAM* 7 38: obv. 12'.

Obv. 24': An ingredient *alapû ša išdi eleppi*, “algae from the keel of a boat”, is to our knowledge not yet attested. The “keel of a boat” appears in Ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 4: 366 (*MSL* 5, 181), cited by *CAD* I–J 235b: ^gisÚR-MÁ = *iš-di e-lep-pi*.

Obv. 26'–27': Compare the similar prescriptions in obv. 46'–47' and rev. 36–37.

Obv. 26': The translation of *masdara teppuš* as “you use the *masdaru*-instrument” here and in obv. 46' assumes that *masdaru* refers to an instrument, for which see Stol 2007, 238. This interpretation is more in line with the following “tearing out” of the *lamšatu* than a derivation from *masdaru*, “permanence, duration.” The latter appears in medical therapeutic texts, but in a different phrase reinforcing the Gtn-stem, see *AMT* 76/1: 14: *ina šikari*(KAŠ.SAG) *ma-al-da-ra ištanattima*(NAG.NAG-ma), “In beer he drinks it permanently.” Cf. also *AMT* 88/2: 12. We may assume that *masdara epēšu* is an idiom denoting the use of the *masdaru*-instrument.

The feminine singular object of *tanassaḥašši*, “you tear it out”, is most probably, if not certainly the *lamšatu* mentioned in the indication of the previous prescription. Compare the logographic writing *zi-ši* in rev. 36.

A passage from a plant list corroborates that *lamšatu*-sores are removed, which is expressed by the verb *nasāḥu*, “to remove, to tear out, etc.”:

- 1' [: ú]šá-mi lam-ša-te
2' [: ú]šá-mi MIN nasāḥi(zi)

[... ...] plant (for) *lamšatu*-sore,
[... ...] plant to tear out ditto (= *lamšatu*-sore)

81-2-4, 267 [*BAM* 422]: ii 1'–2'

Obv. 27': The logographic writing of the word *šarūru*, “tendril”, with the signs *uzu zi* in this text is remarkable as the usual logograms for *šarūru* are ŠE.ER.ZI or ŠIR.ZI. In light of other attested logographic variants (ŠAR.ZI, ŠIR.GU₄), a reading ŠIR₄.ZI for *uzu zi* can be proposed here.

The plant *irrû* is certainly a species belonging to the gourd family (cucurbitaceae). It is usually identified as the colocynth, but Stol (1985, 85) identified it as the “wild melon” (*cucumis callosus*), a plant that still finds use in Indian medicine today. The “tendrils of a wild melon” is used in dried and pounded form elsewhere in therapeutic texts; see *BAM* 575: ii 15.

Obv. 30'–38': A direct duplicate to these lines is Sm 1563+ (*BAM* 7 24a): 1'–10'.

Obv. 32': The signs at the beginning of the line remain unclear, see also rev. 8. The second sign could also be the sign PAP. An association with the writing 𒄩-tú for *maššitu*, “ingredient”, only attested in an Assur text written by Kišir-Aššur (*BAM* [vol. 3], p. 22) is quite unlikely. For *allān bīni teppuš tulabbaš ana šuburrišu taštanakkanma* see the introduction.

Obv. 35': For the phrase *ina išāti*(1Z1) *tušabšal*(ŠEG₆) see also rev. 4 and the writing with the phonetic complement ŠEG₆-šal in the text *BAM* 95 (= *BAM* 7 21): 33, treating rectal diseases.

Obv. 36'–38': The scribe made several mistakes in this prescription: The first major error are the four signs *munus tuk nun na*, which make no sense. In the light of the next mistake—the scribe counts nine ingredients while there are certainly ten—MUNUS.TUK NUN.NA should be seen as a phrase qualifying the aforementioned dates. MUNUS.TUK^{ki} is an alternative writing for N1.TUK^{ki}, “Dil-mun”, and it is possible that this was originally meant here. The sign AŠ on the left margin probably indicates that there is a problem in this line and it certainly refers to the four signs *munus tuk nun na*; see also the introductory remarks to the edition.

Why the scribe then used the demonstrative pronoun of the feminine plural *annâte* (*an-na-te*) and not the expected masculine form *annûte* after *šammē*, “plants”, will probably remain his secret. Did he perhaps refer to the feminine number *tišît*(9)? In obv. 42' he writes grammatically correct *šammē*(Ú.ḪÁ) *an-nu-te* and in obv. 20' he uses *an-na-te* correctly to qualify the feminine plural *našmadâte*(LÁL.MEŠ), “bandages”; in all other attestations he writes the phrase *šammē annûte* logographically, see rev. 8, 10 and 30.

In line 38' appears a superfluous vertical wedge in the sign GIŠ. And finally, in the light of the consistent writing *allān bīni* (obv. 34', 51'; rev. 2, 4, 8) the ungrammatical *allān*(AL.LA.NA) ^{giš}*bi-nu* in this line should also be seen as a scribal mistake.

Obv. 40': The first three (and possibly more) signs of this line should be a Št(n)-form of a verb. Even so, *tuš-te-bi* is difficult to explain. Could it stand for *tuštebbe*, a yet unattested Št₁ present tense of *ebû*, “to be thick”, with the meaning “you let (it) become thick (= you condense, concentrate it)”? This remains speculative without further evidence, as *ebû* is hitherto only attested in the

G-stem. The following three signs defy explanation. The rest of the line gives unusual medical instructions in the prohibitive form.

Obv. 41'–42': The prescription in rev. 1–2 exhibits very similar ingredients. The logographic writing BIL (sign NE) could also be read *bašla*(ŠEG₆), “boiled, cooked”, but this appears less likely if we take *kabūt alpi*, “ox dung”, literally.

As there is no number written before the sign(s) Ì.GIŠ/KISAL, the reading Ì.GIŠ for *šamnu*, “oil”, is preferable over the weight measurement KISAL. *Sikti*(GAZ) *riqqī*(ŠIM.ḪÁ) should be seen as an ingredient according to the calculated number in the following line.

Obv. 43': For *ana libbi*(ŠÀ) *tahaššal*(GAZ) see Parys 2014, 50.

Obv. 44': Strahil Panayotov (private communication) informs me that the meaning “grated” fits the different occurrences of the adjective *ki-ši-te*, which qualifies here the *saḫlû*-cress. In other medical prescriptions it appears in the plural form *ki-ša-a-ti*; see Heeßel and al-Rawi 2003, 226: ii 22–23, and cf. *BAM* 22: rev. 14'–15', *BAM* 515: i 65'. The same adjective also appears in fragmentary form in *abnu šikinšu*, *STT* 108: 83: *abnu* [šikin]šu *kīma saḫ-le-e ki-[-ši-t]i*, ... “The stone, whose design is like ... *saḫlû* ...”; see Schuster-Brandis 2008, 30 and 37.

Obv. 45': The signs *igi gig šu igi* remain problematic. Is this a hitherto unattested writing for the plant *imḫur-līm*, “it opposed a thousand (diseases)”, which actually mentions the noun *muṣū*, “diseases” (IGI–GIG–šu–līm)? In that case, *muṣū*(GIG–šu) would be ungrammatical, which, however, is not uncommon with numbers, and the determinative Ú, which usually appears in the writing ^uIGI–līm, is missing. However, the sign AŠ on the left margin might point to the scribe being aware of these problematic signs, see the introductory remarks to the edition.

Obv. 48'–49': Compare the similar prescription in rev. 28–31 which, however, is extended by further instructions.

Rev. 1–2: The prescription in obv. 41'–42' has very similar ingredients. Despite all other ingredients measured in KISAL in this prescription, we rather restore the measure of *kabūt*(ŠURUN) *alpi*(GU₄) to *qa*, “litre” instead of the equally possible restoration K[ISAL], as *kabūt*(ŠURUN) *alpi*(GU₄) is measured in litres in obv. 41'.

Rev. 3: For the indication compare *BAM* 96: ii 9, edited in Geller 2005, 162. Geller (2005, 274) reads DÚR.GIG.GA.KÁM as *muṣū šuburri* and Stadhouders (2011, 37) reads DÚR.GIG as *muṣū-šuburri*. Yet, as already noted by Köcher (1957–1958, 86), the lexical text VAT 14274: left col. l. 6 offers the reading DÚR.GIG = *du-ru-gi-iq-qu*, which considering such attestations as *šumma*(DIŠ) *amīlu*(NA) *li-k/qis/š durugiqqī*(DÚR.GIG) *maruṣ*(GIG) fits much better.

The *lamšatu*-plant got its name probably from its use to heal *lamšatu*-sores; for the plant see Thompson 1949, 70.

Rev. 5: Cf. Gaspa 2014, 123–125 on *kirru*, which Gaspa interprets as a pithos.

The sign *ina* before the phrase *pēnti ašāgi ina kirri tašakkan* is superfluous and certainly inspired by the common phrase *ina pēnti ašāgi tuqattaršu*, “With coals from *ašāgu*-thorn you fumigate him.” See also rev. 10.

Rev. 6: At the end of the line a reading *ištēniš*(TÉŠ[?].BI) *tuballal*(Ḫ[E.HE] MIN), “yo[u mix] together, [ditto]”, could be feasible. However, the adverb *ištēniš* appears in this text exclusively in connection with the verb *sāku*, “to pound”. Besides, *ištēniš* is always written with the logogram TĒŠ.BI on the obverse (ll. 25’, 28’, 31’, 38’, 42’), but on the reverse (ll. 2, 4, 8, 25, 31, 34, 41) consistently with the pseudo-logographic writing 1-*niš*. Both observations make a reading *ištēniš*(TĒŠ[?].BI) in this line unlikely.

Rev. 8: For the two signs before *alla-an* ^g*bi-ni*, “suppository of tamarisk wood”, see above, obv. 32’.

Rev. 9: The restoration of ^{sim}ḪAB remains doubtful. It is based on the fact that there is only space for a short sign, and on the mention of this aroma in obv. 6’ directly before the *baluḥḥu*-resin, which also follows here.

Rev. 10: For the emendation see above, rev. 5. After the sign KÍR and before *GAR-an* there seem to be additional wedges.

Rev. 11: *BAM* 174: obv. 14’ parallels the therapeutic instruction in this line: *adi*(EN) *pit-ru-šú i-lab-bi-ku u zu’ta*(IR) *inaddū*(ŠUB-*u*) *illak*(DU), cited also in *AHw* 870b and *CAD* L 7b–8a s.v. *labāku*. *Pitru* is a yet unidentified part of the body; the interpretation as “stomach lining” by *CDA* 276b seems improbable in this case.

Rev. 12: For the last instruction compare *BAM* 549: i 6’: ... *ina* IM IM.A.BI *u* UD.DA *tu-s*[*er-šú-ma* TI]. *AHw* 1038 b derives the similar writing in *BAM* 574 (= *BKBM* 4): i 30 from a D-stem of *sēru*, which was rejected in *CAD* S 229b. In light of this new attestation, a derivation from *esēru* D, “to enclose, imprison”, seems to be more probable. The form remains problematic, though, as one expects the present tense *tussaršu* here. For the logogram IM.A.BI for *zunnu*, “rain”, see already Thompson 1934, 7, fn. 3.

Rev. 13: This line is very much rubbed and the readings are uncertain. Could the middle part of the line read *ina* U₄ 27-KÁM MUŠ BABBAR *iš-tu*’(text: li) ^r*e*’-[*liš*] *ana šap-liš tu-šal-laq*’, “On the 27th day you slit open a white serpent from top to bottom”? For the similar phrase *iš-tu e-liš ana šap-liš tu-maš-šad*, “you rub from top to bottom”, see *BAM* 494: ii 28.

Rev. 14: The form *ku-ul* (if read correctly!), which appears also in rev. 24, might be a by-form of *kal(u)*, “all, whole”, which in Old Assyrian, due to the Assyrian vocal harmony, indeed appears as *kulu*. To find this in a first millennium B.C. Assur text, however, is highly unusual. As the second sign is perfectly preserved neither here nor in rev. 24, one may read it differently; a reading

ku-šur, possibly interpreted as a nominalized verbal adjective of *kuššuru*, might be considered, but is deemed implausible here.

Rev. 16: The ingredients *ḫīl*(ILLU) *baluḫḫi*(^{šim}BULUḪ) *zēr*(NUMUN) *šurdu-nī*(^uSI.SÁ) *kirbān eqli*(^uLAG-A.ŠĀ) *ešemta*(GĪR.PAD.DU) *arikta*(GÍD.DA) *šá imme-ri*(UDU.NÍTA) appear in the same sequence in the next prescription but one, ll. 22–23, only the adjective *arikta*(GÍD.DA) is missing there.

Rev. 17: *ina itquri*(DÍLIM.A.BÁR) *tuballal*(ḪE.ḪE) may be interpreted both as “you mix it into a salve” and “in a lead bowl you mix it”, as *itquru* signifies the bowl, in which the healer prepares certain salves as well as the salve prepared therein. Here the first option has been chosen. Compare also *ina itquri*(^{giš}DÍLIM) *tuballal* in obv. 29’.

Rev. 22: For the ingredient *marat*(ZÉ) *kuppî*(GÚ.BÍ^{ku}₆), “fish gall”, see von Soden 1966, 81–82.

Rev. 23: For the seldom attested writing ^uLAG-A.ŠĀ.GA for the *kirbān eqli*-plant see CAD K 404a.

Rev. 27: It is difficult to restore the unclear sign after *ina* ì.ḪAB. There is only space for one sign or, at the most, two very small signs. A restoration *ina* ì *ḫab-[ra-n]*i, for which see AMT 30/2: 4, is ruled out for lack of space.

Rev. 28–30: *tur-ár tasâk*(SÚD) seems misplaced here in the list of ingredients. The fact that there are only five ingredients listed but six counted by the scribe reinforces the impression of a scribal mistake: Instead of these two erroneous verbs an ingredient should have been written here.

Rev. 30: The notation of a measurement (1/3 KISAL) at the beginning of this line stands in marked contrast to the comment at the end of the line that “You take (these 6 plants) in equal quantities.”

Rev. 31: The reading of the name of the tree, whose resin (“blood”) is used here, is doubtful. The remains may suggest a reading ^{giš}eri-[*nī*]. Or is a reading *dām*(MÚD) *amīlāni*(^{giš}LÚ*-a-[*nī*]) feasible?

Rev. 32–44: A direct duplicate to these lines is Sm 36+ (*BAM* 7 22): 1’–11’.

Rev. 32–33: For the indication compare obv. 22’.

Rev. 35: As *lam-ša-tu-šú* is certainly a plural form one expects the Gen./Akk. *lam-ša-te-šú tašammidma*(LÁL-ma), and it seems, therefore, possible to suppose a scribal mistake here. However, supposing *lam-ša-tu-šú* is a correct nominative plural, the only possible conclusion would be to assume a hitherto unattested passive phrase *lamšātūšu iššammidāma*, “his *lamšatus* are bandaged (with it)”, for the logographic writing LÁL-ma.

Rev. 36: The sign after ZI-ši is almost completely erased, the remains could be read either NA or MA.

Rev. 38: Note the variant writing ^uNU.LUḪ.ḪI instead of the expected ^uNU.LUḪ.ḪA for the *nuḫurtu*-plant.

Rev. 44: Compare the discussion of this line in the introduction. For the sequence of the symptoms *qerbūšu ittanappaḥū ittenebbiṭū* see also the instances in the 2nd Tablet of the series *Šumma amīlu suālam maruṣ* in *BAM* 575: ii 17, 20 and 22, edited by Küchler 1904, 22–23.

Rev. 45: While the number 9 is clearly preserved, it is not entirely clear whether we have to read 29, 39, or even 49. Remains of two “Winkelhaken” are clearly discernible, but there could have been more in the break.

Johnson 2014, 23–26 provides a detailed discussion of the term UD.DA SÁ.SÁ.

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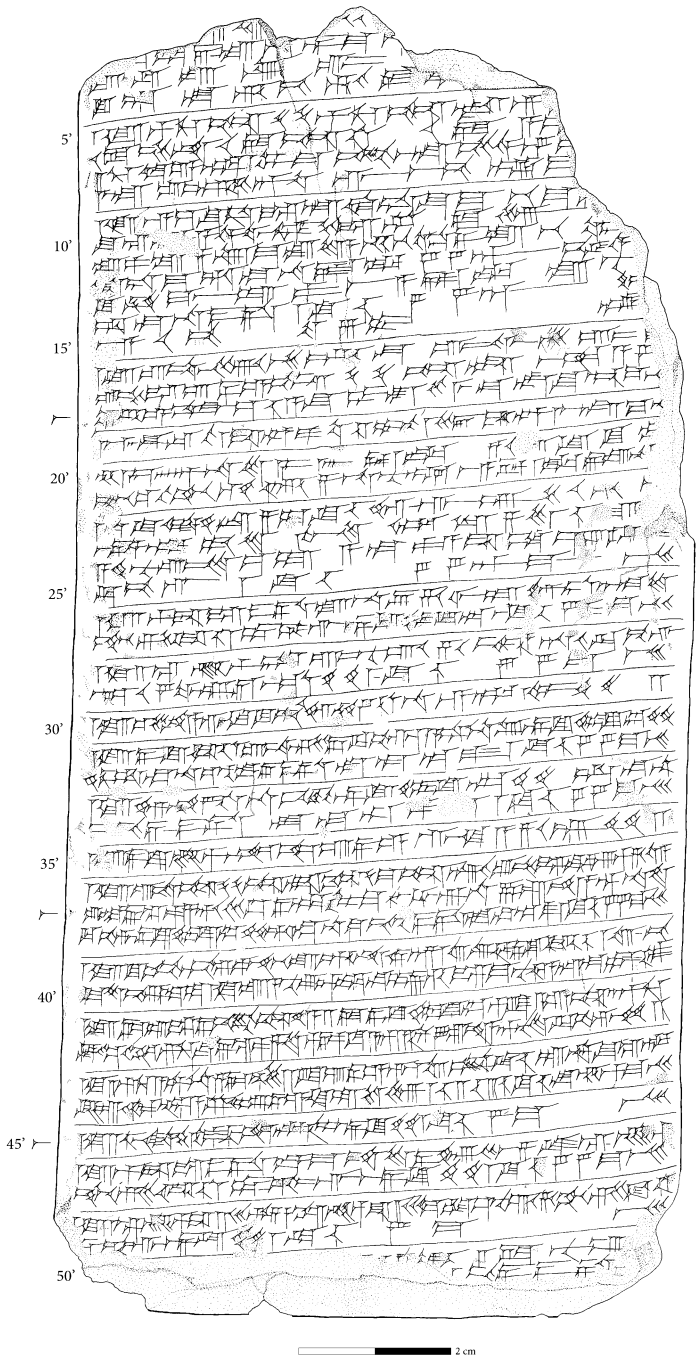


FIGURE 16.1 *BM 103386, obverse*
COPY N.P. HEESSEL

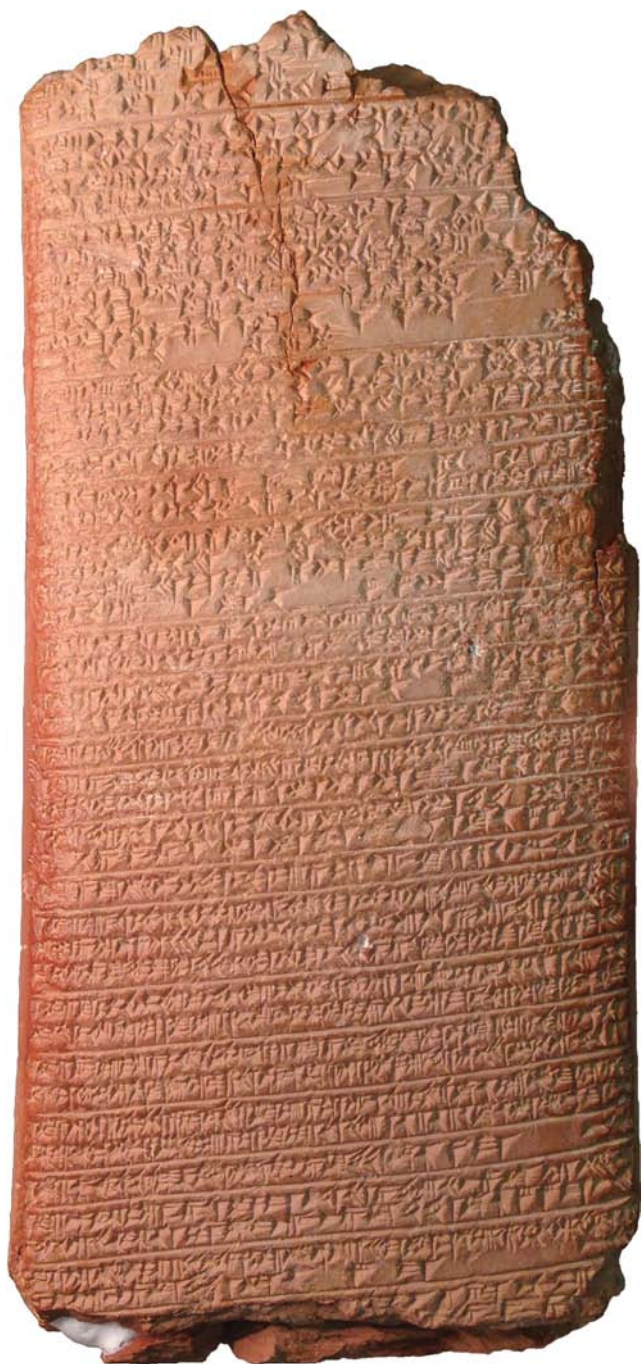


FIGURE 16.2 *BM 103386, obverse*

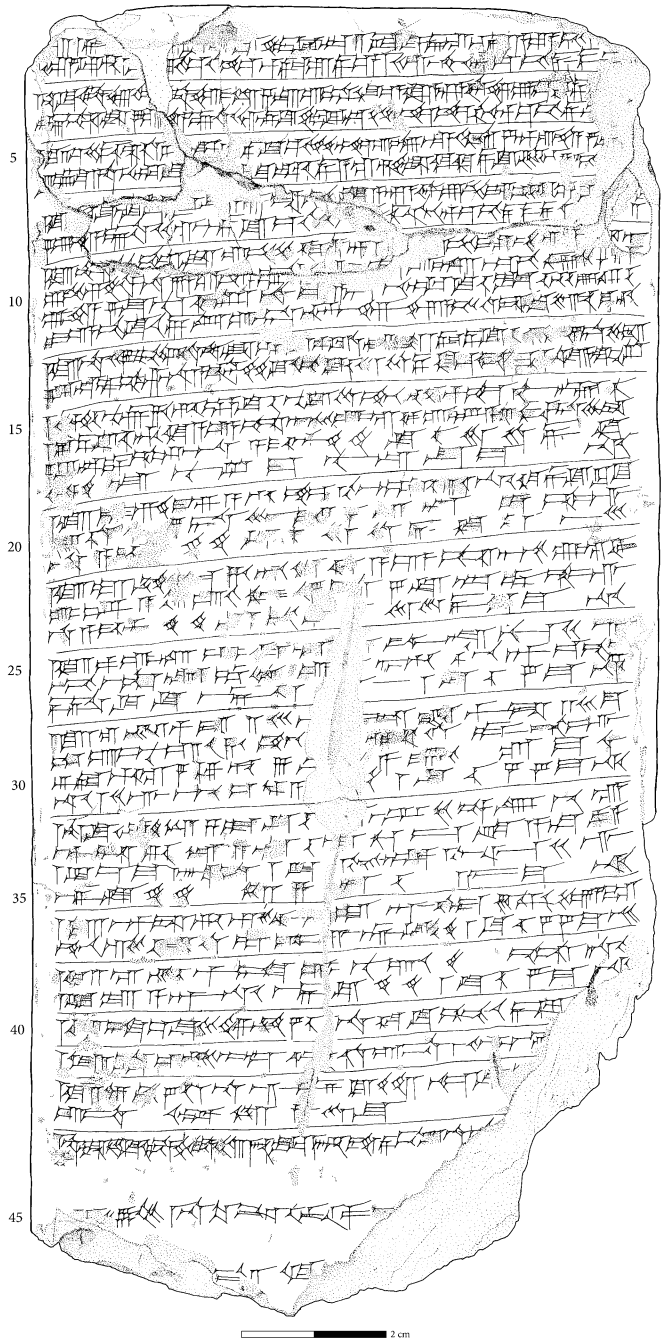


FIGURE 16.3 BM 103386, reverse
COPY N.P. HEESSEL

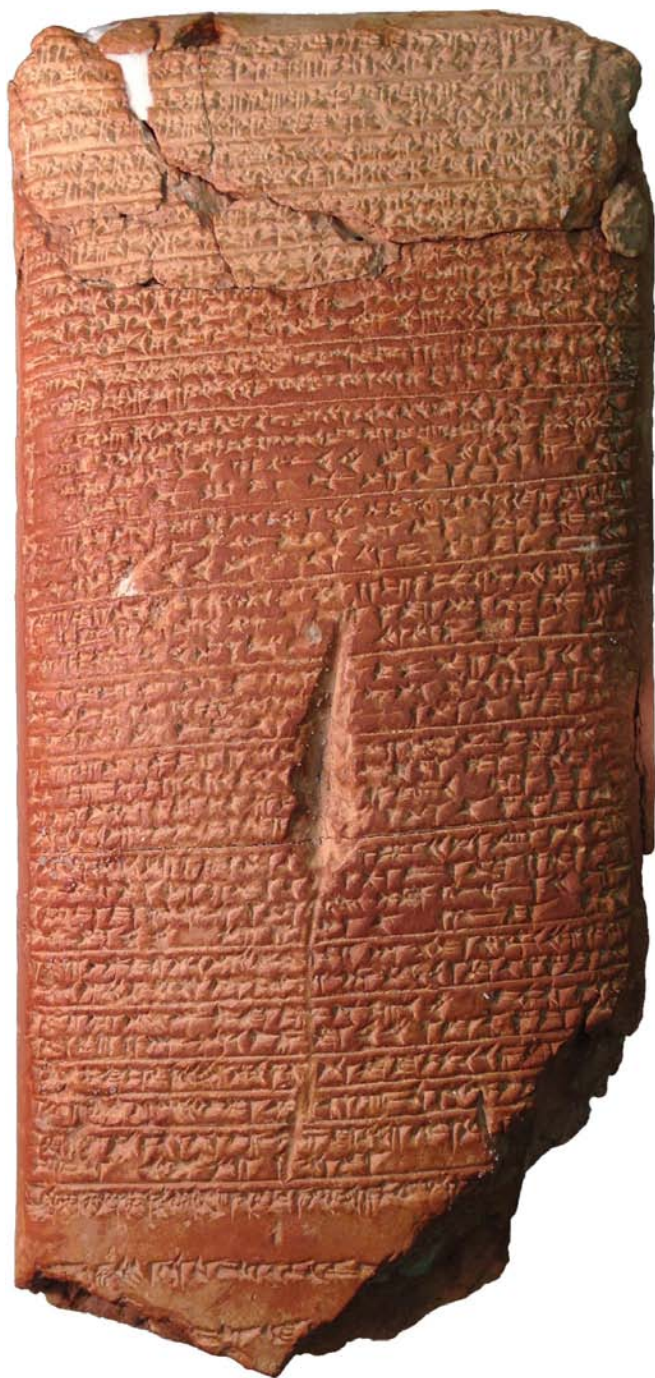


FIGURE 16.4 *BM 103386, reverse*

Mesopotamian Magic in Text and Performance

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Any representation of an action or utterance in written form is, by definition, never a full reflection of its actual performance. Indeed, our knowledge of Mesopotamian magic, as it existed in performance, will always be partial and incomplete. This is a result of the simple fact that our knowledge of the practice of Mesopotamian magic is channeled mainly through the medium of text.¹ Assuming a written representation serves as a record of an existing ritual practice, it must be approached as a selective account of specific aspects of a ritual, which were deemed necessary to be written down, in a specific time, place and context.² In addition, we cannot assume that a ritual text³ or writ-

* Many thanks to B. Pongratz-Leisten and D. Schwemer for important comments on earlier drafts. I am also grateful to D. Schwemer for sharing work which is in press. Of course, all errors are my own. Part of this paper is adapted from a presentation, “The Ritual Deposition of Figurines in Seventh Century Assur: Theory Versus Practice, or Divergent Traditions?”, which I gave at the workshop *Exploring Ritual in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean: Performance, Texts and Material Culture*, organized by I. Rutherford and myself, at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York, May 16, 2014. I would like to thank the participants of this workshop, together with the participants of another workshop on ritual at the same institution (*Ritual and Narrative: Texts in Performance in the Ancient Near East*, May 1, 2015, organized by B. Pongratz-Leisten), for stimulating discussions, which helped formulate the ideas presented here.

- 1 In some cases, archaeological data or iconography also informs us regarding magical practice. For example, images of an exorcist treating a patient are known, for which see e.g. Schwemer 2011, fig. 20.1, 20.2. Archaeological evidence includes apotropaic figurines (see e.g. Rittig 1977).
- 2 Assuming that the text records an existing ritual, elements considered as “noise”, such as introductory comments, or seemingly insignificant details, are usually omitted. The written record usually includes only the words of a performance, excluding non-verbal actions and visual elements. In addition, the act of embodying the action or utterance in textual form (or composing it initially in textual form), may transform the nature of the composition, in terms of its form, contents and language (Goody 2000, 47–62).
- 3 My use of the word “text” refers to the physical textual artifact; here, “ritual text” refers to the written documentation of ritual actions (agenda), as opposed to recitations such as incantations or prayers (recitanda). “Ritual” or “composition” refers to the ritual as it exists in a performance, as opposed to its textual representation. I am not using the word “text” as it

ten recitation merely records a practice which existed before it was written down; the action or recitation may have been composed initially in writing, by means of a combination of observation and writing, or with reference to an oral tradition. Following the initial writing of an incantation or ritual text, the composition represented by the text may have been transmitted in writing and/or orally. Similarly, the composition may have been performed with a full or partial reference to a text, a version of it, or as a purely or partially oral tradition. Indeed, composition, transmission and performance are separate processes, each of which may involve written and/or oral aspects. In addition, such texts often existed in multiple versions at the same time and place, and/or different times and places; thus, editing and transformation of compositions also frequently took place during transmission, and perhaps also performance, on both the written and/or oral levels. Thus, orality and its interface with writing is a highly complex and multifaceted issue. The context of production and use of Mesopotamian magic texts is a topic which belongs amongst M.J. Geller's long standing interests. I am very pleased to contribute to this volume in honor of Prof. Geller, who kindly allowed me to attend his Sumerian reading classes in London, an experience which played an important role in my intellectual development.

The purpose of writing magic texts⁴ or ritual texts, may lie in the performative, apotropaic, pedagogic or scholastic realms, none of which are mutually exclusive.⁵ Indeed, the text may have been written by an individual, who may be classed as a magical practitioner, scribe, scholar, an apprentice of either of these professions, or an individual whose activities encompassed more than

is used in various fields of the humanities, to refer to media beyond the written word. Similarly, my use of the word "performance" and "performative" refers to physical or speech acts within a ritual context. I am not using the word "performance" in its wider sense, to refer to potentially any human behavior; for example, it is common in anthropology to refer to the "performing of identity". My use of the word "performance" is informed more by its use in ritual theory (Bell 1998).

- 4 For a working definition of "magic" within the field of Near Eastern studies, see Geller 2010, 161–167; Schwemer 2011, 419–420; Schwemer 2017. For the purposes of this article, "magic texts" are mainly incantation texts, which may include rubrics and/or some ritual instructions; this definition also includes detailed ritual instructions. For the distinction between "incantation" and "prayer", see fn. 17.
- 5 A further motivation for the writing of ritual texts may lie in the allocation of materials for offerings, such as those texts which outline the daily cult. However, a distinction should be made between such texts, and economic texts which detail offerings (Sallaberger 2006–2008, 423–426).

one of these activities. One of the main purposes of writing lies within the context of the performance of the ritual documented or composed; in this context, the text may serve as a means of reference, and/or perhaps as a means of training, testing and/or memorization, for ritual specialists or apprentices. Another purpose of writing may lie in the writing of text itself as a ritual act, and/or as a means of creating an apotropaic object in the form of the text itself.⁶ These two functions clearly situate the act of writing within the performative and apotropaic contexts of magic. Both of these contexts are allied, as they involve the actual practice of magic. Scholastic and pedagogic contexts for the production of such texts are also well known, particularly in the first millennium.⁷ The scholastic function of writing incantation and ritual texts is shown, for example, by the existence of commentaries to such texts (Frahm 2011, 121–128). Indeed, according to E. Frahm, the development of the commentary tradition is closely allied to the fixation of series, or the process which is sometimes called “canonization” in the late second millennium; magical, medical and divinatory series were central to this enterprise (Frahm 2011, 317–332).⁸ The pedagogic function of writing magic texts is similarly clear; magic texts were central to the second stage of the Babylonian scribal curriculum in the first millennium, where they seem to have served the purposes of both training young exorcists, as well as other scholars or professions in the temple cult (Gesche 2001, 210–212).

Existing work on the orality debate within Near Eastern studies has focused more on literary texts, and less on cultic or liturgical texts.⁹ Recent studies of divination texts, however, have addressed related questions, concerning the

6 For such a use of writing in a magical context, see Heeßel 2014, with reference to earlier literature. Such a purpose of writing magic texts is also well known outside Mesopotamia (see, e.g. Faraone 2011 for the case of Greek incantations).

7 A distinction between scholastic and pedagogic contexts is often far from clear, particularly in the case of magic texts, which belonged to the advanced stage of the curriculum in the first millennium. In any case, I believe that such a distinction is evident in, for example, a comparison of commentaries with simple copies of incantations.

8 See below for a brief discussion of the debate concerning “canonization” and serialization.

9 The orality debate within Near Eastern studies in recent decades, and its focus on literature, is represented by, e.g. Vogelzang and Vanstiphout 1992. However, within Hittology such debates have been extensively discussed with reference to ritual texts (see e.g. Schuol 2010, and Müller 2016). Recently, P. Delnero (2015) has made a convincing argument for the use of Old Babylonian Emesal liturgical tablets, as texts which are situated within a clear performative context, interacting with oral tradition and even shaping the oral versions of the texts which are performed.

extent to which specific texts reflect actual divinatory practice.¹⁰ Although the questions addressed here are infrequently addressed within Near Eastern studies of magic and ritual, they are often the focus of studies in other fields.¹¹ In the case of Early Mesopotamia, a period for which we have little direct evidence regarding the purpose of writing incantations, this question has been discussed by P. Michalowski (1992), with reference to W. Farber (1990). Farber's view that incantations were an oral tradition that only sporadically entered the written tradition, contrasts with Michalowski's view that Sumerian incantations were a written tradition, with no (proven) direct relationship to practice. According to N. Wasserman (2003, 181–182; 2014), at least some incantations may have been both composed and performed by the same individuals in the Old Babylonian period; thus, an opposition between “scribes” and magical experts, assumed in the arguments of both Michalowski and Farber, cannot be supported. G. Barjamovic (2015) has made a convincing argument that, in the case of Old Assyrian Kaneš, a similar model fits the evidence. At Old Assyrian Kaneš, the evidence regarding (partially) duplicating manuscripts, literacy, writing style and archaeological context, suggests that incantations were written within a performative context, and probably performed by the same individuals who wrote the texts. One may argue that the case of Kaneš is unique; but as Barjamovic argues (2015, 63–64), there is no reason why a similar model did not exist in Old Babylonian Babylonia, although we currently lack relevant sources which can be securely attributed to such a private context.

Imagining a context for the production and performance of magic texts may be attempted through the examination of several clues, many of which are suggestive but inconclusive. For example, Wasserman (2014) has examined the context and purpose of writing early Akkadian incantations, through the analysis of the shape and structure of the tablets themselves. Wasserman's conclusion is that tablets containing multiple incantations, as opposed to those tablets which include only one incantation, are likely to have served the needs of professional exorcists. As mentioned above, Wasserman generally approaches such texts as the products of magical practitioners who could write, deconstructing the paradigm of scholar vs. practitioner. Such a context, where the distinction between “scribe” and practitioner may be blurred, may also be envisaged in the case of Old Babylonian incantations from the Schøyen Collection, some of which feature highly syllabic and even “corrupt” spellings (George 2016, especially 160–163, Nos. 55–58).

10 On this question, see recently Heeßel 2012, with references to earlier literature.

11 See e.g. Ronning 2003, with reference to earlier literature; De Haro Sanchez 2015.

In the first millennium, it is well known that exorcists (*āšipu/mašmaššu*)¹² were literate. Indeed, in the first millennium, we know from the exorcists' libraries that exorcists copied and collected a wide variety of texts, including many which are unrelated to magic (Schwemer 2011, 421–423). However, despite this information, the precise purpose for which writing was used in the case of magic texts, remains open to debate. For example, does “for performance” (*ana šabāt epēši*) mean that the texts were used as a means of instruction or rehearsal? To what extent was the writing of magic texts pedagogic or scholastic? M.J. Geller has examined the question of writing and its purposes, by means of the information provided in colophons (Geller 2010, 130–140). Such information is often valuable; for example, *ana tamārti* “for reading” is found in some colophons, and it may refer to the use of a text in an academic, pedagogic context, as suggested by Geller (2010, 135–137). Yet another approach lies in a close consideration of verbal forms in ritual texts; for example, the choice of imperative forms may indicate a performative context (Geller 2016, 22).

A context divorced from practice is suggested in specific instances. For example, a preamble and series of incantations for the consecration of a priest is known in first millennium manuscripts (Borger 1973, Löhnert 2010), although its reference to *nêšakku* and *pašišu* priests, both of which are known exclusively as literary and/or archaic, priestly designations after the Old Babylonian period (Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet 2003–2005, 630–631), suggests that this particular text was transmitted for scholastic rather than performative purposes.¹³ A Nineveh manuscript of a cycle of prayers (*BBR* 26), which plays a role in both *Bīt Rimki* “House of the (Ritual) Bath” and *Bīt salā' mē* “House of Sprinkling Water”, follows an order which appears to be unrelated to the order in which the prayers are performed. Instead of following the order of performance, this text follows an order based on a hierarchy of divine couples. This conclusion is suggested by a comparison of the ritual text with Assyrian court correspondence concerning the ritual's performance (Ambos 2013, 188–191). This suggests that this text may have functioned, not primarily as a reference work embedded

12 The terms *āšipu* and *mašmaššu* seem to both refer to the same practitioner, conventionally translated as “exorcist”. However, the reading and meanings of these terms has led to some confusion. See Geller 2010 (43–44) for the theory that *āšipu* is the more literary term, although both terms have the same meaning.

13 A further alternative, suggested to me by B. Pongratz-Leisten, is that this text may have served as a model for the consecration of a priest, performed by alternative cultic personnel in the first millennium.

in a performative context; instead, the symbolic, scholastic and/or apotropaic functions of the text are emphasized.¹⁴

Another approach to the question of theory vs. practice in magic rituals, lies in the comparison of ritual texts with archaeological sources. In the area of Near Eastern ritual and magic, I know of relatively few contributions, which adopt such an approach. Studies by F. Wiggermann (1992, 97–101), A. Schmitt (in Ambos 2004, 229–234) and C. Ambos (2004, 76–77) demonstrate that there is rarely an exact correspondence between text and archaeology, in terms of evidence for a specific ritual. F. Tourtet (2010) has compared texts and archaeology with particular reference to the single Pazuzu figurine, for which a precise archaeological findspot is known, from Dūr-Katlimmu; the results are of interest, but they fail short of demonstrating an agreement between text and archaeology. Most of these studies compare evidence where the material and textual sources are separated in time and space. However, even in the case of the well known house of the 7th C. exorcist Kišir-Aššur and his family, where both ritual text and archaeological evidence of ritual are known from the same house and the same approximate period, there is only a partial convergence of text with material evidence. The ritual tablet *šēp lemutti ina bīt amēli parāsu* “to block the entry of evil (lit. “the foot of evil”) into a person’s house”, was found together with many of the figurines specified in the text, in this house.¹⁵ Even considering the fact that the tablet is partially broken, and excavation reports are incomplete, it is clear that there was no attempt to fully represent the ritual in written form, and there are small divergences between text and material sources. In addition, the text routinely omits certain aspects of the ritual. For example, the text does not mention the brick capsules into which the figurines are placed. In addition, no distinction is made in the text between three-dimensional forms of figurines and plaques, both of which are known from the house. In any attempt to compare text and archaeology, no matter how close both sources are in time and space, the possibility always exists that divergent practices took place within a particular time and space. The possibility also exists, that ritual texts differ from material evidence as a result of the type of information included in the ritual text, or perhaps the preservation of an outdated practice in written form. Thus, a comparison of text and

14 What I call “symbolic” qualities may alternatively be called “literary” qualities, if “literature” is defined by the presence of non-functional elements. The question of what exactly constitutes “literature”, and whether incantations may be classed as literature, is debated within Near Eastern studies; see e.g. Veldhuis 1999.

15 KAR 298, for which see Rittig 1977, 150–174; Wiggermann 1992, 41–103; Feldt 2015, with earlier literature.

archaeology in the case of magic rituals is inherently limited with respect to the questions addressed below.

This paper focuses on incantation and ritual texts, with the aim of determining the extent to which such texts reflect actual performance. The evidence suggests that the primary function of writing such texts in Mesopotamia was generally, for its use in a performative context. However, the following attempts to trace what is in my assessment, an increased emphasis on the scholastic function of writing such texts in the first millennium BCE, which existed concurrently with performative contexts for writing during this period.¹⁶

Incantations, Incantation-Series and Ritual Tablets

The category of text usually called “incantation” may be partly defined by its ritual context.¹⁷ Incantations may include no ritual instructions, or they may include a subscript and/or ritual instructions. In Early Mesopotamia, incantations usually did not include ritual directions; if they were included, they were usually in the form of short rubrics.¹⁸ The ritual context of incantations may also be implied within the actual incantation. Such cases may involve the ritual practitioner referring to his own actions; for example, in many incantations

16 Although this paper focuses on the non-performative aspects of the transmission of incantations and/or associated rituals, it is important to bear in mind that at the same time there is also evidence for a performative context. This is shown most clearly by the existence of reduced versions of texts, which must have served as aide-mémoires for ritual practitioners. Such manuscripts have been described as “compendia”, in the case of summary tablets of Namburbi rituals (Maul 1994, 203–216); alternatively, such texts have been termed “memoranda” (Schwemer 2006; Abusch and Schwemer 2011, texts 7.6.6 and 8.7; Schwemer 2017, section 3.4. “Diplomatische Systematik”).

17 The definition of “incantation” vs. “prayer” is a complex question. For a provisional discussion of some of the problems involved in such a definition, see Lambert 2008. Generally, prayers involve a human’s address to the gods. Conversely, our evidence for incantations involves a ritual specialist; in addition, the words of the incantation are conceived as a divine creation invoking divine authority. Here, the term “incantation” is used in its conventional sense. Essentially, this text category is associated with rubrics such as *én(-é-nu-ru)*, *ka-inim-ma* and *tu₆*. It must be borne in mind, however, that the same incantation can occur with a different rubric, and rubrics are not necessarily indicative of generic categories. In addition to the definition of incantation as text, its performance context is also important; incantations were normally performed by the exorcist (*āšipu/mašmaššu*) or physician (*asû*).

18 Relatively few ritual texts are known from Mesopotamia before the first millennium. However, the existence of detailed ritual texts from Old Babylonian Mari, and Bronze Age Syria

the exorcist is personified as Asalluḫi/Marduk, who receives ritual instructions from his father (Enki/Ea). Another possible indication of the ritual context of incantations may be their order within series. There are important examples of the compilation of associated incantations, already in the Old Babylonian period. However, it seems that the order of such compilations was not yet fixed into what we might call a series.¹⁹

When incantations began to be more systematically compiled in the first millennium,²⁰ a ritual tablet was added in some instances. However, in cases where there is an associated ritual tablet, the precise nature of the relationship between incantation series and ritual tablet is highly complex. For example, it is clear that the order of incantations in series does not always conform to the order of performance in ritual tablets. Where rubrics or short performance instructions are attached to incantations within series, such instructions do not always conform to the associated ritual tablet. In such cases, we can offer two possible explanations. Firstly, the incantation series may reflect a performance practice known from another recension than the ritual tablet. Or secondly, the compilation of incantations in series may be determined, not by their actual performance, but other considerations. This issue is of particular interest, as it allows us to examine the extent to which the textual transmission of incantations was dependent on, or independent from, their performance.

and Anatolia, shows that the practice of writing ritual texts was already well established. See the survey of ritual texts in Sallaberger 2006–2008, 428–429.

19 Important examples of such Old Babylonian compilations include the Sumerian monolingual version of Uduḡ-ḫul (Geller 1985), or the compilation of eleven “love incantations” on a single Old Babylonian tablet from Isin (Wilcke 1987). Although the compilation of incantations is known in the Old Babylonian period, there is no clear evidence for their standardization into a fixed series (Worthington 2010). However, there are some indications of an associated order of incantations already in the Old Babylonian period. For example, the sequence of incantations on multi-column tablets of Uduḡ-ḫul, partially follows the order of incantations known from the much expanded, first millennium bilingual version, *Utukkū Lemnūtu* (see Geller 1985, 3–9; Geller 2016, 5–7).

20 “First Millennium” is used loosely here. The wholesale revision and compilation of various corpora in cuneiform culture was probably well underway during the Kassite period, although most works seem to have been revised in the eleventh century (Heeßel 2011). Such revisions and relative standardization does not imply the formation of an authoritative “canon”. For a critical discussion on this subject, see Rochberg-Halton 1984. The related notion of “forerunner”, for Old Babylonian versions of first millennium “canonical” versions has also been justifiably questioned in recent scholarship (Farber 1993). As discussed below, there is evidence to suggest that various corpora were being revised throughout the first millennium, particularly at Nineveh.

Any attempt to address the questions posed in this article, is dependent on the existence of comprehensive, up to date editions. Work in this area is certainly progressing, as shown by recent editions of *Muššu'u* "Rubbing" (Böck 2007), *Bit salā' mē* "House of Sprinkling Water" (Ambos 2013), the incantations and rituals against the demoness Lamaštu (Farber 2014; hereafter "*Lam.*"), *Maqlū* "Burning" (Abusch 2015) and *Utukkū Lemnūtu* "Evil *Utukkū* Demons" (Geller 2016). With regard to my interest in the relationship between incantation-series and their associated ritual tablets, the publication of the long awaited edition of *Lam.* by W. Farber is of particular importance. This is due to the fact that firstly, the series clearly includes a ritual tablet which is directly associated with the series. Secondly, the main manuscript of the most well attested, "canonical" version from Nineveh (Farber's "Text A" = K 2482+²¹), clearly shows the juxtaposition of incantation-series and ritual tablet on the same physical, multi-columned tablet. This combination, which is followed in the other Nineveh manuscripts, demonstrates striking discrepancies between the sequence of incantations and rituals in the series, and the ritual tablet. Thus, the Nineveh series of *Lam.* provides us with an excellent case study for issues concerning the textual transmission and performance of incantations. Before proceeding with an examination of *Lam.*, I will briefly discuss more general issues regarding incantation-series, ritual tablets and serialization.

The Development of Incantation-Series and Ritual Tablets

As mentioned above, incantations were transmitted in a variety of ways in Mesopotamian texts. They could exist in isolation, or with an accompanying rubric and/or ritual. Within ritual texts, incantations and other prayers are either referred to by incipit, or written out in full. Series which include integrated rubrics and/or ritual instructions, include those which are intended to undo the negative effects of omens (**Nam-búr-bi**, see Maul 1994), or to counter witchcraft (**Uš₁₁-búr-ru-da**, see Abusch and Schwemer 2011, 115–245; for discussion, see Schwemer 2007, 56–61).²² However, most series consist of incantations alone. Incantation-series may be divided into two groups, those which include a ritual tablet, and those which do not. Ritual tablets are known for

21 Not all the fragments of this tablet are physically joined in their present state, but Farber is very probably correct in stating that his "Text A" was originally a single physical tablet.

22 It is an important fact that the serialization of both of these series is known first from Nineveh manuscripts. The significance of these series will be discussed further below.

Maqlû “Burning”, *Šurpu* “Burning”,²³ *Bīt Rimki* “House of the (Ritual) Bath”,²⁴ *Bīt salā’ mē* “House of Sprinkling Water”, *Mīs Pī* “Washing of the Mouth”,²⁵ *Bīt Mēseri* “House of (Ritual) Enclosure”,²⁶ *Muššu’u* “Rubbing”²⁷ and *Lam*. Most of the incipits of such series are mentioned in their corresponding ritual tablets, although the incipits do not necessarily occur in the same order in both incantation-series and ritual tablet. Such series may be contrasted with compilations of related incantations, for which no ritual tablet is known. These compilations include *Utukkū Lemnūtu* “Evil *Utukkū* Demons”,²⁸ *Saġ-ba* “Oath” (Schramm 2001), *Zú-buru₅-dab-bé-da* “To Seize the Locust-Tooth” (George and Taniguchi 2010), *Qutāru* “Fumigation” (Finkel 1991, 103–104), *Saġ-gig* “Headache”, *Ā-saġ-gig* “Illness of the Asag Demon” and *Ḫul-ba-zi-zi* “Dissipation of Evil”.²⁹ Some incantations may be considered as a group due to their distinctive features and rubrics; but there is no evidence for their organization into series. For example, there is no evidence for the serialization of *Nam-erím-búr-ru-da* incantations,

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- 23 See Reiner 1958, and Farber 2012b with references to further literature. An edition of *Šurpu* is in preparation by F. Simons (PhD, Univ. of Birmingham). Note that the ritual tablet of *Šurpu* clearly belongs to a different recension from Assur, and its status as the first tablet in the series is in question (see Lambert 1960, Farber 2012b). Although *Šurpu* and *Maqlû* are both named after the act of burning which is a component of their rituals, the purpose of burning is different in each case. In *Šurpu* the act of burning, amongst other activities, is intended to absolve the patient from the curse which results from a broken oath (*māmītu*). In *Maqlû* the act of burning refers to the destruction of the patient’s enemy, by means of burning a figurine representing a witch.
- 24 There is no full edition of *Bīt Rimki* yet. For a translation of the ritual tablet see Farber 1986; for an analysis see Ambos 2012.
- 25 See the edition by Walker and Dick (2001); on this ritual see more recently, Shibata 2008 with references to earlier literature.
- 26 A full edition of *Bīt Mēseri* was in preparation by the late R. Borger. For a recent treatment, see Wiggermann 1992, 105–118.
- 27 As discussed further below, there is clearly an associated ritual tablet for the incantation-series *Muššu’u* “Rubbing”; but its identity as “the” ritual tablet has been called into question, due to the related but tenuous correspondence between ritual tablet and series (Böck 2003).
- 28 Although there is no ritual tablet for *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, some manuscripts include rubrics and even short ritual instructions (see Geller 2016, 21–25).
- 29 Editions of *Saġ-gig* and *Ā-saġ-gig* are in preparation by W. Schramm. An edition of *Ḫul-ba-zi-zi* was the subject of I.L. Finkel’s unpublished PhD dissertation (1976); a complete edition by Finkel is in preparation. An edition of the series *Alan-niġ-saġ-il-la*, for making a cult image, is also in preparation by Schramm. *Zi-pà* incantations may also have been organized into series, due to the reference to a *pīrsu rēštū* “first section” in one manuscript (Borger 1969, 15; see also Borger 1970). This list is not exhaustive.

against “oaths”, or the curses that result from the breaking of oaths (Geller 1998, 127).³⁰ The same is true for Šà-zi-ga incantations, for the promotion of potency (Biggs 1967).³¹ The so-called “Compendium of Incantations” (Schramm 2008), is probably not a true series; as discussed by Geller (2011), this associated group of incantations is essentially a collection of *Kultmittelbeschwörungen*, which were used in various ritual contexts for the purification of objects. There are suggestions that incantations against *Samāna* (“Red Evil”?) were organised into series, although this is uncertain (Finkel 1998, 97; Beck 2015, 173–174). There is no clear evidence for the serialization of Diġir-ša-dab₍₅₎-ba incantations (Jaques 2015, 109–123). Similarly, although these incantations played an important role in the ritual *ilūlīde* “My god, I did not know”, they were also performed in various other rituals (Jaques 2015, 258–296). Thus, we lack evidence for the existence of a dedicated ritual tablet associated with these incantations.

The existence of a ritual tablet cannot be explained merely as a result of the accident of survival. One might assume that a ritual tablet was unnecessary; perhaps the ritual practitioners knew the rituals, but not the incantations. However, this does not explain the existence of a ritual tablet in some instances but not others. The possibility cannot be excluded that further ritual tablets may be discovered at some point. However, it seems fairly certain that some incantation-series do not include a ritual tablet due to the fact that they do not represent a fixed sequence of ritual actions. Incantation-series which do not include a ritual tablet can be described as apotropaic or medical. They include incantations which can be used in a variety of ritual contexts;³² they are not

30 An edition of *Nam-erīm-būr-ru-da* incantations and rituals is in preparation by S.M. Maul; for translations see Maul 2010, 135–145. It is interesting that these incantations and rituals could be transmitted in two general forms. A large ritual tablet from the “house of the exorcist” from Assur incorporates the full text of incantations (*BAM* 3 234). But at both Assur and Nineveh, tablets of incantations without ritual instructions are also known (Maul 2010, 136, n. 308).

31 *Nam-erīm-būr-ru-da* and *Šà-zi-ga* are both cited in the list of the “exorcist’s handbook” (Geller 2000, 242–254, text E: 12 and 14; Clancier 2009), which is a collection of works described in its opening line and subscript (line 27) as *SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GĀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti*. It is unclear whether *ÉŠ.GĀR = iškāru* “series” in this context, refers to the serialization of the exorcists’ handbook itself, or whether this term refers to the serialized nature of the incipits referred to within the text. It is also possible that *ÉŠ.GĀR = iškāru* is used here as a term for “text-type”, which may or may not be organized into series. On the problems involved in the terminology for “series” see Worthington 2010.

32 It is well known that the same incantations, and sequences of incantations, are known from more than one series. However, this applies both to incantation-series which include ritual tablets, and those which do not. *Maqlû* incorporates material from *Uš₁₁-būr-ru-*

generally restricted to ritual contexts involving a particular time and place. As discussed by B. Böck (2007, 67–69), the *Lam.* series is an exception in this sense; it is a series against a demoness, which includes a ritual tablet.

Utukkū Lemnūtu consists of at least 16 incantations and hymns in its first millenium bilingual “canonical” version. It seems unlikely that this sequence of incantations represents a ritual sequence. Indeed, the organising principle in this composition seems to be thematic. If we assume that the 16 tablets represent a complete composition, a circular “ring composition” may be suggested (Geller 2007, xiii–xviii). Three of the tablets (Nos. 2, 10 and 11) are in fact Marduk hymns. According to Lambert (1999), Marduk’s Address to the Demons (tablet 11) existed as an independent composition, before it became incorporated into *Utukkū Lemnūtu*. Its considerable length, and other unusual features, make it unique. Furthermore, a commentary was known on Marduk’s Address (Frahm 2011, 123–127). One gets the impression of *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, as it exists in this first millenium series, as a sequence of compositions put together as a work of “literature”, as well as, or instead of, being a handbook for a ritual specialist. Recently, our honoree has emphasized the practical, therapeutic function of this group of incantations (Geller 2016, 1, 33–42). Whilst I do not disagree, the important question for my purposes, is not whether the incantations and ritual of *Utukkū Lemnūtu* were performed, for which we do indeed have evidence, but whether its serialized form is a product of its performative and/or scholastic functions. My particular interest lies in the nature of textual artifacts and their relationship to performance; an academic motivation may lie behind the production of a manuscript, or a collection of manuscripts, but the incantations and rituals recorded in the text may have been widely performed at the same time, with or without reference to the manuscript(s).

As mentioned above, the sequence of incantations in incantation-sequences and their associated ritual tablets, where known, do not always match. This is clear in *Mīs Pī* (Walker and Dick 2001, 86–88) and *Bīt salā’ mē* (Ambos 2013, 197). However, in these two instances, such discrepancies could be explained as the result of divergent recensions. Unlike the case of *Lam.*, discussed below, there is no manuscript for either of these works, which combines most of the incantations together with their associated ritual instructions. In *Muššu’u* there is clearly an associated ritual tablet, but it seems to be only obliquely related

da, and *Šurpu* incorporates *Nam-erim-būr-ru-da* material. Similarly, the central parts of *Maqlū* and *Šurpu* are incorporated within *Bīt Rimki* (Sallaberger 2006–2008, 428). *Muššu’u* shares material with *Saḡ-gig*, *Udug-ḫul* and *Ḫul-ba-zi-zi* (Böck 2007, 31). *Udug-ḫul/Utukkū Lemnūtu* shares material with various other incantation types/series (Geller 2016, 5–6).

to its associated incantation-series (Böck 2003; Böck 2007, 70–78). Only 17/18 of the 46/47 incantations of the series are cited in the ritual tablet, and the order of incantations in series and ritual tablet do not match. The sequence of incantations in the ritual tablet of *Muššu'u* may be followed in the Assur catalogue of incantation incipits (Geller 2000, 227, text A: i 15'–23'). However, in this instance it is unclear, due to the fact that incantation catalogues do not distinguish between incipits of individual incantations, and the opening incipits of incantation sequences.

Šurpu is a good example of the lack of correspondence between incantation-series and ritual tablet. As discussed by W.G. Lambert (1959–1960), not only does the ritual tablet belong to a different Assur recension. Of even greater significance is the fact that this tablet (*LKA* 91) contains ritual instructions, followed by its associated incantations, cited in a different order than the order just given in the ritual instructions on the same physical tablet. The incantations of *Šurpu* are also cited in a different order to the incantation-series, in the Assur catalogue (Geller 2000, 227, text A: i 1'–4'). These discrepancies can be explained as a result of the confluence of divergent textual traditions, which took place during the process of serialization.³³

In *Maqlû*, the relationship between series and ritual tablet has been examined by T. Abusch (1992). Abusch shows that the ritual instructions in Nineveh manuscripts do not necessarily agree fully with the ritual sequence implied in the associated incantations. Abusch explains some of the discrepancies as evidence of the expansionist editorial tendencies of Ninevite scribes. According to Abusch, the Nineveh scribes introduced greater detail, inadvertently introducing inconsistencies in the relationship between incantation and ritual tablet. However, in *Maqlû* the arrangement of incantations, and the relationship between incantation-series and ritual tablet differs in some manuscripts (Schwemer 2007, 41–55); but in the “canonical” version, for which the Nineveh manuscripts are most important, the general order of incantations mostly follows the order in the ritual tablet. In addition, as Abusch shows in another study (1991), the rubrics known from certain manuscripts of Tablets II and III mostly agree with the corresponding instructions in the ritual tablet.³⁴ In this respect it

33 With reference to *Muššu'u*, Böck (2007, 69) suggests that such discrepancies between series and ritual tablet indicate a certain freedom (“eine gewisse Freiheit”) on the part of the ritual practitioners. In my view, such discrepancies are better explained as the result of a divergence between text and performance, as discussed further below.

34 Nevertheless, the degree of convergence between series and ritual tablet in the case of *Maqlû*, is less clear than in series such as *Lam.*, as there is at present no single physical tablet of *Maqlû* upon which both the incantation-series and ritual tablet are written

is important to note that the “canonical” version of *Maqlû* formed a continuous overnight ceremony, performed at the end of the month of Abu (July/August). In the case of other series for which ritual tablets are known, such as *Lam.*, such information is generally lacking.

The Serialization of Incantation-Series during the First Millenium BCE

Although the wholesale revision of text corpora probably took place during the late second millenium, we can assume that many texts continued to be revised throughout the first millenium.³⁵ Different traditions existed in the first millenium, at various centres in Babylonia, as well as at Assur, Kalhu, Huzirina (Sultantepe) and Nineveh.³⁶ In some cases, the differences are extreme; for example, the three successive tablets of incantations and rituals for Ištar and Dumuzi include catch-lines to their following tablets in the Nineveh and Assur versions. The Assur manuscript of “Tablet II” concludes with the catchline to “Tablet I”, instead of the expected “Tablet III”, as in the Nineveh version; thus it seems the ritual followed radically different sequences at Assur and Nineveh

together. A six-columned *dubgallu* tablet of *Maqlû* (A 7876, Abusch and Schwemer 2009) probably contained the entire incantation-series and ritual tablet, but only a fragment of the tablet is preserved.

- 35 The uncertainty regarding the date of revision is due to the fact that few incantation or ritual texts can be securely dated to the late second millenium. This is partly due to the imprecision of dating based on script and language alone. For example, tablets from Assur which are written in Babylonian script are often considered to be Middle Babylonian. However, this principle is not universally accepted. For example, ms. Ee of *Lam.* (= VAT 10353) is taken as Middle Babylonian by N. Heeßel, but W. Farber prefers a Neo-Babylonian (!) date (Farber 2014, 15–17).
- 36 As E. Robson (2011) argues, if we can accept A.L. Oppenheim's notion of “the stream of tradition” at all, it should be modified to “streams of tradition”, to reflect the localized traditions of various centers, as well as the importance of individual agency in the processes of textual transmission. The word “tradition” may be considered problematic in the case of performed texts, such as incantations and prayers, as the written tradition cannot be automatically equated with performed tradition. Thus, it may be more accurate to speak of variant “textualizations” of incantations and prayers, rather than “traditions”. However, the problem with the word “textualization” is that it suggests that incantations and prayers originated as oral compositions, which were written down. This may or may not be the case; it is also possible that such compositions were originally composed in written form, and transmitted in written and/or oral form.

(Farber 1977, 24–26). The “stream of tradition” might appear to be monolithic at Nineveh, but this site should probably be considered as a special case. It is well known that Ashurbanipal had an obsessive ambition to collect as many texts as possible from Babylonia; indeed, this process was already known under Esarhaddon, and it is clear that the appropriation of Babylonian knowledge had already begun in the Middle Assyrian period.³⁷ Rituals and incantations were the second largest text type collected at Nineveh, second only to divination texts; such texts were considered most important for the protection of the realm, and especially the king.³⁸ Together with this characteristic of Nineveh as a center for the absorption of Babylonian knowledge, there is some evidence that peripheral areas preserved more traditional versions than those known from centers of power such as Nineveh (Worthington 2010, 396). In addition to the copying of Babylonian texts, there is some direct evidence that the scholars of Nineveh compiled or adapted texts, with the approval of the king. For example, the following letter, from the diviners Marduk-šumu-ušur, Nāširu and Tabnî, concerns the revision of a series:

The series should be rev[ised] (*iš¹-ka-ru¹ li-ib-[ru-u]*). Let the king command: two “long” tablets (*li-gi-na-a-te*) containing explanations of antiquated words (*ša-a-ti*) should be removed, and two tablets of the haruspices’ corpus (*ba-ru-te*) should be put (instead).

SAA 10 177: obv. 15–rev. 6

Although the series referred to above is divinatory, we know that incantation-series were also referred to, using the same term (*iškāru*). For example, a letter from Marduk-šākin-šumi, chief exorcist under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, refers to the performance of the incantation-series *Šurpu* (SAA 10 261: rev. 3–8). The following letter from the same sender is concerned with the compilation of tablets of unknown incantations or rituals, presumably to form a series:

As for myself, I am presently [col]lecting all the 30 to 40 “canonical” tablets (*tup-pa-a-ni* 30 40 SIG₅.MEŠ) that are relevant to the matter, as

37 See for example, the Middle Assyrian manuscripts of rituals and incantations from Assur, which have parallels in first millennium exorcistic literature (Maul 2003). Babylonian scholars are known to have been active in Assur from the 14th century onwards (Wiggermann 2008). This may suggest that the claim in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic, that the king appropriated Babylonian knowledge, is not entirely fictive.

38 On the contents of Ashurbanipal’s library, see recently Frame and George 2005; Fincke 2003–2004.

well as (all) the existing “non-canonical” ones (*a-ḫi-ú-ti*)³⁹ that are ever [per]formed (in this connection).

SAA 10 245: rev. 12–18

Thus, at Nineveh under the Sargonids, it was a priority amongst scholars and the king, to collect, compile and possibly edit, incantations, rituals and divinatory corpora. Of course, this does not mean that such Assyrian editorial activities were entirely new. However, it is striking that the first evidence for the serialization of important incantations and rituals is known first from Nineveh. Apart from *Lam.*, this is known for several other series. For example, the first evidence for the serialization of Namburbi rituals is known from Nineveh, where the series extended to at least 136 tablets. According to S.M. Maul, the Nineveh series is likely to have been created, as an academic exercise, but also as a means of creating an apotropaic collection of tablets for the protection of the king (Maul 1994, 216–221). Similarly, the Ušburruda series, first attested at Nineveh, includes at least 63 tablets (Abusch and Schwemer 2011, 13–14; discussion in Schwemer 2007, 56–61). The serialization of Namburbi and Ušburruda texts seems to have been motivated by the need to protect the king, as well as a scholastic desire to compile corpora, as well as to serve the needs of exorcists’ performances. Of course, such rituals were performed, as we know from Assyrian court correspondence; but performance cannot be assumed to be the primary motivation for the creation of such serialized ritual texts. This is particularly transparent in the case of Namburbi and Ušburruda texts; the length of their series, together with the fact that their accompanying ritual instructions are usually attached to, or integrated within each individual Namburbi or Ušburruda, shows that their serialization is very unlikely to represent anything like a unified ritual.⁴⁰

A tendency towards organizing and compiling material is well known at Nineveh, even where we cannot speak of a true series. For example, Pazuzu incantations which were previously known from individual Pazuzu heads, were brought together with materials from other apotropaic texts, and put into a specific ritual context at Nineveh (Heeßel 2002, 55). Similarly, the “Kuyunjik

39 This letter is of added interest due to the fact that it distinguishes tablets which are “canonical” (*damqu*) and “non-canonical” (*aḫû*). In its basic sense *aḫû* means “outside, strange”, and the translation “non-canonical” is inappropriate (Rochberg-Halton 1984). It seems that this term signifies material that does not belong to series. However, material which is *aḫû* can also be included within series. It therefore remains a problematic term (see Worthington 2010).

40 Note that Namburbi rituals were transmitted in a variety of formats (Maul 1994, 163–190).

Compendium” of incantations and rituals for the calming of babies attests to the organization of materials previously known in individual manuscripts, to form a collection of 27 paragraphs on a single multi-columned tablet (Farber 1989). The same goes for the “Compendium” of 21 incantations on an 8-columned tablet (“Text A” = K 2715+; Schramm 2008), discussed above.

An overall picture of the editorial tendencies of the scholars of Nineveh under the Sargonids, would be a worthy but daunting task, and it is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it is noteworthy that, in several detailed studies of the textual history of *Maqlû*, T. Abusch has presented a view of Ninevite editorial activities, arguing for elongation and the addition of detail, as a key feature of Nineveh manuscripts.⁴¹ In addition to the study of 1992 discussed above, Abusch (2010) argues that a Babylonian manuscript from Nineveh preserves a version older than the standard, expanded version from Nineveh. According to Abusch, this is confirmed by the fact that the order of incantations on this tablet agrees with versions from Sultantepe and Assur. Furthermore, according to Abusch the original Namburbi character of the text, to counter the effects of negative omens, is transformed to form anti-witchcraft incantations in the standard version; however, this process of transformation is already apparent in the Babylonian manuscript. It remains an open question whether the expansion known from Nineveh manuscripts represents an expansion in ritual text, or ritual performance. D. Schwemer (2007, 43) argues for the representation of additional incantations in the ritual tablet of *Maqlû*, as an expansion in practice, not just text. In my view, the overall picture of Ninevite editorial tendencies may suggest that such inclusion of extra detail is motivated by scholarly rather than performative concerns. But the inherent problem in the above analyses, is the fact that the reconstructed editorial history of manuscripts can always be explained as the representation of divergent streams of tradition (written and/or oral streams), and/or individual scribal idiosyncracies. For this reason, examples of incantation-series with ritual instructions on the same physical tablet are especially valuable. It is for this reason that I have chosen to now look at the case of *Lamaštu*.

41 It should be remarked that Abusch's reconstructions of textual history based solely on internal evidence have not been universally accepted. For example, Schwemer (2007, 42–43) argues that what are explained as historical developments may also be explained as differences of individual scribal habits.

*Lamaštu: A Case Study*⁴²

Considering the importance of Nineveh for the serialization of incantations and rituals, this picture is only confirmed in the case of *Lam*. Incantations and rituals concerning *Lam*. are known across three millenia, in Sumerian and Akkadian, including areas outside of Mesopotamia such as Ugarit. In fact, it is at Ugarit that the first evidence for the compilation of *Lam*. incantations is known (ms. Ug). However, ms. Ug. is a distinct compilation with no direct parallel, and in fact the majority of second millenium *Lam*. texts are only indirectly related to first millenium versions. In the first millenium, *Lam*. texts begin to be serialized in two versions. The *pirsu* version, attested from Nineveh sources,⁴³ and named after the Ninevite scholars' use of the term *pirsu* "section", is by far the most well attested. The *tuppu* version, named after the Babylonian use of the term *tuppu* "tablet", as a means of designating divisions of the series, is much less known. The provenance of its sources includes Babylon, Sippar, Uruk and Assur.

The overall structure of the *Lam*. series in its "canonical" version at Nineveh, consists of three sections (*pirsu*; hereafter called "*Lam*. I/II/III"). The first two sections are sequences of incantations and rituals in a fixed order. The third section is a ritual tablet. The Babylonian *tuppu* version may have also consisted of three sections; each section is called a "tablet" (*tuppu*). Two of the sections of the *tuppu* version are sequences of incantations and rituals, and the third a ritual tablet; however, the sequence of the three tablets in the *tuppu* version is not entirely clear. The existence of a ritual tablet in this version is also unclear. The ritual tablet of the *pirsu* version is duplicated partially in a Babylonian manuscript (ms. x),⁴⁴ and the existence of a ritual tablet at Assur is assumed due to its citation in an Assur catalogue.⁴⁵ Farber remarks that mss. E, F and H which are included in the edition of the ritual tablet of the *pirsu* version, may in fact belong to the *tuppu* version, since they are Babylonian texts found

42 In the following, references to page numbers are to Farber 2014, unless stated otherwise. Text sigla also refer to Farber's edition of *Lam*. (2014). For the purposes of the following discussion, it is important to bear in mind that upper case manuscript sigla denote Nineveh manuscripts.

43 The *tuppu* version is possibly attested in the fragmentary Sultantepe ms. (ms. M).

44 Other partial parallel passages to the third *pirsu* may also exist in Babylonian manuscripts, such as ms. Rb and others (see pp. 49–50, section 1.2.2.3). There are also various parallels in Babylonian script, of sections of *Lam*. III which may or may not be part of *Lam*.

45 Geller 2000, 230–231, text A: iv 1'–2': *én ddim-(me) dumu an-na [...]* *e-nu-ma né-pe-ši šá ddi[m-me teppušu]*.

at Nineveh. However, this is difficult to ascertain, as they only attest to *Lam.* III. It is only in *Lam.* I and II where the order of incantations and rituals differ substantially in the *pirsu* and *tuppu* versions. Using the Nineveh version as a reference, and also assuming Farber's suggested ordering of the two *tuppu* tablets is correct, the ordering of incantations and rituals in the *tuppu* version is as follows: (1st? *tuppu*) 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; (2nd? *tuppu*) 5, 7. It is worth noting, however, that although the order of incantations and rituals is different in both versions, their content is almost exactly the same.⁴⁶

Thus, the Nineveh *pirsu* version is the main source for the serialization of the series as a fixed order of incantations and rituals, followed directly by a ritual section, *Lam.* III. As already mentioned above, what is particularly striking about this example, is not merely the fact that the sequence of actions in *Lam.* I and II do not agree with *Lam.* III. What is of even greater significance is the fact that all three *pirsu* are attested on a single, six-columned tablet (ms. A). This shows that the discrepancies between the sequence of incantations and rituals in *Lam.* I and II, when compared with the ritual section (*Lam.* III), cannot be explained as the result of divergent recensions. This observation is supported by the other Nineveh manuscripts, as shown on Table 17.1. Manuscript B is similarly a six-columned tablet, which presumably included *Lam.* I, II and III in its original state; but unfortunately it does not preserve *Lam.* III. Manuscripts C₁, C₂ and C₃ do not belong physically to the same tablet, but according to Farber they belong to the same set of library tablets as ms. A, D₁ and D₂ (pp. 20–21). As for the accompanying ritual instructions, their overall consistency across all three *pirsu*-sections in Nineveh manuscripts, is illustrated in Table 17.2. The overall picture is that a remarkably consistent version of the three *pirsu*-sections was transmitted at Nineveh.⁴⁷

Thus, if the Nineveh recension indeed represents a deliberate, unified series, it is all the more striking to observe the internal inconsistencies between *Lam.* I/II and III. These inconsistencies are illustrated on Tables 17.3 and 17.4. The first, and for me most important, implication of these discrepancies, is that the series as it stands does not make sense as a reference work produced solely for the performance of a single, extended *Lam.* ritual. Considering the overall tripartite structure of the work, one might assume that *Lam.* I/II provides the full text of incantations, which are cited only by incipit in *Lam.* III. This may be the

46 The wording of rituals 7 and 8 differ slightly in their internal order, but they are almost identical in their content.

47 The fragmentary ms. FsB is the only *Lam.* text from Nineveh preserving a version which cannot be reconciled with the "canonical" version (see p. 37).

case in a sense; however, the fact that the order of incantations and associated rituals is entirely different in *Lam. I* and *II* shows that *Lam. I/II* cannot have been composed and compiled specifically as a reference for the performance of the ritual outlined on *Lam. III*.

This interpretation is confirmed by an internal analysis of *Lam. I/II*. The incantations and attached rituals of these *pirsu*-sections possess some degree of internal consistency, shown on Table 17.3 by underlined passages. For example, themes are clearly shared between Inc. 2 and Ritual 2a, Inc. 6 and Ritual 6a, Inc. 8 and Ritual 8. Furthermore, Ritual 7 includes an instruction to write its associated Inc. 7 on a tablet. In addition, Ritual 2a refers to the recitation of “the incantation” (I 30': *minûta tamannûši* “you recite the incantation to her”), which must refer to Inc. 2. These ritual passages are all used in *Lam. III* (see Table 17.4). However, here they are used in an entirely different context; they are not preceded by their associated incantations.

The integrity of *Lam. I/II* as the original sequence, which preceded the composition of *Lam. III*, can also be observed if the compilation is considered as a deliberately organized structure. The opening and closing incantations (Inc. 1 and 13) both employ the incipit “Dimme, Child of An”, although they are different incantations. In addition, the opening and closing incantations are the only ones which specifically indicate in their respective rubrics, that they are to be recited for the protection of a baby. These features may suggest a circular “ring composition”, which, as discussed above, was argued for by Geller in the case of *Utukkū Lemnūtu*. The internal development of *Lam. I/II* is also of interest. Inc. 1 was perhaps chosen to open the series due to its popularity; indeed, it is the most well attested *Lam.* incantation on amulets, there being at least 8 exemplars dating to the first millennium (pp. 32, 48–49). It is also an introductory text, announcing *Lam.*'s 7 names. Inc. 2 uses the same incipit, but it gradually introduces new themes. The sequence of incantations steadily introduces more complexity, involving references to mythological episodes. Occasionally, a sequential relationship is discernible within the content of contiguous incantations. For example, Inc. 11 describes Anu's dilemma as the father of *Lam.* He needs to find a solution to the problem of *Lam.*'s malicious attacks without murdering his own daughter, so he banishes her to the sea and mountains. Inc. 12 finds another solution, involving the classic Marduk-Ea dialogue. Here, Ea advises his son to deal with the problem of *Lam.* by using the power of incantations, combined with offerings for her onward journey, and a plot to block her inside a range of mountains. Thus, the theme of *Lam.*'s banishment to the mountains connects Inc. 11 and 12.

Following Farber (p. 17), *Lam. III* can be divided into five parts: a) the “dog figurines ritual” (1–28/29); b) the “stones ritual” (30–63); c) “salves and fumiga-

tions" (64–75); d) "rubbing" (76–109"); e) the "7 day ritual" (110–135); the "epilogue" (136–138, but not entirely preserved). The *Lam.* incantations in *Lam.* I/II are used in various other ritual contexts, such as the incantation-series *Qutāru* and *Zi-pà* (p. 47). One manuscript of the *Qutāru* series from Babylon (ms. Ea, p. 47) uses parallel incantations from the *Lam.* Nineveh series. But the interesting thing about this manuscript is that the order of incantations follows the sequence Inc. 2, 3, 7, 6. *Lam.* III only uses, or makes reference to, four incantations from *Lam.* I/II in parts a, b and c of the ritual (see Table 17.4). In *Lam.* III: 8–28, the instruction includes the writing of Inc. 7 on a tablet. In *Lam.* III: 69–73, Inc. 2, 3 and 6 are to be recited. Thus, it seems that an association between Inc. 2, 3, 7 and 6, known from *Qutāru*, is also known from the opening three parts of *Lam.* III. At the same time, these opening three sections parallel baby rituals, particularly the incantations *zurrugu zurrugu* and *kirišti libi*, as discussed by Farber (p. 29). The following "rubbing" section of *Lam.* III involves the recitation of Inc. 1–13 whilst rubbing the baby from head to feet. This has a direct parallel in the ritual tablet of *Muššu'u* "Rubbing", which involves the recitation of incantations whilst rubbing the patient from head to feet (Böck 2003). A relationship with *Muššu'u* is further confirmed by the three incantations which directly follow the "rubbing" section of *Lam.* III: *saĝ-ba* "Oath", *tummu bītu* "Adjured is the house", and *ab-ta nam-mu-un-da-ku₄-ku₄-dè* "Do not enter to him through the window". These three incantations occur in the same order at the end of the *Muššu'u* ritual tablet, as remarked by Farber (p. 256). *Saĝ-ba* is known as a separate group of incantations, but it is also used in *Muššu'u*, *Maqlû* and *Lam.* III (Schramm 2001, 8–9). This standard sequence of incantations is recited at the end of rituals or ritual sections, when surrounding the patient's bed with an apotropaic circle of flour.⁴⁸

Conclusion

It seems most likely that *Lam.* I/II were compiled originally, probably in the late second millennium. A ritual tablet was probably added in the *tuppu* version,

48 The full set of this standard sequence is attested in the *Muššu'u* ritual tablet (Böck 2003, 6). Indeed, the sequence was standardized to the extent that an abbreviated instruction for its performance seems to be specified in at least one instance: ÉN *a-nam-di* ÉN *adi*(ÉN) ÉN *t[ummu bītu]*, "(You recite) the incantation 'I have cast a spell' up to and including 'A[*adjured is the house*]'"; see Abusch and Schwemer 2011, 397–398. *tummu bītu* is unedited, but see provisionally, Wiggermann 1992, 111–112.

but it was probably not primary. Indeed, it may be significant that *Lam.* texts which parallel the Nineveh version, used in Babylonian schooling during the first millenium, do not include passages from *Lam.* III.⁴⁹ According to Farber (2012) these exercises may have been used, not only for scribal education, but also for training or reference in the context of performance. If that is indeed the case, it would suggest the primacy of the incantation-series, as opposed to a ritual tablet, in the context of Babylonian performance practice. At Nineveh, it seems that the order of incantations and rituals in *Lam.* I and II of the *tuppu* version was modified. However, as suggested by Farber (p. 20), the revision of *Lam.* I/II at Nineveh was primarily concerned with adapting the sequence of incantations to the “head to feet” ritual action section in *Lam.* III (III: 76'–99'). The associated ritual actions of these incantations are entirely omitted from the “head to feet” section of *Lam.* III, and are in fact, displaced to other parts of the ritual in *Lam.* III, together with other additions. The most likely explanation is that the text of incantations and rituals in *Lam.* I/II were perceived to be of such great importance for the effectiveness of rituals against *Lam.* that they should not be changed in their content. However, the scholars of Nineveh must have considered it admissible to change the *order* of texts in *Lam.* I/II to some extent. They also must have considered it admissible to change the order entirely in *Lam.* III, and to add new material to the ritual *pirsu*. Indeed, as discussed above, *Lam.* III is closely related, and perhaps borrows from, other first millenium rituals, such as the baby rituals, *Qutāru*, *Zi-pà* and *Muššu'u*. Farber (p. 20) argues that the ritual tablet of the *pirsu* version is more ancient, and that *Lam.* I/II were changed to confirm to *Lam.* III: 77'–97'. Farber's reasoning is based on the fact that the Babylonian Nineveh tablets (E, F, H) of *Lam.* III are known, but none are known for *Lam.* I/II. However, as Farber himself remarks (p. 21), the question remains whether mss. E, F and H represent the *tuppu* or *pirsu* versions of *Lam.*

Thus, discrepancies between series and ritual tablet may be explained as the result of the convergence of variant textual streams. The most important point which I have attempted to illustrate here is that such written streams cannot be assumed to correspond exactly to performance practice. The internal inconsistencies in the Nineveh *Lam.* series, demonstrated conclusively by the juxtaposition of conflicting performance sequences on the same physical tablet, can only be explained as a result of the processes of textual transmission.

49 Ms. FsL from Sippar is probably a school tablet attesting to a section which corresponds to *Lam.* III: 49–63. But this manuscript does not follow the Nineveh version exactly, and it is for this reason that it is included by Farber amongst other “non-canonical” ritual passages.

My interpretation of the textual history of *Lam.* diverges somewhat from Farber's. In my view, the ritual tablet (*Lam.* III) is likely to have represented contemporary performance practice at Nineveh. But the sequences of incantations and rituals in *Lam.* I and II may represent a more ancient Babylonian sequence, which was probably not performed at Nineveh; but it remained integral to the text, only slightly adapted in terms of its internal order, to conform to changing ritual practice. The parallels known from other magic rituals, discussed at the beginning of this paper, suggest that the processes of textual transmission discussed in our case study may not be unique to *Lam.*

TABLE 17.1 *Incantations attested on Nineveh manuscripts*

Manuscript A			Manuscript B	
Incantation	<i>Lam.</i> I/II	<i>Lam.</i> III	<i>Lam.</i> I/II	<i>Lam.</i> III ⁵⁰
1	×	×		
2	×	×		
3		×		
4	×			
5	×			
6		×		
7		×	×	
8	×	×	×	
9		×		
10		×	×	
11		×	×	
12	×	×		
13	(×) ⁵¹ (+rub./rit.)	×		

⁵⁰ Ms. B (*Lam.* III: 28–34) includes a passage of ritual instructions which has no direct parallel with the ritual instructions on *Lam.* I/II.

⁵¹ Only traces of incantation 13 appear at the end of ms. A. The rubric and ritual instruction do appear.

TABLE 17.1 *Incantations attested on Nineveh manuscripts (cont.)*

Manuscripts C ₁₋₃			Manuscripts A/B/D ₁₋₂ /E/F/G/H ⁵²	
Incantation	Lam. I/II	Lam. III	Lam. I/II	Lam. III
1	×	×	×	×
2	×	×	×	×
3		×		×
4	×	×	×	×
5	×	×	×	×
6	×	×	×	×
7	×	×	×	×
8	×	×	×	×
9	×	×	×	×
10	×	×	×	×
11	×	×	×	×
12	×	×	×	×
13	×	×	(×) ⁵³	×

Incantations only cited in *Lam. III*:

- Manuscripts C₃, E, G, H: *zurrugu zurrugu* (“abracadabra”; III 57–60)
kirišti libi (“abracadabra”; III 61–62); rubric (III 63)⁵⁴
- Manuscripts A, C₃: **udug ħul-ġál saġ-gaz zi-da** “Evil *utukku*-demon, true head-smasher”
saġ-ba saġ-ba “Oath, oath”
tummu bītu “Adjured is the house”
ab-ta nam-mu-un-da-ku₄-ku₄-dè “Do not enter to him through the window”
^d**En.ki lug[al abzu[?]]** “Enki, kin[g of the Abzu[?]”]

52 Mss. E, F and H are in Babylonian script.
53 Ms. A includes only traces in the last line of incantation 13, which do conform to the other mss.
54 According to Farber these incantations are “abracadabra”. Van Dijk (1982, 100–101) suggests they are Elamite; indeed, van Dijk compares these incantations to several other incantations concerning Lamaštu which apparently exhibit Elamite influence.

TABLE 17.2 *Ritual instructions attested on Nineveh manuscripts*⁵⁵

Ritual instruction	<i>Lam. III</i>	<i>Lam. I</i>	<i>Lam. II</i>
7	8–28 (A, (B), E, F, G) ⁵⁶		61–83 (B, C ₂)
8	35–41 (C ₃ , G)		113–118 (C ₂ , D ₂)
3b	44–45 (C ₃ , G, H)	58–59 (D ₁)	
13	45–46 (C ₃ , G, H)		ø 212 (A, C ₂)
2b	64–66 (C ₃ , E, H)		
3d	67 (C ₃ , E, H)	ø 61 (D ₁)	
6a	67–68 (C ₃ , E, H)		28–30 (C ₂ , D ₂)
3c	74 (A, C ₃ , E, H)	ø 60 (D ₁)	
6b	74–75 (A, C ₃ , E, H)		31–33 (C ₂ , D ₂)
2a	110–118 (A, C ₃ , E)	23–31 (C ₁ , D ₁)	
3a	119–129 (C ₃ , E)	47–57 (D ₁)	
4	130–135 (C ₃ , E)	94–99 (A, C ₁ , D ₁)	
Ritual instruction	Mss. C ₃	Mss. C _{1–2}	Other Nineveh mss. <i>Lam. I/II and III</i>
2a	×	×	×
2b	×		
3a	×		×
3b	×		×
3c	×		×
3d	×		×
4	×	×	×
6a	×	×	×
6b	×	×	×

⁵⁵ Ritual passages are numbered after their associated incantations on *Lam. I* and *II*. The table does not include ritual instructions in *Lam. III* which are unknown in *Lam. I* and *II*. Ritual instructions associated with incantations 1 and 5 are not cited in *Lam. III*. Incantations 9, 10, 11 and 12 do not have associated ritual instructions. The *pīrsu* and *tuppu* versions of rituals 7 and 8 include significant variants, mainly concerning the sequence of ritual actions; however, their overall content is almost identical in both versions. Here I follow Farber's (and Borger's) use of the symbol ø to indicate an inexact parallel. Farber (2014, 45) defines the symbol as "text (or passage) belongs with x; for further information and details see there". Mss. E, F and H are in Babylonian script.

⁵⁶ Ms. B includes only one and a half signs at the end of line 28.

TABLE 17.2 *Ritual instructions attested on Nineveh manuscripts (cont.)*

Ritual instruction	Mss. C ₃	Mss. C ₁₋₂	Other Nineveh mss. <i>Lam. I/II and III</i>
7		×	×
8	×	×	×
13	×	×	×

TABLE 17.3 *Ritual action according to Lam. I and II (pirsu version)*⁵⁷

Inc. 1	"Dimme, Child of An...". Invocation of the seven names of Lamaštu.
Rit. 1	You write Inc. 1 on a clay cylinder seal, place it on the baby's neck.
Inc. 2	"Dimme, Child of An...". Ritual content: <u>making Lamaštu hold a black dog, pouring well water for her.</u>
Rit. 2a	Make a figurine of Lamaštu as a prisoner. For Lamaštu: place unsifted flour, <u>libate well water, make her hold a black dog.</u> Make her sit at the head of the sick person for three days. Give her food and travel provisions. Recite "the incantation" (Inc. 2) to her, in the morning, noon and evening. On the third day , late afternoon, bury her outside in the corner of the wall.
Rit. 2b	Recipe including bitumen and other materials from a boat. Anoint the patient with the recipe.
Inc. 3	"She is fierce...". Description of Lamaštu's evil deeds. Plea to Šamaš to exert his rulership (over Lamaštu).
Rit. 3a	Make a figurine of Lamaštu. Clothe her, give her comb, distaff, oil. Make four clay donkeys, fill four leather bags with provisions for the donkeys. In the late afternoon, shortly before sunset, move her out into the steppe (<i>šēru</i>), make her face eastward, surround her with a magic circle. Conjure her (<i>tutammīši</i>).
Rit. 3b	Place chaff, pig dung and other materials around the patient's neck.
Rit. 3c	Fumigate the patient with <i>kukru</i> -plant and mustard seed.

⁵⁷ The contents of ritual instructions and incantations are summarized, including only what I consider the most salient points. Underlined passages indicate agreement between Incantation and ritual instructions, in terms of ritual content. Note that Rit. 2a, Rit. 4 and Rit. 5 are each 3-day rituals.

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- Rit. 3d Anoint the patient with cress^(?) and *aprušu*-plant.
- Inc. 4 “She is clad in scorching heat...”. Description of Lamaštu’s evil deeds. Conjuring of Lamaštu (*utammīki*) by the great gods.
- Rit. 4 Make a figurine of Lamaštu. Have her sit at the head of the patient. Stick a dagger in a vessel. Place the vessel at the head of the patient for three days. On the **third day**, in late afternoon, take her outside and strike her with the dagger. Bury her in the corner of the city wall. Surround her with a magic circle.
- Inc. 5 “Dimme, Child of An...”. Long description of Lamaštu’s evil deeds and appearance. Request for Lamaštu to target animals instead of humans, and to accept travel provisions provided.
- Rit. 5 Make a figurine of Lamaštu. Make a clay donkey. Provide travel provisions. Variation on Rit. 2a and 3a.
- Inc. 6 “I am casting a spell...”. Ritual content: reference to cloth and pig’s lard.
- Rit. 6a Rub the patient with a mixture including soiled cloth and lard from a white pig.
- Rit. 6b Fumigate with unsifted flour, *šušikillu*-onions, snake skin etc.
- Inc. 7 “Fierce is the daughter of Anu...”. Description of Lamaštu. Reference to narrative including the text of Asalluhi’s incantation against Lamaštu “Be gone to the mountain which you love” (*atlakī ana šadī ša tarammī*), within Inc. 7.
- Rit. 7 Make a tablet, write Inc. 7 on it. Hang the tablet at the head of the bed. Make clay dogs, write inscriptions on the model dogs, place them in positions near or at the door.
- Inc. 8 “She is fierce...”. Description of Lamaštu. Reference to narrative including dialogue with Enlil. Conjuring of Lamaštu (*utammīki*) by harbu-plough and seeder-plough.
- Rit. 8 Make coils from wool, donkey, pig, centipede, harbu-plough and seeder-plough. Hang the coils around the patient’s neck.
- Inc. 9 “She is fierce...”. Description of Lamaštu. Plea to Šamaš to exert his rulership (over Lamaštu).
- Inc. 10 “Oh Lamaštu, daughter of Anu...”. Description of Lamaštu.

TABLE 17.3 *Ritual action according to Lam. I and II (pirsu version) (cont.)*

Inc. 11	"I am the daughter of Anu from heaven...". Dialogue between Lamaštu (first person) and her father, Anu. Instead of killing his daughter, Anu wishes Lamaštu to leave, preferably to the sea or a high mountain.
Inc. 12	"She is monstrous, the Daughter of Anu...". Long description of Lamaštu. Ea-Asalluhi dialogue. Ea tells Asalluhi/Marduk to use incantations against Lamaštu, and to give Lamaštu travel provisions. Asalluhi/Marduk is also directed to build canals and mountains to stop Lamaštu getting near to the patient.
Inc. 13	"Dimme, the child of An...". Request that Lamaštu leaves.
Rit. 13	Rub the patient with a potion including <i>azallû</i> -plant. Place <i>azallû</i> -plant around the patient's neck.

TABLE 17.4 *Ritual action according to Lam. III (pirsu version)*⁵⁸

1.	1–7:	Draw a representation of Lamaštu at or near the door of the bedroom.
2.	8–28:	(Rit. 7) Make a tablet, write Inc. 7 on it. Hang the tablet at the head of the bed. Install clay dogs.
3.	29–35:	Prepare a cord of stones. Place the cord around the patient's neck.
4.	35–41:	(Rit. 8*) Make coils from wool, donkey, pig and other materials.
5.	42–43:	Combine the cord of stones with the coils. Attach materials to the neck of the patient.
6.	44–45:	(Rit. 3b) Place chaff, pig dung and other materials around the patient's neck.
7.	45–46:	(Rit. 13*) Place <i>azallû</i> -plant (on white cord) around the patient's neck.
8.	47–63:	String stones onto wool cords, tie the cords to the patient's hands and feet. Recite (7 times) the incantations <i>zurru gu zurru gu</i> and <i>kirišti libi</i> over the stones.
9.	64–66:	(Rit. 2b) Recipe for anointment, including bitumen and other materials from a boat.
10.	67:	(Rit. 3d*) Anoint the patient with <i>aprušu</i> -plant and <i>azullû</i> -plant.
11.	67–78:	(Rit. 6a) Anoint the patient with donkey's hide, fuller's paste, soiled cloth, fish, lard from a white pig.
12.	69–73:	Recite Inc. 2, 3 and 6, three times over the ointment.

⁵⁸ The contents of ritual instructions and incantations are summarized, including only what I consider the most salient points. Asterisks indicate significant variations in ritual instructions, compared to *Lam. I* and *II*. Underlined passages indicate the most significant additions to such instructions. Ritual instructions which only appear in *Lam. III* are left unmarked. Note that Rit. 2a and Rit. 4 are each 3-day rituals, as in *Lam. I/II*.

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13. 74: (Rit. 3c) Fumigate with *kukru*-plant and mustard seed.
14. 74–75: (Rit. 6b) Fumigate with unsifted flour, *šušikillu*-onions, snake skin etc.
15. 76–99: When you rub (*tumašša'u*) the baby, recite: **Inc. 1** over his head
Inc. 2 over his neck
Inc. 3 over his right hand
Inc. 4 over his left hand
Inc. 5 over his chest and abdomen
Inc. 6 and 7 over his back
Inc. 8, 9, 10 and 11 over his right foot
Inc. 12 and 13 over his left foot
16. 100–104: Recite **Inc. 6** over three fumigations, place them by the door and bed. Hold an *e'ru*-stick and palm shoot to his head.
17. 104–106: Recite **udug hul-ġál saġ-gaz zi-da** “Evil *utukku*-demon, true head-smasher”. Then place (the *e'ru*-stick and palm shoot) next to his head. Then surround the bed with a flour circle.
18. 107–109: Recite **saġ-ba saġ-ba** “Oath, oath”, **tummu bitu** “Adjured is the house”, **ab-ta nam-mu-un-da-ku₄-ku₄-dè** “Do not enter to him through the window” and **En-ki lug[al abzu²]** “Enki, kin[g of the Abzu...]”
19. 110–118: (Rit. 2a*) On the first day, in the evening, you make a figurine of Lamaštu as a prisoner. For Lamaštu: place unsifted flour, libate well water, make her hold a black dog. Make her sit at the head of the patient for three days. Give her food and travel provisions. Recite “the incantation” (Inc. 2?) to her, in the morning, noon and evening. On the third day, in the late afternoon, bury her outside in the corner of the wall.
20. 119–129: (Rit. 3a*) On the fourth day, you make a figurine of Lamaštu. Clothe her, give her comb, distaff, oil. Make four clay donkeys, fill four leather bags with provisions for the donkeys. In late afternoon, shortly before sunset, move her out into the steppe, make her face eastward, surround her with a magic circle, conjure her.
21. 130–135: (Rit. 4^(*)) [On the fifth day], you make a figurine of Lamaštu. Have her sit at the head of the patient. Stick a dagger in a vessel containing ashes. Place the vessel at the head of the patient for 3 days. On the third day, in late afternoon, take her outside and strike her with the dagger. Bury her in the corner of the city wall. Surround her with a magic circle, (but) you must not look back.
22. 136–138: Direction concerning the wet nurse and the sick baby’s salves.
(The remaining text is broken. Lacuna of up to five lines.)
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Divine Privilege of the Rich and Powerful? Seeking Healing of Illness by Presenting a Luxurious Gift

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Introduction

The ancient Mesopotamians regarded illnesses, like other adversities, as divine punishment; as the seizure of malevolent entities such as evil spirits, ghosts, witchcraft; or as a combination of both.¹ In order to treat a patient, learned specialists first had to determine the nature of the illness and decide on the appropriate treatment. Their diagnosis relied not only on observation of the symptoms but also on elements of the patient's surroundings, including the behaviour of animals that the specialists observed en route to the patient's house, dreams dreamt by the patient, cries of birds, and movements of stars. One might find the idea of basing diagnoses on the events that the specialists witnessed on their way to the patient or on the movements of stars irrational and unscientific. However, as N. Heeßel shows elsewhere, the specialists had to identify "the name of the disease, its divine sender, the development of the disease, and the chances of the sick man's recovery",² and such signs were

* We would like to thank Prof. Joachim Marzahn, the former curator of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, for allowing Oshima to copy and collate VAT 10122 in 2004 and 2009. We would like to thank Dr. Mikko Luukko, Prof. Yoram Cohen and Prof. Nils Heeßel for reading our manuscript and offering insightful comments. We are also grateful to Ms. Sandy Rogers for editing our English. We follow the abbreviation system of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD).

1 We do not go into the details of ancient Mesopotamian medicine here. For a concise study on Mesopotamian medicine, one may consult the jubilarian's Geller 2010. For magical treatments of illnesses, see also Maul 2004, 79–95.

2 Heeßel 2004, 100 on the fundamental concept of the *Diagnostic Handbook*.

considered to be a vital source of information for determining the nature of an illness, just like physical symptoms such as headache, fever, rash, colour of skin, and so forth.

The treatments of diseases were twofold: medical remedy and exorcism. Roughly speaking, the Mesopotamian medical procedures consisted of medication and surgical procedures. During the magical treatments, cleansing and incantation-priests performed various rituals involving purification of the patient's body, recitations of prayers, sacrificing livestock, libations, bringing meal offerings, and burning incense. Their main purpose was to cleanse sins, remove the malevolent agents, gain forgiveness from the sender of the demonic entity, and restore the patient's relationship with the gods. If a specialist determined that witchcraft was to be blamed for the illness, the ritual often included the symbolical killing of the sorcerer by casting a figurine representing the sorcerer in a river, destroying it by dismemberment or incineration, or burying it in a remote place.

Various cuneiform documents hint that, although many modern scholars have not correctly realized its significance, there was a third way to combat illnesses. It was not magical, medical, or spiritual but rather earthly: in their attempts to gain divine help in finding a cure for a deadly illness, the Mesopotamians sometimes made a luxurious donation to the gods. In this essay, we discuss VAT 10122, a text in the cuneiform tablet collections of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin. We examine various aspects of this text in an attempt to understand the rationale underlying such actions. We also present a new copy and edition of VAT 10122. It is our great pleasure to offer our joint study on this remarkable way of dealing with illnesses to Professor Mark J. Geller, who devoted himself to the study of Sumero-Babylonian magic and medicine.

Contents and Dating of VAT 10122 (= *KAL* 3 72)

VAT 10122 is a so-called landscape-format clay tablet³ preserving eleven lines of an Akkadian text commemorating the donation of a vessel (*šappu*)⁴ to the

3 It currently measures 5.8 cm (w) × 2.9 cm (h) × 1.5 cm (th). Frahm (2009, 137) estimates that over a third of the tablet is lost.

4 For *šappu*-vessels, see Salonen 1966, 124–131. He suggests identifying it as a “Napf” (bowl) or “Topf” (jar) with a flat bottom, *ibid.*, 124. Gaspa (2014, 145) also defines a *šappu* as a bowl used for offerings (see also *ibid.*, 75–77). For a further discussion of *šappu*-libation vessels made of precious metal, see below.

goddess Tašmētu. Given that the first half of line 6 reads *ana mullê muttinni maqqîti*, “for filling with the choicest libation wine”, it is evident that the vessel was used for wine libation. As it was most probably made of silver (see below), it is very likely the bowl was used regularly for a longer period of time, perhaps during daily meal offerings or annual ceremonies like the *Akîtu*-festivals.

VAT 10122 was found in the city of Assur, but the exact find spot is unknown. Its hand copy was first published by E. Ebeling as *KAR* 362. In 2009, E. Frahm published a new copy and edition (= *KAL* 3 72).⁵ Frahm’s hand copy and edition offer several important improvements in the understanding of this text.

Frahm tentatively dates this text to late in the Neo-Assyrian period, shortly before the fall of the Assyrian Empire, and relates it to VAT 9448 (= Assur 1328), a clay tablet preserving two dedicatory inscriptions of Sîn-šarru-iškun, the last Assyrian king. Sîn-šarru-iškun’s inscriptions commemorate the donation of a golden basin to Nabû and a silver spoon to his spouse, Tašmētu.⁶ Its colophons (lines 10 and 23) testify that they were copies of the original texts written on the gifts given by the king. Because Sîn-šarru-iškun’s Nabû-temple stood in the precincts of the Ištar temple in the city of Assur,⁷ it is reasonable to believe that Tašmētu also resided there. However, there is no internal textual evidence that supports Frahm’s suggestion relating our text to the dedicatory inscriptions of Sîn-šarru-iškun.

Unlike *KAL* 3 73 (VAT 10166) or Sîn-šarru-iškun’s inscriptions (VAT 9448), in our text, at the place where one expects the donor’s name, one finds the term *annanna*, “Mr. So-and-So” (line 5). This indicates that the text was not composed for a particular person, but was what one may call a draft or even a template text. Put differently, like the prayers recited during *Šuila*- and *Namburbi*-rituals, this text was used on multiple occasions, and when it was written down or recited, the name of the donor of a libation bowl was inserted in place of *annanna*. Although there is no hint of the social background of the donor in the text, because it is most probable that only wealthy people could afford to make such a donation of a silver bowl to a temple, we assume that the donor was either of high rank or a rich businessman.

Even if it is less likely, one may speculate that this text was also used for a royal person. The term *annanna*, “So-and-So”, is attested in various *Šuila*-

5 Frahm 2009, 256 (copy) and 137–138 (edition), respectively.

6 Frahm 2009, 136–137. For the inscription, see Falkner 1952–1953, 306–307.

7 Meinhold 2009, 46–47, 83–84. For Sîn-šarru-iškun’s royal inscriptions commemorating the construction of the Nabû-temple, see *ibid.*, 445–466, Text Nr. 16.

prayers and *Namburbi*-incantations that were recited during the *Bīt rimki* and the *Bīt sala' mê*-rituals. Although these rituals were normally performed for royal persons,⁸ in the generic versions of these prayers, one finds no allusion to the supplicant's social status as a king. When recited, the king's name, along with his royal titles, was inserted in place of the term *annanna*.⁹ If so, because line 8 refers to "his begetter", i.e. to the donor's father, the donor should be a prince.¹⁰

The Genre of VAT 10122

Because the tablet has no colophon, it is impossible to know the exact usage of the present text in antiquity; nor are we sure of its exact classification. Frahm speculates that the text was an *Entwurf* (draft) of a dedicatory inscription for a libation bowl, when a private person made such a donation to Tašmētu in the Nabû-temple in Assur.¹¹ Frahm's assumption is, however, not free of criticism. First of all, there is no clear indication in the preserved portions of the text that it was indeed a dedicatory text: no word meaning "to give" (e.g., *nadānu*, *šarāku*) or "to place" (e.g., *kānu*) is preserved in VAT 10122. Such a verb may have been stated in the lacuna in line 6a, though. Yet, that is not the only problem that casts doubt on Frahm's suggestion: in Neo-Assyrian votive inscriptions, such a phrase typically concludes the entire text.¹² The same is true for VAT 10166 (= *KAL* 3 73) and Sîn-šarru-iškun's inscriptions discussed above. Hence, if the action of making a donation was stated in the lacuna in line 6a, given the most common pattern of Neo-Assyrian dedicatory inscriptions, either line 6 or line 7 should conclude the text. In reality, however, this section is further followed by requests for compassion for the donor's father and the donor himself and what modern scholars call a "thanksgiving".¹³ The table below shows the structure of our text:

8 Parpola 1983, xxvi.

9 For further discussion on this subject, see Mayer 1976, 48–52.

10 In line 8, one sees traces of a sign, most probably NENNI (not a blank space as Frahm 2009, 138 reports).

11 Frahm 2009, 138.

12 See, e.g., Deller 1983; Watanabe 1994.

13 For a succinct discussion on "thanksgiving" in Akkadian prayers, see Oshima 2011, 18–22 with further references.

Hymnic introduction	1–4
Presentation of the donor and his gift to Tašmētu	5–6
Donor's pleas for the goddess's compassion for the sake of his father and himself	7–10
Thanksgiving	11

If it was indeed a dedicatory inscription, it was composed in a very unusual way.

As a matter of fact, a closer examination of VAT 10122 reveals that it follows a typical formula of Akkadian prayers.¹⁴ In the introductory section of the text, the supplicant refers to Tašmētu's power to avert a curse and heal people (lines 3–4). The allusions to Tašmētu's divine quality as a healing deity well correlate with the supplicant's request for his salvation from the *Asakku*-demon/illness (lines 9–10). As observed by various modern scholars, in the hymnic introduction of a prayer, the supplicant normally refers to the necessary qualities of a god that are relevant to his pleas.¹⁵ That is to say that the main purpose of this text, and probably of the donation of a silver libation bowl, was to gain Tašmētu's benevolent attention for the sake of the donor who was suffering from a dangerous illness.

Moreover, the allusion to the donor's illness and his pleas for the goddess's compassion and assistance in lines 8–9 are very unusual for a dedicatory inscription. In dedicatory inscriptions, we normally find pleas for the general well-being (e.g., divine mercy, peace, or health) of the donor and of the rulers whom they served without specifying any adversities they faced. For example, a very common phrase in the Neo-Assyrian votive inscriptions is *ana bal-āṭišu/balāṭ napištišu*, "for his health".¹⁶ Yet, phrases referring to one's illness and

14 For the typical formula of Akkadian prayers with 1) a hymnic introduction, 2) a lament, 3) pleas and 4) a thanksgiving, see von Soden 1957–1971, 161; Oshima 2011, 14. On the other hand, Mayer (1976, 36–37) identifies five elements: 1) die Anrede und die Vergegenwärtigung der Gottheit, 2) die Klage, 3) die Schilderung des Tuns des Beters, 4) die Bitte, and 5) der Gebetsschluss.

15 E.g., Widengren 1936, 90; Gerstenberger 1980, 97; Mayer 1976, 44–45.

16 See the votive inscriptions from the Neo-Assyrian period, e.g., Deller 1983; Watanabe 1994. The same is also true for royal dedicatory inscriptions; see, e.g., the royal dedicatory inscription of Sîn-šarru-iškun discussed above (Falkner 1952–1953, 306–307). Incidentally, in *KAL* 3 73: 6–7, Šumma-Aššur states the reason for his donation of a *šāhu*-basin as follows, *ana mu[hḫ]i(?) našir napištišu šurši šumšu(?) šemī suppēšu*: "So that his (i.e. Šumma-Aššur's) life will be protected, his offspring will be born, (and) his prayers will be heard."

requests for divine compassion are, in fact, more commonly attested in prayers concerning personal problems.¹⁷

The Mesopotamians normally saw illnesses, even seizures of evil-spirits, as punishments for their sins against divine beings.¹⁸ By mentioning his illnesses (i.e., divine punishments), the individual, in effect, openly admitted that he had committed a sin against the gods. Although such a possibility cannot be ruled out completely, it is very unlikely that a donor would mention such an illness particularly in a dedicatory inscription on a silver libation bowl that was meant to be used regularly. It would have meant risking that the others learnt about his guilt, thus bringing public humiliation. If one sought healing by a god, as seen in various Neo-Assyrian dedicatory inscriptions, a generic phrase like *ana bal-āṭišu/balāṭ napištišu*, “for his health”, should suffice. Thus, we believe that the text preserved on VAT 10122 is not a draft of a dedicatory inscription, as Frahm suggests, but a template prayer recited when someone donated a silver libation bowl to the goddess Tašmētu. In fact, as discussed in the philological notes below, we find many parallels between VAT 10122 and various *Šuila*-prayers to Tašmētu. It is possible that the author of this text was influenced by these prayers. It is also possible that VAT 10122 shares the same source as the *Šuila*-prayers to Tašmētu. In that case, the authors of these prayers simply used stock phrases that had been compiled by priests and scribes. If VAT 10122 was a template prayer as we suggest, it is plausible that the silver libation bowl itself bore another inscription of the donor that followed the standard formula of Neo-Assyrian dedicatory inscriptions outlined above.

A Luxurious *šappu*-Libation Vessel in Exchange for Divine Favour?

As discussed above, the *šappu*-vessel in question was used for wine libation. Wine libation occupied an important position in Mesopotamian cult activities. It was performed during each meal for the gods, various rituals, and annual ceremonies.¹⁹ In order to show respect to the gods, vessels made of precious materials were used for these libations.²⁰ For example, a ritual text copied by Šamaš-ētir, an Urukian scribe who was active in the second century BCE,²¹

17 Cf. Oshima 2011, 15–18.

18 Cf., e.g., Löhnert 2011–2012; Mittermayer 2013.

19 For libation in ancient Mesopotamia in general, see Heimpel 1987–1990.

20 Salonen 1966, 129–130.

21 For Šamaš-ētir, see Linssen 2004, 172.

refers to multiple *šappu*-libation vessels made of gold, silver, and alabaster.²² These vessels were used for libation during divine meals. Furthermore, golden libation bowls (*maqqu*)²³ were also used during the *Akītu*-festival in the month Tašritu in Uruk. According to this text, libations were made by the king, priests, and temple-enterers.²⁴ One may surmise that the silver *šappu*-bowl referred to in our text was also used during such annual rituals.

Although there is no reference to its material in the preserved portions of the text, it is very likely that, as Frahm suggests, the libation vessel in our text was also made of precious metal, namely, silver.²⁵ Similarities in the phraseology between our text and VAT 10166 (= *KAL* 3 73), a copy of a votive inscription commemorating a certain Šumma-Aššur's²⁶ donation of a *šāḥu*-libation bowl made of one mina (approx. 500 grams) of silver to the Ezida-temple in Baltil (= Assur),²⁷ support this assumption.

22 See *ibid.*, 172 ff.

23 *Ibid.*, 160 suggests that *maqqu* was a sub-category of *šappu*.

24 The term *ērib bīti*, literally, “temple enterer”, was a title given to the people who had full access to the cella of the divinity (see Waerzeggers 2008, 14–17). As Linssen (2004, 17–18) outlines, “temple enterers” were not only those who performed cult rituals, i.e. various priests and cult singers, but also the people needed for the maintenance of the cult and its daily activities: e.g., goldsmith, carpenter, jeweller, seal-cutter, cook/baker, brewer, oil-maker, butcher, and miller. Because the ritual text for the *Akītu*-festival in the month Tašritu in Uruk refers to the kings, priests, and singers individually, it is highly likely that *ērib bīti*, “temple enterer”, in this ritual instruction for the *Akītu*-festival signifies not the priests but other members of *ērib bīti*. Thus, alongside a king, priests, and cult-singers, also craftsmen and other domestic workers of a temple performed ritual activities, probably as acolytes, in addition to their normal tasks.

25 Frahm 2009, 138; cf. also SAA 7 60: i 11 (*šap-pe-e* KÙ.BABBAR). We cannot take for granted that the *šappu*-vessel was made of silver; golden *šappu*-vessels for wine libation are also referred to in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts, see, e.g., CAD Š/1 479 s.v. *šappu*; SAA 13 169: r. 3', ŠAB.MEŠ KÙ.SI₂₂, in broken, cultic context; and Linssen 2004, 172–173: 5, 9–11. The specification *ebbu* in our text, however, does point in the direction of a vessel made of pure silver.

26 Frahm 2009, 173–174 and 257. For Šumma-Aššur, see PNA 3/2, 1283–1285, where M. Luukko registers 35 different entries of the same name. Frahm (2009, 139) speculates that this person might be identified with a baker from Assur who acted as a witness in CT 33, pl. 19, BM 103392, tablet line 12 and envelope line 14 (PNA 3/2, 1284, No. 11).

27 The divine name in *KAL* 3 73 is written ^dMAŠ, a common Sumerogram for Ninurta. However, because line 1 of this prayer states that this god dwells in Ezida, which is the temple of the god Nabû in Assyria, we should take ^dMAŠ as an unusual Sumerogram for the divine name Nabû (Frahm 2009, 139). For the Ezida temple, see George 1993, 160, Nos. 1238–1239. This composition probably represents the Nabû–Ninurta syncretism which was estab-

Our text does not specify the *šappu*-vessel's weight. At the place where we would expect a mention of its weight, one finds *annanna*, "so-and-so" (line 5). When a silver libation *šappu*-vessel was donated to Tašmētu, its exact weight was inserted here. The instructions for the daily offerings in the temples of Uruk, for example, refer to two different sizes of *šappu* wine libation vessels: 1 *SÌLA/qû* (approx. 1 litre) and 5 *NINDA/akalu* (approx. 500 ml).²⁸ The Late Babylonian *CT* 55 281: 4 records one silver *šappu*-vessel weighing one mina; *CT* 55 280 lists several silver *šappu*-vessels of varying sizes with an average weight of approximately 100 shekels (circa 800 grams). *YOS* 7 170 recounts that when a *šappu*-vessel on a stand (*šappu karû*) disappeared from the temple of Gula, a payment of one mina of silver was made in order to produce a new one.²⁹ Obviously, the weight of the silver *šappu*-vessels was not fixed; however, with weights such as these, it is clear that silver *šappu*-libation vessels were valuable and precious.

One can easily imagine that the Mesopotamians donated such cult objects in order to demonstrate their devotion to the gods. However, the phraseology of our text suggests that the primary objective of the donor of the silver *šappu*-libation vessel was to seek Tašmētu's healing power for his illness. The text suggests that, as in many world cultures modern and ancient, by bringing luxurious objects the Mesopotamians not only wished to demonstrate their loyalty to the gods, but also hoped to gain their blessings. For example, in his dedicatory inscriptions, Sîn-šarru-iškun states that he donated gifts to Nabû and Tašmētu for his health, long life, welfare of his offspring, establishment of his throne, overpowering of his enemies, and accomplishment of his wish.³⁰ Another example can be found in *RINAP* 4 93, a royal inscription of Esarhaddon that commemorates the construction of the palace in Tarbišu for Ashurbanipal, then the crown prince of Assyria. Therein, Esarhaddon recounts that he made livestock sacrifices and brought gifts to Nergal and Laš of the city in order to ask for the welfare of himself and his son Ashurbanipal. Its lines 32–34 read: "After I finished the work on that palace and completed its construction, I

lished in the 8th century BCE. For the Ninurta–Nabû syncretism and Nabû's cults in Assyria, see Pomponio 1998, 21; Annus 2002, 39 ff., esp. 44; and Frahm 2006, 23, philological note to line 16. This Nabû–Ninurta syncretism was a product of a very complicated syncretism of the four gods, Marduk, Nabû, Enlil and Aššur. For the latter, see Maul 1998, 159–197, esp. 193–194; and Schaudig 2010, 152–156.

28 See Linssen 2004, 172–173: 9 and 11, respectively; Salonen 1966, 129.

29 See Beaulieu 2003, 276.

30 Falkner 1952–1953, 306: 8–9, 21–22.

invited the god Nergal (and) the goddess Laš, (gods) who live in the city Tarbišu, into it. I made large, pure offerings before them (and) presented (them) with my gifts. May the god Nergal (and) the goddess Laš decree for me a blessing of long days (and) years of good health (and) happiness, and may they give (the same) to Ashurbanipal.”³¹

Cuneiform documents testify that, in addition to the gifts brought by a king in order to secure his own welfare, as in the case of Sîn-šarru-iškun, his subjects also brought offerings and donations to temples in order to ask the gods for their master's well-being. For example, SAA 12 96 documents Nabû-sakip's donating two slaves and an estate to Nabû in Calah. In this document, Nabû-sakip specifies that the donation was made for the sake of Sîn-šarru-iškun's and his queen's good health (lines 11–12).

What is unique about our VAT 10122 is the fact that the donation was made by a private person for his own sake. Private donation seeking the donor's well-being is also documented in KAL 3 73 (VAT 10166) discussed above. These texts clearly indicate that not only royal persons but also wealthy people made donations to the gods in order to seek their blessings. But, was this a privilege of the rich and powerful?

In various incantations recited during healing rituals, one frequently finds the phrase *bulliṭīma qīštam liqê*: “Restore (my health) and take the gift.”³² This phrase is normally addressed to Gula, the goddess of healing, and suggests that, in return for a cure of the illness, the patient pledged himself to make a donation to her cult. Some Akkadian prayers detail the objects which the supplicants promised to bring to the cults when they were healed. For example, a lengthy Akkadian prayer to Marduk, *Prayer to Marduk No. 1*: 157–166, states as follows:³³

157 Let your servant live (var. give birth to your servant) so that he can
praise your heroism,
may he proclaim your greatness to the entire world.
Accept his offering, receive his *gift*,

31 RINAP 4, 176–177.

32 Böck 2014, 114.

33 Oshima 2011, 166–167. Oshima (2014, 330–331, note to line 56) has observed that, in *Lud-lul bēl nēmeqi V*, after having been healed, its protagonist, Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan, brought to Esagil, the temple of Marduk, objects almost identical to those promised in the *Prayer to Marduk No. 1*. Given this fact, one may postulate that, although probably not everyone could afford to do so, the items mentioned in this section of the *Prayer to Marduk No. 1* were standard offerings that one brought to the temples in order to thank the gods for their involvement in one's healing.

- 160 on the soil of well-being, in front of you, may he walk.
 May he rain down abundant agricultural products on your dais,
 let his provision of foods be *performed* in your temple.
 May he drench your bolt bar with oil like water,
 may he drip precious oil onto your doorjambs plentifully.
- 165 May he burn for you cedar resin,
 apricots of celebrations, abundance of grain.

Although the phrases in the *Prayer to Marduk No. 1* are far more elaborate than the simple formula attested in Akkadian incantations addressed to Gula, they are both based on the same notion of gifts given as offerings to the gods in return for their divine blessings granted to the suppliant/penitent. As Böck observes, these gifts were best defined as *ex-votos*.³⁴ Apparently, the Mesopotamians believed that the gods would bestow their blessings on a suppliant in response to a gift promised in a prayer or brought to their temple. Does this, however, mean that the people who could not afford to bring luxurious gifts to the temples should not expect any blessings from the gods?

It seems that people were allowed to bring offerings according to their social status and economic abilities. For example, according to the prayer to Šamaš recited during the dream rituals, a widow was expected to offer *maṣḥatu*-flour or a cake made of it,³⁵ while the rich people were required to bring lambs as offerings to the gods.³⁶

- 21 A diviner brings you cedar (resin),
 22 a widow (brings) *maṣḥatu*-flour,³⁷ a poor woman (brings) oil, a rich man,
 23 in his riches, carries a lamb.

One may also note a parallel phrase in *KAR 25: ii 19–20*, a syncretistic *Šuila*-prayer to Marduk.³⁸ These phrases suggest that there was no “fixed price” for imploring divine blessings. One’s economic capability and social status deter-

34 Geller (2010, 93–94) interprets such gifts as fees for the priests and others who performed healing rituals and medical procedures. See also Böck 2014, 114 and note 57.

35 One may hypothesize that *maṣḥatu*-flour and oil signified the most modest gifts to the gods, something comparable to the biblically derived English expression “widow’s mite”, see Oshima 2014, 236, philological note to *Ludlul II: 20*.

36 Butler 1998, 274: 21–23 (= Oppenheim 1956, 340: Fragment IV // *ibid.*, pl. 6 // *KAR 252*). For an interpretation of these lines, see also Heeßel 2012, 5.

37 A variant reads “a cake of *maṣḥatu*-flour” instead.

38 See Oshima 2011, 388–389: 17–18.

mined what one should bring to the temples. Probably, what was important for the Assyrians and Babylonians was to demonstrate their devotion to the gods to the best of their abilities.

It should not come as a surprise, therefore, to learn that the king, the most powerful and wealthy man in his land, made the most expensive gifts to the gods. The ancient thinkers believed that the monarchs were created by the gods as their providers, while the rest of humankind was merely a workforce. An example of this is found in a ritual text for temple renovation known from Late Babylonian exemplars:³⁹

- 37 He (Ea) [cr]eated the king as the provider of the [*cults of the gods*],
38 he [crea]ted humankind for “lab[our] ...”.

Note also a similar notion expressed in another temple building ritual text:⁴⁰

- 7–8 They (the gods Anu, Enlil, and Ea) [*assigned*?] the black-headed, the brick-basket to the people, ... [...].
9–10 They called the shepherd (i.e. the king) the provider of the cults of the gods in the land.

Concluding Remarks

The ancient Mesopotamians believed that one's devotion to the gods should be rewarded with wealth and good health, whereas failure to demonstrate their piety to the gods could elicit divine anger and thus human adversities. When they encountered dismays and plights despite the constant demonstration of their piety to the gods, some people must have raised doubts on the fairness of the divine justice. In light of this observation, one may suggest that they regarded their offerings and gifts to the temples as well as their prayers to the gods not only as a means to demonstrate their loyalty to the gods but also as a means to protect themselves from any kind of evil—an “insurance” against misfortunes, so to speak. This kind of belief is universal.⁴¹ One finds similar notions on donations made to religious institutions in many world cultures, both ancient and modern. However, the phraseology of VAT 10122 suggests that

39 Linssen 2004, 301–303: 37–38. Note also Dietrich 2000.

40 Ambos 2004, 194–195: 7–19. The English translation is ours. Note also Mayer 1978, 438–441.

41 See, e.g., Boyer 2001, 241–246 and *passim*.

the silver *šappu*-vessel for wine libation in our text was not meant to be such an “insurance” but rather an “inducement” so that Tašmētu would act in favour of the suppliant and cure him of his illness. Nonetheless, we do not argue that the donor saw his silver vessel as a “bribe” in the same way that modern people in different parts of the world often offer “gifts” to doctors in order to get better treatments or special care, which are normally not available to other patients. For the donor, the offering probably symbolized in the first place his honest devotion worthy of his social status.

Edition of VAT 10122 (*KAL* 3 72)⁴²

Transliteration

Obverse

1. *a-na* ^dTaš-me-tum *kal-lat* É-[*sag-gíl na-ram-ti* ^dNabû(AG) (...)] \ *ḫi-rat mār*(DUMU) *bēl*(EN) *ilāni*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *šá* [*šamê*(AN^e) *u eršet*(KI^{tim}) (...)]
2. *rubāti*(ÉGI) *šá par-šu-šá šur-bu-u te-re-tu-šá*¹ [*ši-ra-a*²] \ *mì-lik-šá* (erasure) [*a enû*[?]]
3. *be-let taš-me-e u sa-li-me ša-bi-t[a]-a[t a-bu-ut*[?] *en-ši*[?] (...)] \ *mu-bal-li-ṭa-at nap*[*išti*(Z[I^{ti}]) (...)]
4. *bēlti*(GAŠAN^{*}) *šá kīma*(GIM) *ḫa*^{*}-*i-i-ri-šá arrata*(ÁŠ) *a-na* [... (...)] \ *i-na-a[s-s]a-ḫ[u ...]*
5. ^m*annanna*(NENNI) *pa-liḫ ilūti*(DINGIR^{ti})-*šá r[abūt]i*(GA[L^t]ⁱ) *ušēpiš*(DÙ)-*ma š[ap-pu kaspi* (KÙ.BABBAR)] \ *eb-bi šá annanna*(NENNI) [MA.NA *šūqulta*(KIL.LÁ)-*šú* (...)]

42 Symbols: ¹ collated sign; ^{*} sign written over erasure; [?] insecure reading or rendering; \ line break. Disregarding the indentations, Frahm assigned line numbers to each physical line instead of to each unit of text. The essential unit of Sumero-Akkadian poetry is the poetic line. The beginning and end of a line on a tablet normally correspond to the beginning and end of a verse in the text. Failing to write a verse in one line, the scribe continued the rest of the phrase on the following line but with an indentation preceding it. By taking account of this practice of the scribes, we count a line and the following indented line as one verse.

Lower Edge

6. *a-na mul-le-e mut-tin-ni ma-aq-qí-ti m[a-ḥar ilūti(DINGIR^{ti})-ki
rabīti(GAL^{ti}) (...)] *
u[šēpiš(D[Ù)-ma iqēš(BA^{es?}) (...)]

Reverse

7. *ana šat-ti ^dTaš-me-tú iltu(DINGIR^{tum}) réme-ni-tú šap-p[u kaspi ebbi
(...)] *
lim-ma-ḥir [...]
8. *a-na ^m(annanna(NENNI)) a-lid-di-ia rēma(ARḪUŠ) ri-ši-šú-ma × [...] *
šá qātē(ŠU.MIN)-ki-ma l[u]l^l-l[i-i^l ××× (...)]
9. *u ia-a-ti pa-liḫ-ki rēma(ARḪUŠ) ri-šin-[ni-m]a qí-bi-[ma dumqī[?] (...)] *
li-in-na-siḫ [murša(GIG) ina zumri(SU)-ia (...)]
10. *ina asakki(Á.ZÁG) mīm-ma là ṭābu(DÙG) šá ub-bu-r[a]-ku eṭ-[ri-in-ni
(...)]*
11. *li-mu-ru-ma mār(ū)(DUMU) ummāni(UM.MEA) lit-t[a-××××(×)] *
nār-bi ^dTašmētu(KURNUN) liš-[ta]-p[u-ú]

Translation

1. To Tašmētu, the daughter-in-law of E[sagil, the beloved one of Nabû (...)], the wife of the son of the lord of the gods of [the heavens and earth (...)],
2. the princess, whose offices are the greatest, whose decisions [*are outstanding*], (and) whose advice [can]n[ot *be changed*],
3. the lady of acceptance (of prayers) and peace, the one who furthers [*the case of the weak* (...)], the one who restores the go[od health of (...)],
4. the lady who, like her husband, removes a curse to/for [... (...)],
5. So-and-So, the one who reveres her g[rea]t divinity, commissioned⁴³ a pure [silver] b[owl (...)] which [weighs⁴⁴] so-and-so [mina (...)].
6. He co[mmissioned and *dedicated* (it) (...)] for filling with the choicest libation wine, in [front of your great divinity (...)].
7. Therefore, Tašmētu, merciful goddess, may (this) [pure silver] bowl [(...)] be accepted [... (...)].

43 Literally: "he made someone produce."

44 Literally: "its weight".

8. Have mercy on ⟨So-and-So⟩, my begetter (i.e. father), so that [...] of your hands, I may *p[urify]⁷ ... (...)*.
9. Moreover, have mercy on me, the one who reveres you, [a]nd command [*a favor for me*² (...), so that the illness] will be removed [from my body (...)].
10. From the *Asakku*-demon, something unpleasant, to which I am bound, s[ave me (...)].
11. When *scholars* shall see (it), they shall always [...] (and) p[ro]c[ess]l[aim] the glory of Tašmētu.

Commentary

1. We follow Frahm's restoration *kal-lat é-[sag-gíl]*, "the daughter-in-law of Esagil", see Frahm 2009, 137–138. For Esagil being the temple of Marduk, the father-in-law of Tašmētu and the father of Nabû, see George 1993, 139–140, No. 967. For this interpretation, see CTN 4 168: ii 41–42 // LKA 54: 3: *kal-lat É-sag-gíl bīt (É) ta-ši-la-ti na-ram-ti É-zi-da ħi-rat ^dNabû* (AG): "(Tašmētu) the daughter-in-law of Esagil, the temple of celebrations, the beloved one of Ezida,⁴⁵ the wife of Nabû." Note also SAA 3 4: ii 2'–3': *kal-lat É-sag-íl [bēle]t ([GAŠA]N?) 'É'-x [xxx] ħi-rat ^dMu-u₈-a-ti na-ram-ti ^dBēl* (EN): "(Nanaya/Tašmētu),⁴⁶ daughter-in-law of Esagil, the [la]dy of E-. [...] the wife of Mu'ati (= Nabû), the beloved one of Bēl (Marduk)."

On the other hand, Ashurbanipal refers to Tašmētu as *šanukkat Ešarra*, "the princess of Ešarra", in his hymn to the goddess and Nabû (SAA 3 6: 5). Because VAT 10122 was found in the city of Assur as well, one may also expect *É-[šar-ra]* instead of Esagil.⁴⁷

Being the spouse of Tašmētu, the god Nabû certainly is "the son of the lord of the gods". Thus, we restore, *na-ram-ti ^dNabû* (AG), "the beloved one of Nabû", after *É-[sag-gíl]*. Alternatively, one might restore here *na-ram-ti É-zi-da* as in

45 For Ezida being the chapel of Nabû in Esagil as well as the temples of Nabû in Borsippa, Nineveh, and Calah, see George 1993, 139–140, No. 967; 159–160, Nos. 1236–1239.

46 Lambert (2013, 33) takes this Nanaya Hymn of Sargon II (SAA 3 4) to be a prayer to Tašmētu. Probably Nanaya is referred to in this text as an aspect of Tašmētu rather than the goddess Nanaya herself just like Mu'ati in line 3' probably refers to Nabû (cf. Matsushima 1980, 141).

47 Meinhold (2009, 79 ff.) observes that Tašmētu was worshipped in Assyria already in the Old Assyrian period, much earlier than her spouse Nabû. She further assumes that Tašmētu's image was placed in the Aššur temple for the worship of Tašmētu at the city of Assur, particularly in the Aššur temple.

CTN 4 168: ii 41–42 and the duplicate cited above. But who is *bēl ilāni*, “the lord of the gods”? Had this text been found in Babylon, one might expect Marduk, the god of Babylon, who was worshipped as the divine sovereign of the universe since the twelfth century BCE.⁴⁸ Yet, because the tablet was found in the city of Assur, it is also possible that Nabû in this text is presented as a deity syncretized with Ninurta who was considered to be the son of the god Aššur, “Assyrian Enlil”, in the Neo-Assyrian period. Note also the writing ^dMAš for the god Nabû in KAL 3 73: 1.⁴⁹

2. Frahm offers a different interpretation of this line: ... *šá par-šu-šá šur-bu-u-te ri-tu-u[š-šá ...]*: “... die ihre gewaltigen Kultordnungen in [ihrer] Hand [hält ...]” (KAL 3 72: 3). However, because *paršu*, “office”, and *milku*, “counsel”, well parallel *têrtu*, “instruction”, we prefer to read *te-re-tu-šá*.⁵⁰

As in the first half of the sentence, it is very likely that *têrtu* is also followed by a phrase describing the validity of Tašmētu’s decision. Thus, one may expect something like *šîrâ*, “are outstanding”;⁵¹ *gapšâ*, “are weighty”;⁵² *rabâ*, “are great”;⁵³ or the like.

Our restoration of the last phrase *mî-lik-šá l[a enû]* is merely tentative. Unlike *paršu* and *têrtu*, *milku* is singular in this sentence.

3. For the epithet of the goddess, *bēlet tašmê u salîme*, see, e.g., a syncretistic praise to a goddess, KAR 109+343: obv. 33': *ina Ká-silim-ma ka-bit-ti An-šár be-let taš-me-e u sa-li-me*: “In Kasilima, (she is) the mood of the god Aššur, the lady of acceptance (of prayers) and peace.”⁵⁴ Note Sîn-šarru-iškun’s dedicatory inscription discussed above, VAT 9448: 11: *a-na ^dTašmēti (KURNUN) i-lat taš-me-e u sa-li-me*: “To Tašmētu, the goddess of acceptance (of prayers) and peace...,”⁵⁵ and CTN 4 168: iii 17: *taš-ma-a u sa-li-ma iš-ru-ki ana ka-a-ši*: “He (Anu) bestowed on you (Tašmētu) acceptance (of prayers) and peace.”⁵⁶

48 See, e.g., Lambert 2013, 271–273.

49 For the Nabû–Ninurta syncretism and ^dMAš as a Sumerogram for Nabû’s name, see fn. 27 above.

50 The same interpretation has been offered by Matsushima (1980, 140–141): *te-re-tu-š[á šî-rat]*.

51 For *šîru* as a predicate of *têrtu*, see Cohen 1988, 235: c+263: ^dNusku á-mah / *šá te-re-tu-šú šî-rû*, “Nusku, whose sign is great.” This line refers to the god Nusku’s authority, however.

52 *Enûma eliš* 1: 145 and passim. This line refers to Tiāmat’s authority. For *Enûma eliš*, see Lambert 2013; Kämmerer and Metzler 2012.

53 *Agušaya A*: vii 20 (Groneberg 1997, 81).

54 For an edition of KAR 109 see Ebeling 1918, 49–52.

55 Falkner 1952–1953, 306 and pl. XV.

56 Also CTN 4 168: iv 11. Cf. also CTN 4 168: ii 19: ^dMarduk (AMAR.UTU) *ú-šat-lim-ki taš-ma-a u sa-li-ma*: “Marduk grants you (Tašmētu) acceptance (of prayers) and peace.”

Frahm restores the lacuna in the mid-section of the line as *ša-bi-t[a-at abbūti]*: “Die [Fürsprache] einlegt.”⁵⁷ For this, cf. *CTN 4 168: iii 28–29: ana ^dNabû (AG) ... a-bu-ti šab-ti liš-me zik-ri-ia*: “Further my cause to Nabû ... so that he would listen to my words.” It is a sensible reconstruction, yet in that case, we normally expect a modifier specifying for whom a god should intercede or to which deity he/she should further a case, see *CAD* § 24–25 s.v. *šabātu* 8, *abbūtu* a–b. Thus, we might restore in the lacuna *a-bu-ut en-ši*, “(the one who furthers) the case of the weak”, *a-bu-ti-ia*, “(the one who) sides with me”, or the like. We tentatively offer the first option. For this, note a *Šuila*-prayer to Gula (Gula 1), line 20: ^d*Gula-bēlet (GAŠAN) šur-bu-tum ša-bi-ta-at a-bu-ut en-ši*: “Gula, the lady of greatness, the one who furthers the case of the weak.” Incidentally, this line is followed by a plea requesting her to further the supplicant’s case to Marduk. For an edition, see Lenzi 2011, 250–251.

As an alternative restoration, one may restore *ša-bi-t[a]-a[t qātē naski]*: “(The one who) holds [the hands of a fallen man].” It is also possible to restore here *mīti*, “the dead”, or *enši*, “the weak”, instead. The expression *qātē naski/mīti/enši šabātu*, “to hold the hand of the fallen/the dead/the weak man”, signifies a god’s healing power.⁵⁸

For the third title *mu-bal-li-ṭa-at napišti* (z[^I_{tim}]) or *napšāti* (z[^I_{meš}]) in this line, see *Gula muballiṭat napištīya*, “Gula is the one who restores my good health” (*VAB* 4 108: ii 49) and *[mu]balliṭat napšāt tenēšēti(?)*: “She (Nisaba) is the one who restores people’s good health” (*CTN* 4 168: i 22).⁵⁹

5. One might ask whether the second *annanna* (NENNI) in this line refers to the same personal name as the ^m*annanna* at the beginning of the line. Yet, given a similar phrase in *KAL* 3 73: 8: šá 1 MA.NA *šuqulta* (KILÁ)-šú, “whose weight is one mina”, we take it to be a reference to the weight of the bowl, i.e. a number should be inserted when the text was recited. Note also the fact that the second *annanna* (NENNI) is not preceded by a *Personenkeil*.

6. Instead of *iqēš* (BA^{es}), one may restore *ú-kin*, “I placed.”

8. Frahm (2009, 137) reads the second half of this line: šá šU^{II} *ki-ma* š[U^{II?}] *[[i- ...]*: “Hand um Hand möge [...]”. However, because the signs KI and MA are placed closer to the signs before them than to the following signs, we take KI to be the possessive pronoun for the second person feminine singular followed by the enclitic *-ma*. The phrase *ša qātíkima* could also mean “it is in your power”. Yet, due to lacunae, the meaning of this line is uncertain.

57 This has already been suggested by Tallqvist 1938, 158 and Matsushima 1980, 140.

58 For this expression see Oshima 2014, 175–176, philological note to *Ludlul* I: 10.

59 See also *CAD* B 60 s.v. *balātu* 6a–3’.

Our examination of VAT 10122 shows that traces of the sign NENNI are still visible after a *Personenkeil*. The reason why the scribe erased the sign is unknown.

9. Our restoration of the second half of the line is merely tentative. One may restore otherwise, e.g., *lemna* (HUL) *šá šer'ānī* (SA^{meš})-*ia*, “the evil of my sinews”, or the like.⁶⁰

11. As Frahm (2009, 138) observes, it is most likely that the subject of the verbs in the last line is DUMU UM.ME.A. Even if this is not written with a plural marker, e.g., “MEŠ”, because the preserved verbs (i.e. *li-mu-ru-ma* and *liš-[ta]-p[u-u]*) are in the 3rd masculine plural, the Sumerogram DUMU UM.ME.A must stand for *mārū ummāni*, i.e. plural. If so, one would wonder whether the gift to Tašmētu, i.e. the silver libation vessel, might be the direct object of *limurūma*, “may they see”. Due to the lacunae, however, there is no obvious answer to that question.

Frahm (2009, 137) restores the second verb as *lit-t[aʔ-iʔ-duʔ]*. He further refers to a thanksgiving formula: *lušāpi narbika luttaʔid zikirka*: “Ich will deine Größe aufstrahlen lassen und deinen Namen preisen” (ibid., 138). This is a sensible restoration. Yet, we estimate that about 3–4 signs are missing in the lacuna after T[A], and it is not certain whether there was enough room for *zi-kir-ki* after *lit-t[aʔ-iʔ-duʔ]*. Because there are so many possibilities, we leave the second verb unrestored.

Lastly, one may ask what *mār(ū) ummāni* (DUMU UM.ME.A) in this line exactly signifies. According to the dictionaries, this expression may refer to “craftsman, artisan” as well as “scholar”.⁶¹ Frahm (2009, 137) takes it to be “die Gelehrten” (scholars). However, as shown by Linssen (2004, 17–18), craftsmen were also involved in various annual rituals including libation in Mesopotamia. For example, according to a Late Babylonian ritual text (Tu 39: obv. 26 ff.),⁶² a temple enterer (*ērib bīti*) was instructed to carry a libation-bowl alongside incantation-priests. As discussed in fn. 24 above, the term “temple enterer” referred not only to various priests and cult singers but also to craftsmen (e.g., goldsmith, carpenter, jeweller, seal-cutter) and other members of staff needed for the household (e.g., cook/baker, brewer, oil-maker, butcher, and miller).

60 Cf., e.g., Farber 1977, 137: 176: [*šu-ši eṭemma* (GIDIM) *rēdū* (UŠ^{meš})-*š*] *u ṭú-ru-ud lem-na* ^{muṣa} _(GIG) *šá šer'ānī* (SA^{meš})-[*š*] *u*: “[Remove the ghost who is chasing h]im, drive away the evil disease of [h]is body” (note that the superscripted GIG is a variant gloss in the text); BMS 1: 46: *lit-ta-bil asakka* (ĀZĀG) *šá šer'ānī* (SA^{meš})-[*ia*]: “May she (Tašmētu) take away the Asakku-disease from [my] body (lit. sinews).”

61 See CAD U–W 111–115 s.v. *ummānu* 2; AHW 1415–1416 s.v. *ummiānu* 3)–6) and 11).

62 For an edition, see Linssen 2004, 184–196.

Because this Late Babylonian ritual instruction does not specify the exact identity of this “temple enterer”, we must leave this question open and consider the possibility that this term referred to the craftsmen who were also called *mār ummāni* in Akkadian. By the same token, we must consider the possibility that the term DUMU UM.ME.A in our text might refer to “craftsmen” as much as to “scholars” as well.⁶³

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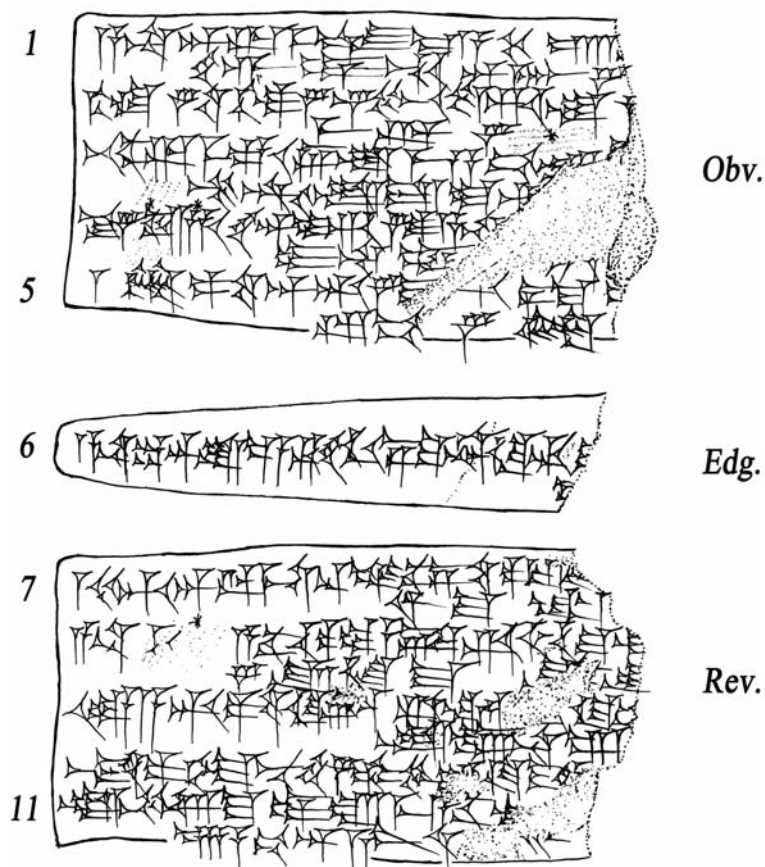
63 According to the instruction for the Babylonian Kislīmu ritual (Çağırhan and Lambert 1991–1993, 89 ff.), ¹⁴DUMU.SAG *um-man* recited *Šuila*-prayers to Marduk and Zarpanītu on the 4th of the month Kislīmu (lines 75 and 82). Çağırhan and Lambert (1991–1993, 96) translate the term as “craftsman”. As discussed above, because we know that craftsmen were also involved in annual festivals, that interpretation is possible. On the other hand, Oshima (2011, 219) has suggested identifying the *Šuila*-prayer to Marduk in the Kislīmu *Akitu*-ritual with the *Prayer to Marduk No. 2* which has the same incipit as the *Šuila*-prayer, i.e. *bēlum apkal Igīgī*, “the lord, sage of the Igigi-gods”. When complete, the *Prayer to Marduk No. 2* is written on a four-column tablet with over 200 lines; it was significantly longer than *Šuila*-prayers recited during exorcistic or purification rituals. Considering this, one may ask whether ¹⁴DUMU.SAG *um-man* might not have been a craftsman but a learned man. Note also the gifts to the *mār ummāni*—effectively fees paid for their activities—alluded to in an incantation found at Ugarit, see Böck 2014, 114 with fn. 57. Given the context, it is evident that *mār ummāni* in the latter does not signify “craftsmen” as such but “specialists” who recited rituals for the patients.

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VAT 10122



*** Erasure**

FIGURE 18.1 VAT 10122, copy

BM 32339+32407+32645: New Evidence for Late Babylonian Astrology

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The astrological tablet which is edited here contains tables and sections of running text about zodiacal signs and planets. It is hoped that this edition will lead to further investigations that may result in a more complete and satisfying understanding of this difficult text, of which no direct parallels appear to be known. The previously unpublished fragments BM 32339 (1876-11-17, 2071)+32407 (2140)+32645 (2411) preserve considerable portions of the right half of the tablet, including segments of the upper (lower) and right edges of the obverse (reverse). Altogether they measure $12.5 \times 15.9 \times 2.5$ – 3.5 cm. The side that is assumed to be the obverse is inscribed with a single table. On the reverse, several tables alternate with running text, including remains of what might be a colophon (rev. 32') and two statements otherwise only found in colophons (rev. 5', 20'). A fourth related fragment, BM 37361 (1880-6-17, 1118), $4.0 \times 2.0 \times 2.5$ cm in size, was previously edited by Britton (2002).¹ It may well belong to the same tablet, but it does not physically join the other three pieces. Its legible side extends to the upper edge of the reverse; the other side is destroyed. J. Britton's edition is included here with a few minor changes; for a copy of this fragment see Britton (2002). The four fragments and the reconstructed missing portions of the tables suggest that the original tablet measured about $17 \times 20 \times 2.5$ – 3.5 cm.

All fragments belong to the Babylon collection of the British Museum which comprises thousands of fragments that were excavated unscientifically in Iraq during the last decades of the 19th century. As is generally assumed for the astronomical and astrological tablets from that collection, the present tablet most likely originates from Babylon. The lot 1876-11-17 consists of about 2600 tablets that were acquired in 1876 from the dealer Marini (Leichty 1986, xiv–

* The Trustees of the British Museum are acknowledged for permission to study and publish the tablets. I thank the staff of the Middle East Department of the British Museum for their support. This research was supported by the Excellence Cluster TOPOI, DFG grant EXC 264.

1 I thank Marvin Schreiber for pointing out this publication.



FIGURE 19.1 *BM 32339+32407+32645, obverse*
 PHOTO MATHIEU OSSENDRIJVER / COURTESY TRUSTEES
 OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

xv). At least 260 of them deal with astral science.² The lot 1880-6-17 consists of about 1800 tablets excavated by Hormuzd Rassam in Babylon and Borsippa (Leichty 1986, xxx); about 450 of them deal with astral science. The tablet therefore probably originates from the same archaeological and archival context as most other astronomical and astrological tablets from the Babylon collection. It was presumably written by scholars connected to Esagila, the sanctuary of

² The estimates of the number of tablets concerned with astral science in each collection are based on an unpublished catalogue of astronomical fragments in the British Museum kindly made available by C.B.F. Walker.

FIGURE 19.2 *BM 32339+32407+32645, reverse*

PHOTO MATHIEU OSSENDRIJVER / COURTESY TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Marduk/Bêl where numerous astronomers are known to have been employed since the Achaemenid era. A terminus post quem for the date of composition is implied by the usage of the zodiac, which was probably invented near 400 BCE (Britton 2010, 638–640). Furthermore, the names of the zodiacal signs are written with longer or different logograms than those most commonly used in the late Seleucid era, which suggests that the text was written in the Achaemenid or early Seleucid era (400–300 BCE).

Transliteration

Obverse: BM 32339+32407+32645

	<i>i'</i>	<i>ii'</i>	<i>iii'</i>	<i>iv'</i>	
1	[^d]dil-bat	^d SAG.UŠ	^d GU ₄ .UD	^r d ¹ [xxxx]	<i>i</i>
2	^r x ¹	LA ₂	25.AM ₃	NE [xxx 1 MU]	
3	^r x ¹ .30. ^r AM ₃ ¹		12.30	4 ^r ITI? ¹ [20 UD?]	
4	^r xx ¹ 5		6.15	8 ^r ITI? ¹ [10 UD?]	
5	[x]. ^r 30 ¹	LA ₂	27.30	3 ^r 6 ¹ .[40]	<i>ii</i>
6	[x.1] ^r 5 ¹		13.45	18. ^r 20 ¹	
7	[x.7].30		6.52.30	9. ^r 10 ¹	
8	[xx]	LA ₂	30	40	<i>iii</i>
9	[xx		15]	20	
10	[xx		7.30]	10	
11	[xx	xx	2] ^r 7 ¹ .30	^r 3 ¹ 6.40	<i>iv</i>
12	[xx	xx	1] ^r 3 ¹ .45	18.20	
13	[xx	xx	6]. ^r 5 ¹ 2.30	9.10	
14	[xx	xx	2] ^r 5 ¹	33. ^r 20 ¹	<i>v</i>
15	[xx	xx	12].30	1 ^r 6.40 ¹	
16	[xx	xx	6.1] ^r 5 ¹	[8.20]	
17	[xx	xx	22.30]	30	<i>vi</i>
18	[xx	xx	11.15]	15	
19	[xx	xx]	5.37. ^r 30 ¹	7.30	
20	[xx	xx]	20	2 ^r 6 ¹ .[40]	<i>vii</i>
21	[xx	xx]	10	1 ^r 3 ¹ .[20]	
22	[xx	xx]	5	^r 6 ¹ .[40]	
23	[xx	xx]	17.30	[23.20]	<i>viii</i>
24	[xx	xx]	8.45	[11.40]	
25	[xx	xx]	4.2 ^r 2.30 ¹	[5.50]	
26	[xx	xx]	15	[20]	<i>ix</i>
27	[xx	xx]	^r 7 ¹ .[30	10]	
28	[xx	xx	3.45	5]	
29	[xx	xx	17.30	23.20]	<i>x</i>
30	[xx	xx	8.45	11.40]	
31	[xx	xx	4.22.30	5.50]	
32	[xx	xx	20	26.40]	<i>xi</i>
33	[xx	xx	10	13.20]	

	<i>i'</i>	<i>ii'</i>	<i>iii'</i>	<i>iv'</i>	
34	[xx	xx	5	6.40]	xii
35	[xx	xx	22.30	30]	
36	[xx	xx	11.15	15]	
37	[xx	xx	5.37.30	7.30]	

Reverse: BM 37361

	<i>i'</i>	<i>ii'</i>	<i>iii'</i>
1	[...]	] ʿxʿ	KI MUL.MUL ʿxʿ [...]
2	[...]	20 A.RA ₂ 3 1	ʿmul <i>dil-bat</i> 1 ʿ5 xʿ [...]
3	[...] ʿxʿ	KI SAG-š _u ₂ 1 MU.MEŠ	KI SAG-š _u ₂ 15 I[TI? ...]
4	[...] MEŠ	KI MURUB ₄ -š _u ₂ 30	KI MURUB ₄ -š _u ₂ 7.30 I[TI]
5	[...]	KI GIR ₃ -š _u ₂ 15	KI GIR _{3.2} -š _u ₂ 3 8 [...]
6	[...]	GI ₆ UŠ	

Reverse: BM 32339+32407+32645

i'	ii'	iii'	iv'	v'	vi'	vii'	viii'	ix'
1'	[xx]	KI ^{mul} PA.BIL.SAG	KI ^{mul} SUHUR.MAŠ ₂		'KI ^{mul} GU'.[LA		KI ^{mul} xxxxx]	
2'	[xx]	KI SAG-š <u>u</u> ₂ xx	KI SAG-š <u>u</u> ₂ 2o] 'MU'		KI SAG-š <u>u</u> ₂ 3o [MU		KI SAG-š <u>u</u> ₂ xx]	
3'	[xx]	KI MURUB ₄ -š <u>u</u> ₂ xx	KI] MURUB ₄ -š <u>u</u> ₂ 1o		KI MURUB ₄ -š <u>u</u> ₂ 1' 5' [MU?		KI MURUB ₄ -š <u>u</u> ₂ xx]	
4'	[xx]	KI GIR ₃ -2-š <u>u</u> ₂ xx	KI] GIR ₃ -2-š <u>u</u> ₂ 5		KI GIR ₃ -2-š <u>u</u> ₂ 7 MU 6 [ITI		KI GIR ₃ -2-š <u>u</u> ₂ xx]	
5'	[... mu-da-a mu-da-a li-kat-lim] la mu-da-a la	IGI-ma NIG ₂ GIG ^d sin ^d šamaš ₂ d[x]						
6'	[mulxx]	mulABSIN ₂	mulZILBA.AN	mulGIR ₂ .TAB	mulPA.BIL.SAG	mulSUHUR.[MAŠ ₂	mulGULA	mulxx]
7'	[3-4o]	3	2-4o	2-2o	2	2-2o	[2-4o	3]
8'	[x]	x]	2o	9	18	4o	[3o	x]
9'	[SIG	GUR ₄	SIG	GUR ₄	GUR ₄	SIG	[GUR ₄	SIG]
10'	[...]	'x'.MEŠš <u>u</u> ₂ lu-ma-ši ZAL ša ₂ dSAG.ME.GAR EŠ.BAR ana KUR DINGIR.MEŠ 'x' [xxx]						
11'	[GUR ₄ 1-5o	SIG 1-4o	GUR ₄ 1-3o]	'SIG' 1-2o	GUR ₄ 1-1o	SIG 1	SIG [1-2o	GUR ₄ 1-3o]
12'	[x	x	1o	1o]	4-3o	9	15	[x]
13'	[GUR ₄ 55	SIG 5o	GUR ₄ 45	SIG] '4o'	GUR ₄ 35	SIG 3o	SIG 4o	G[UR ₄ 45]
14'	[x	x	5	5]	'2' 1' 5'	1o	7-3o	1o+[x]
15'	[mulxx]	mulxx	mulABSIN ₂	mulZILBA.AN]	mulGIR ₂ .TAB	mulPA.BIL.SAG	mulGULA	mul[xx]
16'	[SIG	GUR ₄	SIG	GUR ₄]	'SIG'	GUR ₄	GUR ₄	SIG
17'	[...]	'xx' [xxxxx K]'.LAM' 9 ddi-bat' ŠUB 'x ŠU' AB U KU' i BI' 'xx'						
18'	[...]	'ZI' -ut NIM.MA[k'i xxxxx] 'x' ZI-ut BURU ₅ .ĪLA BURU ₅ .ĪLA						
19'	[...]	'x' UTAH ZI SIG ₅ 'x' [xx] 'gšš' GIDRU AŠ.TE AGA DIŠ ina KUR.ĪL.'A'						

<i>i'</i>	<i>ii'</i>	<i>iii'</i>	<i>iv'</i>	<i>v'</i>	<i>vi'</i>	<i>vii'</i>	<i>viii'</i>	<i>ix'</i>
20'	[...] 'x' ša ₂ MUL ₂ .BABBAR u ^d <i>dil-bat</i> [xx].MEŠ <i>gab-bi ul aš₂-tur</i> ¹							
21'	[ŠU NE] KIN DU ₆ NIM- <i>ma</i> APIN 'x			GAN'		AB	ZIZ ₂	ŠE
22'	[xxx xx] GUR ₄ IGI- <i>ma</i> SIG SIG GIR ₃ x? UŠ- <i>ma</i> GUR ₄ UŠ- <i>ma</i> SIG UŠ- <i>ma</i> GUR ₄							UŠ- <i>ma</i> SIG UŠ- <i>ma</i> GUR ₄ ? ¹
23'	[... BE- <i>ma</i> ...] 'GUR ₄ 'ZI ŠUB-e KAL BE- <i>ma</i> SIG ZI ŠUB-e i-š ₁ KI. 'LAM ² x KIMIN ² BE- <i>ma</i> KI ZI KUR ₂ ZI [x]							
24'	[...] UD šu ₂ -a-š ₂ MU UŠ MU i NUN <i>it-be-ma</i> KILAM KI [x] RU UD BE- <i>ma</i> KIA 2- <i>me</i> u ₄ - <i>me</i>							
25'	[...] BE- <i>nu</i> dan- <i>nu</i> BE- <i>ma</i> KILAM <i>ina</i> GURUN NU GAL ₂ BE- <i>ma</i> U ₂ UH ² EN U ₂ 'x HA ² A <i>ina</i> SAG.ME ŠU ₂ <i>ina</i> GIR ₃ .ME IGI <i>ina</i> GIR ₃ .ME [ŠU ₂ <i>ina</i> SAG.ME IGI							
26'	[...] <i>ina</i> 'x' ITIME ša ₂ ŠU ₂ IGI							
27'	[ŠU] SIG NE GUR ₄ KIN SIG DU ₆ GUR ₄ APIN SIG GAN GUR ₄ AB SIG						ZIZ ₂ GUR ₄	ŠE SIG
28'	[ŠU] NE KIN DU ₆ DU ₆ APIN GAN						[ZIZ ₂	ŠE]
29'	[...] <i>ina</i> 3 <i>me</i> 1-š ₁ MU.MEŠ ^d <i>gal-bat-a-nu u</i> 'SAG.UŠ <i>ina</i> KIME <i>gab-bi</i> 'x' [xx]							
30'	[ŠU] NE KIN DU ₆ APIN GAN						ZIZ ₂	ŠE]
31'	[...] '4+x' ARA ₂ 2 GAR 48 GAR 48 <i>ina</i> 2- <i>me</i> 1 '20+x' [...]							
32'	[...] 'xxxxxxx MEŠ ¹ <i>an-na</i> -[a ...]							

Translation

Apart from lines 1–4, no translation of the obverse is presented, since the rest consists entirely of numbers and two instances of the sign LA₂. For their absolute values see the commentary.

Obverse: BM 32339+32407+32645

	<i>i'</i>	<i>ii'</i>	<i>iii'</i>	<i>iv'</i>
1	Venus	Saturn	Mercury	M[ars ...]
2		...	It is 25	... [... 1 year?]
3	It is ... 30		12;30	4 'months' [20 days?]
4	... 5		6;15	8 'months' [10 days?]

Reverse: BM 37361

	<i>i'</i>	<i>ii'</i>	<i>iii'</i>
1	[...]	region of Aries] ...	region of Taurus ... [...]
2	[...]	20 times 3 is 1,0	Venus 1'5' ... [...]
3	[...] ...	region of its head 1,0 years	region of its head 15 m[onths? ...]
4	[...] ...	region of its middle 30	region of its middle 7;30 m[onths]
5	[...]	region of its foot 15	region of its foot 3 8 [...]
6	[...]	...	(blank) [...]

Philological Remarks

BM 32339+32407+32645 obv. 1: *Dilbat*(^d*dil-bat*) = Venus; *Kayyamānu*(^dSAG.UŠ) = Saturn (“The Steady One”); *Šiḫṭu*(^dGU₄.UD) = Mercury. The planet in col. iv’ is almost certainly Mars, probably written ^d*ṣal-bat-a-nu* = *Ṣalbatānu*.

BM 37361 rev. ii’ 5: 3 8: As explained by Britton (2002) one expects 3.45 = 7.30/2. If we accept that 3;45 is measured in months, then this number could have been expressed as 3 months plus a remainder of 0;45 months = 22;30 days, but this is clearly incompatible with the 8.

Rev. ii’ 6: GI₆ UŠ: This statement has no parallel in the other columns. GI₆ might stand for *mūšu*, “night”, UŠ for a form of *nenmudu*, “to be/become stationary”, but this does not seem to result in a meaningful interpretation.

BM 32339+32407+32645 rev. 1’: Col. i’ and the preceding column must have contained analogous entries for Scorpio (^{mul}GIR₂.TAB), cols. viii’–ix’ for Pisces (probably written ^{mul}KUN.ME or ^{mul}AŠ.IKU). KI = *qaqqaru*, “region; position”.

Rev. 5’ [...]: Since the gap at the beginning of the line extends across five columns (Aries until Leo) there is room for about 20 signs. NIG₂.GIG = *ikkibu*, “restriction”; for this term see also Stevens 2013.

Rev. 6’: Cancer (col. i’) was probably written ^{mul}ALLA = *alluttu*, “crab”, Leo (ii’) ^{mul}UR.A or ^{mul}UR.GU.LA = *nēšu*, “lion”, Pisces (ix’) KUN.ME = *zibbātu*, “tails”, or ^{mul}AŠ.IKU = *iku*, “field”.

Rev. 9’: SIG and GUR₄(KUR₄ = LAGAB): each of these signs can have several different astronomical meanings, but in the present combination SIG must mean “faint”. In this meaning it must probably be read as a form of *unnutu* = “to be faint” (Hunger 1976, 254). GUR₄ is to be read with a form of *ba’ālu*, “to be bright” (Sachs and Hunger 1988, 22). Presumably they represent statives, i.e. *unnut*, “(it is) faint”, and *ba’il*, “(it is) bright”.

Rev. 10’: At the beginning of the line the upper part of a sign similar to 𐎶 is visible. ZAL: the intended reading is unclear, most likely a form of *nasāḫū*, “to move; motion” (thus provisionally assumed in the translation), or *uḫḫuru*, “to be delayed; to be invisible”. In the latter sense this verb is used for planets during their period of invisibility. At the end of the line the beginning of DU, KA or a similar sign is visible.

Rev. 17’: 9: This sign might be a variant of the *Glossenkeil* (:). ŠUB 𐎶x ŠU? AB U KU? 𐎶 BI? 𐎶xx: Meaning unclear. The sign following ŠUB is similar to GIŠ. U KU might also be KI.

Rev. 18’: BURU₅ = *erbu*, “locust”.

Rev. 19’: UTAḫ, a type of rain; Akkadian reading and precise meaning unknown (Sachs and Hunger 1988, 33). This logogram is otherwise attested mainly in the astronomical diaries and in *TU* 20: rev. 6, a Late Babylonian astrological

procedure for predicting weather (Hunger 1976, 239–240). ^rgiš³GIDRU = *ḥaṭṭu*, “scepter”; AŠ.TE = *kussû*, “throne”; AGA = *agû*, “crown”.

Rev. 23': ZI ŠUB-*e*: This term does not appear to be attested elsewhere. The meaning remains unclear. If *e* is indeed a phonetic complement this would suggest that ŠUB is a form of *nadû*, “to throw; reject; place; excrete; be downcast”. ZI might stand for *tibûtu*, “attack”, but this does not yield a meaningful interpretation of ZI ŠUB-*e*. KAL probably stands for *dannu*, “strong”, or *danin*, “is strong”, a 3 masc. sg. stat. G of *danānu*, as suggested by the immediately following phrase, in which the same term ZI ŠUB-*e* is followed by *i-ši* = *iši*, “(it is) little”. ZI KUR₂ KUR₂ ZI: Meaning unclear. By itself ZI KUR₂ usually stands for *tibûtu nakri*, “attack of an enemy”, but this may not apply here. KUR₂ KUR₂ may also be read DIM₄(PAP.PAP) and represent a form of *sanāqu*, “to approach”.

Rev. 24': UD could also be the end of TA. MU UŠ MU *i*: The meaning of these signs could not be established. NUN: perhaps to be read *rubû*, “prince”, i.e. “a prince stood up/attacked”? RU UD: Meaning unclear. KI A: Meaning unclear; it might stand for “position/region of Leo”, but there is insufficient context to determine the intended reading.

Rev. 25': [...] BAD-*nu*: Perhaps to be reconstructed as NAM].BAD-*nu* = *mutā-nu*, “pestilence”. GURUN = *inbu*, “fruit”. KILAM = *maḥīru* may have the meaning “trade” rather than “market rate” here. U₂ U₂? EN U₂ ^rx ḤA[?] A: The correct reading of these signs could not be established. The sign U₂ might also be ŠA₃. The damaged sign before ḤA[?] might be A.

Rev. 26': The damaged sign before ITI.ME might be the numeral 5 or 6.

Rev. 31': At the beginning, a numeral is partly preserved, perhaps 4, 5 or 6. The meaning of the sign GAR is unclear. An interpretation ša₂, “of”, does not result in a meaningful interpretation.

Rev. 32': At the beginning, the top sides of about 7 signs can be seen.

Commentary

The tablet contains previously unknown sequences of numbers and statements as well as elements and structural features known from other Babylonian astronomical and astrological texts, in particular MUL.APIN and the so-called Calendar Texts. However, the manner in which the different elements are arranged in tables and connected to zodiacal signs, months and planets is not attested elsewhere.

1 *Table with Zigzag Sequences and Other Data Concerning the Planets*
(obv. 1–37)

The obverse preserves portions of a large table that probably occupied the entire surface. Only the rightmost four columns (i'–iv') and the top nine rows (i–ix) are partly preserved. Columns and rows are separated by vertical and horizontal rulings, resulting in a grid of rectangular cells. In the first row (i) each cell contains four lines of text, starting with the name of a planet. From left to right they are Venus (Dilbat), Mercury (Šiḫtu), Saturn (Kayyāmānu) and, most likely, Mars (Šalbatānu), in accordance with the usual order of the planets in Late Babylonian astrology (Rochberg 1988b). Since that sequence usually begins with Jupiter, there was very likely a column for that planet to the left of col. i'. Moreover, the reconstructions on the reverse suggest that there is room for two further columns, presumably dedicated to the Moon (Sîn) and the Sun (Šamaš). It is therefore likely that the obverse originally contained seven columns. As will be argued, the original number of rows on the obverse was almost certainly twelve, one for each zodiacal sign. Hence three more rows must be restored below row ix (obv. 26–28). This is roughly compatible with the height of the fourth fragment, BM 37361. Its legible reverse, which extends to the upper edge of the original tablet, roughly fits above the upper edge of the reverse of BM 32339+32407+32645.

Each cell contains either three numbers or the sign LA₂. In col. i' (Venus) not a single number is fully preserved and no reconstruction could be suggested. The partly preserved final digits in rows i and ii suggest that the second and third number in each row were obtained by halving (see below). In col. ii' (Saturn) the first three cells are preserved. They only contain the sign LA₂, which can have several distinct meanings in astronomical contexts, including *šaqû*, “to be high”, and *naḥāsu*, “to recede; move backwards”. The former verb is used for planets when they are above the ecliptic, the latter when they move in the retrograde direction. In the case of Saturn this applies in between the first station and the second station. It is unclear which of the two meanings, if any, is at play here.

In cols. iii' (Mercury) and iv' (Mars) enough numbers are preserved for a full reconstruction of all three sequences. Each preserved cell contains three numbers, where the second number is half of the first and the third half of the second. As mentioned, the endings of the numbers in col. i' (Venus) are also compatible with that rule. If we assume that it applies throughout the table we can reconstruct a complete column if at least two instances of either the first, the second or the third number are preserved. In each column all first numbers form a linear zigzag sequence with a maximum in row iii and a minimum in row ix, and the same holds for the second and third numbers. The parameters of the zigzag sequence for the first number are compiled in Table 19.1.

TABLE 19.1 *Parameters of the zigzag sequence for the first number in each cell*

	Minimum	Maximum	Difference
Mercury (col. ii')	15	30	2.30
Mars (col. iii')	20	40	3.20

The location of the extrema could provide clues about the significance of the numbers. In section b of the composition MUL.APIN (Hunger and Pingree 1989) and on Tablet 14 of the celestial omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil* (Al-Rawi and George 1991–1992), similar zigzag sequences describe the monthly variation of the duration of daylight and other astronomical quantities. In fact, the zigzag sequence for the duration of daylight from MUL.APIN section b and from *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablet 14 Table C is tabulated on the reverse of the present tablet (see below). The zigzag sequences in the present table (Table 19.1) have the same ratio 2 of their maximum to their minimum as the duration of daylight. According to MUL.APIN the maximum daylight occurs in month III, when the Sun is in Gemini, the third sign of the zodiac, the minimum in month IX, when the Sun is in Sagittarius, the ninth sign. Hence, the present table almost certainly contained 12 rows, each pertaining to one of the zodiacal signs from Aries to Pisces. Consequently, the minima of the zigzag sequences occur in Gemini, the maxima in Sagittarius.

However, their astronomical significance remains to be established. The numbers are not familiar from any other Babylonian text, as far as known. One might hope that the properties of the sequences provide some clues, but this may not lead us very far. As demonstrated by Steele (2013), the zigzag sequence for the duration of daylight from MUL.APIN became a point of departure in Late Babylonian astral science for constructing various other zigzag sequences. Even if the mathematical steps by which one sequence is derived from the other are transparent, the underlying astronomical reasoning is not always clear to us. It is therefore not possible to conclude from the similarity between the present zigzag sequences and the one for the duration of daylight that they measure time intervals in UŠ, for instance for the visibility of Mercury and Mars. Indeed, a closer look suggests that the numbers are actually measured in months. The preserved signs in the top cell of col. iv (Mars, Aries) do not fully agree with the reconstructed zigzag sequence. We would expect the first number to be 33.20, the second one 16.40 and the third one 8.20. Instead line 2 begins with the sign NE, of unknown meaning. Line 3 begins with 4, followed by what looks like the beginning of ITI, month. If we assume that these expressions

are compatible with the expected numbers, then 4 months [...] can be interpreted as the excess of 16;40 months beyond 1 (ideal) year of 12 (ideal) months. Accordingly, 1 MU = 1 year must be restored at the end of line 2 and 4 ITI was probably followed by 20 days (= 0;40 ideal months), where “days” could have been written ME, U₄, u₄-me, or similar. Altogether this would yield a total of 16;40 months, which is the expected number. By the same token line 4 might be read 8 ITI [10 ME/U₄/u₄-me] = 8 months [10 days] = 8;20 months. This suggests that all numbers on the obverse are measured in months. Unfortunately, their meaning remains unclear.

2 *Table with Zodiacal Signs and Numbers (BM 37361 rev. 1–6, BM 32339+32407+32645 rev. 1'–4')*

In BM 32339+32407+32645: rev. 1'–4' each column is aligned with one pair of columns from the table below it. Since the latter contains twelve columns, one for each zodiacal sign, rev. 1'–4' was most likely divided into six columns, of which the last three are partly preserved. The penultimate column partly preserves the name of Aquarius (Gula), the 11th sign, which suggests that the six columns are dedicated to the zodiacal signs from Libra to Pisces. BM 37361 preserves two very similar columns dedicated to Aries (ii') and Taurus (iii'), presumably belonging to a sequence of six columns for the signs Aries until Virgo. It is unclear what was written in the badly damaged col. i'. The only plausible location for these columns is immediately above BM 32339+32407+32645: rev. 1'–4'. As mentioned earlier, the height of BM 37361 is compatible with the estimated amount of clay that is missing from the bottom of the obverse. BM 37361 may be part of the same tablet, but this is not fully certain. One feature speaking against it is that BM 37361 has GIR₃ = šēpu, “foot” (rev. 5), while BM 32339+32407+32645 has GIR_{3.2} = šēpān, “feet”, in analogous positions (rev. 4').

At or near the top of each column the name of a zodiacal sign is written after the logogram KI, most likely to be read *qaqqar*(KI) ... = “region of ...”. This expression presumably means something distinct from the bare mention of a zodiacal sign (e.g. in BM 32339+32407+32645: rev. 6', 15'), but it is not clear how. The same problem of interpretation applies to the other instances of KI (BM 37361: rev. 3–5, BM 32339+32407+32645: rev. 2'–4'), in which a number is preceded by the expression KI SAG ŠU₂, KI MURUB₄ ŠU₂ or KI GIR₃._[2] ŠU₂. As pointed out by Britton (2002), the terms “head”, “middle” and “foot/feet” are occasionally attested in astronomical texts. J. Britton provisionally interpreted ŠU₂ as a logogram for *rabû*, “to set”, which can designate the daily setting or the synodic phenomenon of last appearance. While this cannot be excluded, one would then also expect references to risings (IGI = *nanmurtu*), i.e. daily risings

or first appearances, but they are absent. At face value it seems more likely that ŠU₂ is the possessive suffix -šu₂, “its”, which has been assumed in the present edition.

In each cell the three numbers form the same kind of decreasing sequence as on the obverse, i.e. the second number is half the first and the third one is half the second. This suggests that there is a connection between both tables. Indeed, some of the numbers are followed by a unit, years or months, which seems to confirm the tentative conclusion that the numbers on the obverse are expressed in months. However, the nature of the connection between both tables and the meaning of the numbers remain unclear.

BM 37361 also includes two statements that are only preserved for Aries: a multiplication 20·3 = 1,0 (rev. ii' 2), presumably to be interpreted as 60 years, and the signs GI₆ UŠ (rev. ii' 6), of unknown significance (see the philological remarks).

3 *Admonition to Secrecy (rev. 5')*

Unexpectedly, an admonition to secrecy, which is usually found in the colophon at the end of a tablet, appears in the middle of the table. The preserved words agree with a rather common admonition found on Babylonian and Assyrian scholarly tablets from the first millennium BCE; see e.g. Hunger 1968, Nos. 89, 98, 110 (from Uruk), 206, 221 (Assur), 303 (Kalḫu), 534, 562 (Assyria). These parallels suggest that the phrase “may the expert show it to the expert”, written *mu-da-a mu-da-a li-kal-lim* or similarly, is to be restored in the gap at the beginning, which still leaves plenty of room for further text. In Hunger 1968, Nos. 98, 110, 206, 221, 562, *immar* is likewise followed by *ikkib*(NIG₂.GIG) DN, “restriction of (god) DN”, but there seem to be no other examples where Šin and Šamaš appear in this admonition.

4 *Table with Zodiacal Signs, Numbers and Statements about Brightness (rev. 6'–16')*

The rightmost seven columns of this table are partly preserved. From the sequence of zodiacal signs (rev. 6', 15') it is clear that there were 12 columns for all signs from Aries until Pisces. There are four distinct parts, separated by horizontal rulings, each containing between two and four rows. The first part contains two rows of numbers (rev. 7'–8') followed by a row of alternating terms, “bright” or “faint” (rev. 9'). Their astronomical or astrological significance is not explained, but rev. 7' is immediately recognizable as the zigzag sequence for the duration of daylight known from MULAPIN. Hence, these numbers are probably measured in UŠ (time degrees), which has been assumed in the translation.

The second sequence (rev. 8') defies an easy interpretation. There appear to be no parallels for it elsewhere in cuneiform literature. Since the numbers vary irregularly along the zodiac, no complete reconstruction is currently possible. One might expect them to be connected with the numbers in the previous table (rev. 2'). Unfortunately, there are only two zodiacal signs, Capricorn and Aquarius, for which both sequences are preserved, and the results of a mutual comparison are inconclusive. For Aquarius the 30 years in rev. 2' agree with the 30 restored in rev. 8', but for Capricorn the number in rev. 2' is restored as 20 years, while rev. 8' has 40. Hence, the sequences are not identical and there is insufficient information for determining the nature of their connection, if there was any.

In between the first two parts of this table one line of running text is partly preserved (rev. 10'). It mentions the zodiacal signs, the motion (or: invisibility; see the philological comments) of Jupiter and a "decision for the land", but the precise meaning is unclear. The second part of the table (rev. 11'–12') contains two sequences that are just half of the sequences in the first part (rev. 7'–8'). Analogically, the third part (rev. 13'–14') contains two sequences which are half of those in the second part. This is the third occasion on the tablet where sequences of numbers associated with zodiacal signs are followed by the same sequences divided by two and by four. No new information appears to be provided in the fourth part (rev. 15'–16') which repeats the zodiacal signs from rev. 6' and the same alternating sequence of terms "bright" and "faint" from rev. 9'.

5 Section of Running Text with Omen-Like Statements (rev. 17'–20')

Below rev. 16' the tabular format is interrupted by a block of running text. The preserved part appears to consist mainly of omen-like statements and, perhaps, commentary. An attack of locusts (rev. 18') often appears in the apodoses of the celestial omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil*.³ In some of these parallels an attack of locusts is mentioned side by side with an attack of the land Elam, as is done here. It is difficult to make sense of the other statements. The term UTAḪ, which denotes a kind of rain, is found mainly in the astronomical diaries (see the philological remarks). The section ends with the statement "I did not write down all ...", perhaps a gloss indicating that this section was copied incompletely from another tablet.

3 For example, *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablet 5 (Verderame 2002, 127, Text a: obv. 3); Tablet 6 (Verderame 2002, 182, Text a₁: obv. 10'–11'); Tablet 20 (Rochberg 1988a, 222, Text e: rev. 4; 224, Text g: obv. 10); Tablet 21 (Rochberg 1988a, 243: § VII 5; 244: § VIII 5; 248: § XI 5).

**6 *Table with Month Names and Statements about Stations
and Brightness (rev. 21'–22')***

Below rev. 20' the tabular format is resumed in identical fashion, but instead of zodiacal signs this table lists the names of the corresponding months (rev. 21'). Zodiacal signs and months were almost interchangeable in Late Babylonian astrology, but we must nevertheless assume that there is a specific reason for the change to month names, which unfortunately escapes us. The month names are followed by statements about being “high”, “bright”, “faint”, “appearing” and “becoming stationary”. For months VII–XII, corresponding to Scales–Pisces, the brightness indications agree with the ones in rev. 11' and 13', but for months V–VI they are opposite. One may conclude from it that they are also opposite for months I–IV, to be restored in the missing columns left of col. i'. These statements were typically used in connection with planets but it is unclear which planet is their implicit subject, or what the implications are if a planet satisfies the description in a given month.

7 *Section of Running Text with Omen-Like Statements (rev. 23'–26')*

Below rev. 22' the table is again interrupted by a block of running text. Since the left half of each line is missing and several logograms could not be deciphered, only little can be understood. The text appears to consist of omen-like conditional statements about faintness, brightness, and market rates. Perhaps the phrase “If there is no trade in the fruit” (rev. 25') is the incipit of an omen text? Note that the “fruit” might be a reference to the moon. Some phrases appear to refer directly to the surrounding tables, in particular rev. 22' (“faint” and “bright”) and the end of rev. 25', where it is said that the “setting”, presumably of a planet, occurs in the “heads” if its “rising” occurs in the “feet”, and vice versa. However, it is not clear what this statement might mean, neither astronomically nor astrologically. Risings and settings are mentioned again at the end (rev. 26').

**8 *Table with Month Names and Statements about Brightness
(rev. 27'–28', 30')***

Here the tabular format resumes in identical fashion, with the same row of month names as in rev. 21' and the same alternating sequence of terms “faint” and “bright” as in rev. 9' and 16'. For unclear reasons the identical month names are repeated in rev. 28' and 30'.

9 *Statement about the Motion of Mars and Saturn (rev. 29')*

This partly preserved single line of text mentions a period of 360 years, apparently pertaining to some phenomenon involving Mars and Saturn. However, a period of 360 years is otherwise not attested in Babylonian astral science and it does not appear possible to construct it by combining, in some way, the known Babylonian periods of Mars and Saturn. Note, however, that the number 360 coincides with the number of UŠ (degrees) contained in the zodiac; perhaps the period of 360 years is somehow related to that.

10 *Section of Running Text (rev. 31'–32')*

The final section consists of two lines of running text. Rev. 31' contains a computation of unknown significance. Rev. 32' might belong to a colophon.

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Thunders, Haloes, and Earthquakes: What Daniel Brought from Babylon into Arabic Divination

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Introduction

The complex Biblical figure of Daniel is not alluded to in the Qurʾān. In later sources he manifests in two different characters: one is the sage mentioned by Ezekiel; the other lived during the Babylonian captivity. One of the aspects that has attracted scholarly attention is the role Daniel plays in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (“Stories of the prophets”).¹ The name of Daniel is often connected to the prophet Ezra, who is presented as Daniel’s son in the apocalyptic literature.² Daniel is also the protagonist of popular stories. These different literary echoes—ranging from the sage of ancient times to the visionary of the Babylonian captivity—shaped the Arabic Daniel as a revealer of the future and its mysteries. He became the most quoted authority on “prognostics” (*Malḥamāt Dānyāl*).³

In the case of celestial divination, the figure of the prophet Daniel becomes an author, and calendrical and divinatory knowledge is transmitted under his authoritative wing. In the Islamic cultural milieu, the knowledge attributed to and authored by a Biblical prophet is legitimate, since they belonged to the

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- 1 In the popular story entitled *Qiṣṣat Bulūqiyā*, Daniel owns a book in which he finds the mention of a plant that could grant him eternal life. Daniel goes in search of this plant and, along the river *Ġayḥūn*, meets the Archangel Gabriel, who, by divine order, confiscates the book and throws it in the river. Daniel manages to save only five pages that would be inherited by his son. The same story is told in the *Qiṣṣat al-Amīr Ḥamza* in the framework of a dream of the Persian king Šāpūr; see Grotzfeld 1969, 72–73 and 79–81.
 - 2 Daniel is seen in this case as the author of Christian-Arabic apocalyptic texts. Some of the apocalyptic signs listed in the Christian apocalypse are very close to the Islamic text dealing with celestial divination. See Macler 1904, 288–289. For Ezra as author of texts on meteorological divination, see Sezgin 1979, 317–318.
 - 3 For a more detailed portrait of Daniel in the Arabo-Islamic culture, see Vajda 2012 and Tottoli 2012.

same line of prophecy that culminates in Muḥammad. The bits and pieces of information from Biblical narratives empowered Daniel as the authorial figure who could best cross linguistic and cultural boundaries, carrying the banner of divination into the Arabo-Islamic culture.⁴

The main topic of this paper is the genre of the *Malḥama*, which represents an interesting case in the transmission of knowledge in the premodern world where an artfully constructed authorship plays an important role. The Arabic term has long been translated as “astrological almanacs”. This label, however, does not immediately convey the character and the diversification of the contents; rather, “prognostics” seems to be a better working hypothesis. These texts are collections of omens and predictions that can be derived from calendrical aspects (e.g., the day on which the year begins), astrological (influence of the houses of the zodiac on the months or on the beginning of the year), meteorological and celestial signs (eclipses, haloes, thunders, lightnings), along with other natural phenomena (earthquakes). In the classification of the sciences, meteorological and celestial divination counts among the natural sciences (*‘ulūm ṭabī‘īyya*), which, like the *firāsa* (“physiognomy”), require an extremely careful observation of signs followed by their interpretation.⁵

At the beginning of the 20th century, Giuseppe Furlani published preliminary studies of the Syriac and Arabic manuscript traditions of astrological and divinatory texts.⁶ Tawfiq Fahd included these aspects in his famous study of Arabic divination.⁷ A few years later, Alexander Fodor followed Fahd’s appeal to devote more attention to these texts, and published the translation of a Shi’ite recension. The publication included the photographic reproduction of the edition printed in Najaf in the early 1970s, which was used as a basis for the translation.⁸ Although the Egyptian public opinion may have experienced violent waves of disapproval of this kind of literature, in 2015 the Cairine press *Dār al-bayḍā’* printed an eclectic edition of the *Malḥamat Dānyāl*, that collects passages probably extracted from different manuscripts.⁹

4 Tawfiq Fahd (1987, 409–410) suggested a Babylonian origin for this part of Arabic divination; on the Prophet Daniel and celestial divination see also Ullmann 1972, 293–294.

5 This classification of sciences is handed down by the *Kaṣf al-ẓunūn* (17th cent.); however, it reflects ideas that were already starting to be discussed in the 9th century. See Fahd 1987, 369–370.

6 See Furlani 1916, 1921a and 1921b.

7 See Fahd 1987, 407–412.

8 See Fodor 1974.

9 Only one year earlier, in 2014, the discussion on the lawfulness of magic in Egypt reached a peak and these texts were prohibited, with the consequence that poor booklets on magic

The prognostics are built like omens and formulated as hypothetical clauses, i.e. “*if x, then y*”, and are very general in character. As for their contents and the topics touched upon by these predictions, they are never personal and always remain quite general. Their implications concern the weather, plagues among humans and animals, wars and riots, price trends, clashes between kings, or the death of a ruler.

A great number of predictions include a geographical reference. Their apodosis specifically refers to a particular country or region. Moreover, climatic zones, regions, and specific cities are mentioned in association with zodiac constellations.

This quite homogeneous divinatory lore—including different kinds of celestial divination and weather omens—is transmitted via a fluid manuscript tradition, in which coherent blocs of texts are constantly recombined in the course of the transmission. The impact of this on the material witnesses is that almost every manuscript copy has the contents arranged in a specific way (more or less inclusive versions, attachment of related material, reference to specific cultural elements) without losing its generic identity.¹⁰ There are trends in the composition (the sequence of sections, for instance) that imply that these different witnesses are part of the same textual tradition.

In spite of the dismissiveness of some modern scholars regarding the quality of these texts,¹¹ even a quick appraisal of the number of manuscript copies suggests that this genre must have met with considerable success among readers.¹² Considering the peculiarities of this textual tradition, and in particular its

were smuggled in the murky backrooms of ordinary bookshops for exorbitant prices. In 2015, with an unexpected turn of the events, the famous bookshop Maktaba al-Madbouli sported an entire cupboard of books on the occult and magic, bound in psychedelically coloured covers.

10 “Die Kataloge arabischer, syrischer, äthiopischer und hebräischer Handschriften führen noch einige andere dem Propheten Daniel zugeschriebene astrologische Werke an, die ich jedoch noch nicht näher untersucht habe. Eine Veröffentlichung aller dieser Texte, die, wenn sie auch nicht identisch sind, einem und demselben Typus angehören, wäre zweifellos auch für den Assyriologen von großem Werte: wir würden dadurch in den Stand gesetzt werden, die richtige Übersetzung so manchen rätselhaften Wortes der babylonischen Ominatexte zu ermitteln.” See Furlani 1921b, 164.

11 “Furthermore, the faint trace of a figure from the antiquity of fable combining with the apocalyptic tone of the book handed down in the Bible under the name Daniel, make Dānyāl of Muslim legend a revealer of the future and eschatological mysteries, and even lends his authority to astrological almanacs (*Malḥamat Dānyāl*) of extremely mediocre quality.” See Vajda 2012.

12 See Sezgin 1979, 312–317.

fluidity, the only reasonable solution and remedy to the initial puzzling impression made by this large and fluid corpus is to begin providing more editions and translations of new textual examples, with the aim of enlarging the comparative basis for the study of the transmission of knowledge in the premodern world.

Daniel and Celestial Divination in the MS Paris BnF Ar. 2633

The manuscript Paris BnF Ar. 2633, with its complex codicological structure and combination of texts, will serve us as a case study. The Arabic text with a translation will add a small tile to the mosaic of sources and, hopefully, will contribute to the creation of a corpus for the study of Near Eastern science and technology and its transmission between different cultures and languages over time.

The title page does not mention the word *malḥama*; rather, it uses the expression *ʿilm al-zīrǧa* (“science of astronomical tables”). In addition to calendrical texts and celestial divination, this manuscript contains a large section on geomancy as well.¹³

This is the precious collection that deals with the science of celestial signs (lit., skies) in the science of astronomical tables.¹⁴ The Prophet Daniel is the author.

هذا المجموع اللطيف يشتمل على
علم الساموات في علم الزيرجة
تأليف النبي دانيال

The manuscript includes a number of textual blocks (that also correspond to different units of production), dealing with the celestial signs and their

13 Together with Idrīs/Enoch, the Prophet Daniel is mentioned among the authorities in the field of geomancy. For the specific case of MS Paris BnF Ar. 2631, f. 67v, see Raggetti forthcoming.

14 MS Paris BnF Ar. 2633, f. 1r spells the word as *zīrǧa*. Lane states that the word *zāʾiǧa* indicates “a four-sided or round scheme, made to exhibit the horoscope, or places, or configurations of the stars at the time of birth: an astrological term arabicized from the Persian *zāyčah*” (see Lane, *Lexicon* 3, 1280). The same word in Dozy refers to a particular astrological device developed in North Africa: “Espèce de tableau dont on attribue l’invention à un Soufi maghribin de la fin du VI^e siècle de l’hégire, nommé Abou-l-Abbās, de Ceuta. Il a la forme d’un grand cercle qui renferme d’autres cercles concentriques, dont les uns se rapportent aux sphères célestes, et les autres aux éléments, aux choses sublunaires, aux êtres spirituels, aux événements de tout genre et aux connaissances diverses.” See Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* I, 577.

interpretation, along with a geomantic section. The predictions are arranged in the form of menologies, though the complete series of months is attested in one case only (52r–53v).

The alternation of Arabic (of Aramaic origin) and Coptic names for the months is just one of the clues that the different textual blocks—in spite of their physical juxtaposition on the page—are independent and separate units, collected in this order for this particular compendium. In some instances, both calendars are mentioned: often the month name—either in Arabic or in Coptic—is matched with the corresponding one in the other calendar. In only one case just the Arabic name is given. In general, more than one textual block suggests a Coptic context of origin for this textual witness. The section on halo omens (MS Paris BnF Ar. 2633, ff. 48r–50v), for instance, enthusiastically mentions the appointment of a vizier in Egypt who favours churches and convents. Moreover, the text on the favourable ascensions of Sirius (MS Paris BnF Ar. 2633, ff. 53v–63v) refers to three different moments in the Christian liturgical calendar: the first day of the Coptic year (*nayrūz*), Pentecost, and the end of the Christian fasting period.¹⁵

Daniel surely carries the banner of authorship, but different other sources and authorities are mentioned alongside him. In the text (10) on thunder omens, the Copts are said to have written on this subject. In the same text, what seems to be the name of a single source—though spelled in two different ways, i.e. *Dāqīs* and *Addqīs*—is mentioned twice, alongside vaguely defined “astrologers”, who have not yet been identified. Moreover, “wise men of Babylon” (*ulamā’ Bābil*) are mentioned twice as sources, and in both cases in connection with medical predictions (fevers and an eye disease). In the case of alleged Babylonian sources, there is also an explicit reference to their written form.

In the short introduction to the section on the ascensions of Sirius, the words of two authorities are mentioned alongside the prophet Daniel as sources for the text: Aristotle and Ptolemy. The evident anachronism aims to strengthen the authorial position of the prophet in connection with outstanding authors from the Greek tradition, who were the masters of meteorology and astronomy. The words of Ptolemy reiterate the importance of the association between a city and a particular house of the zodiac as a key to the knowledge of this world and the accidents that characterize it.

The different textual blocks collected in this multiple-text manuscript show different approaches to celestial divination. The protasis is based on a celestial

15 See Kosack 2012.

sign, but can also be enriched with supplementary elements: month, day of the month, combination with astrological aspects, etc. The apodosis, on the other hand, counts on a quite limited and standardized set of possible outcomes. It can be expanded by accumulation, though. More or less precise geographical references are quite common, and they vary from, for instance, the general mention of a country in the East, to the specific references to regions and cities associated with particular astrological configurations. In addition to the fortunes of agriculture, there is constant—sometimes even speculative—commercial attention to price trends.¹⁶

It is important to describe the context of the whole multiple-text manuscript MS Paris BnF Ar. 2633, which transmits these textual blocks, before having a closer look at a representative selection of texts.

1r, title page, ownership note: *Mulk al-kitāb al-Ḥāḡḡ ‘Abd Allah ibn Sulaymān*.

1. (1v–7v) *Qawl ‘alā al-ra’d*. Thunder omens, incomplete series of four months with Arabic and Coptic names, beginning with *Tiṣrīn al-awwal/Bābah*.

2. (7v–26r) Propitious influence of Sirius during its rise, arranged according to zodiacal houses, incomplete series: Virgo (*al-Sunbula*, 7v), Libra (*al-Mizān*, 9r), Scorpio (*al-Aqrab*, 12r), Sagittarius (*al-Qaws*, 15v), Capricorn (*al-Ġadī*, 18r), Aquarius (*al-Dalū*, 21r), Pisces (*al-Ḥūt*, 24r).

3. (26v) *Ḥisāb al-ḡummal al-kabīr*, *Ḥisāb al-ḡummal al-ṣaḡīr*. Use of the letters of the alphabet according to their numerical value.

4. (26v–27r) Coptic names of the months.

5. (27r–28v) Diagram of the auspicious and inauspicious hours of the days of the week.

16 See text No. 17: “Wheat will become expensive in Syria, in the Balkans, and in Egypt, and so the one who buys wheat will have great profit.”

6. (29r) *Basmalah, Şifat maʿrifat al-sāʿāt*. Description of the hours of the days of the week, their association to a planet, and the propitious activities associated with each of them.

7. (32v–33v) *Bāb maʿrifat al-ṭalāṭīn yawm^{an} al-manqūṭ minhā wa-ḡayr al-manqūṭ*. Chapter on the knowledge of the months with thirty days (whose names are) with or without dots, and the diseases associated with them.

8. (35v–45r) Association between geomantic figures and planets, geomantic enquiry about absence, success, future, pregnancy, geomantic aphorism of the Indian sage Ṭumṭum (*nuktat li-l-Şayḥ al-Ṭumṭum al-Hind*[ī], f. 38r), wealth and prosperity, rain, section on the geomantic figures of truth and lies, how to obtain indications on mining places, enquiry about crimes and misdemeanours.

9. (45v) Circular diagram divided into nine sectors associated with geomantic figures.

10. (46r–48r) Thunder omens. The celestial phenomenon is interpreted on the basis of the month in which it occurs in connection with the lunar phase (5 months, from *Nīsān* to *Āb*, with the date of their beginning in the Coptic calendar).

11. (48r–50v) *Basmalah, Hāḏihī al-ʿalāmat al-dāʿira ḥawla al-šams wa-l-qamar*. Omens from the haloes around the sun and the moon. Coptic names for the months starting with *Baramūdah*, *Nasī* is omitted.

12. (50v) *Asmāʾ al-burūğ*, zodiacal constellation in association with the four elements.

13. (50v) *Bāb yuʿrifu bihī ḥāl al-marīḍ*. Calculation to reveal the prognosis of a sick person.

14. (51r–52r) *Al-qawl ʿan Daniyāl al-nabī ʿalā al-barq*, ‘Daniel on lightning’. Arabic and Coptic names for the months starting from *Aylūl*/*Tūt*, *Adār* and *Tammūz* are omitted.

15. (52r) *Bāb li-wagaʿ al-raʾs*. Incantation against headache.

16. (52r–53v) *Al-qawl ‘alā al-zalāzil*. Earthquake omens. Complete series of Arabic months beginning with *Nīsān*.

17. (53v–63v) *Al-qawl ‘alā al-Ša’rā al-yamāniyya ‘inda ṭulū’ihā*. Propitious influence of Sirius in its ascensions on the zodiacal houses, incomplete series: Aries (*al-Ḥamal*, 54r), Taurus (*al-Ṭawr*, 57r), Gemini (*al-Ġawzā’*, 59v), and Cancer (*al-Saraṭān*, 61v). First, the house of the zodiac is associated with a planet, countries and cities; then, the effects of Sirius rising in that house are listed: winds, illnesses, effects on agriculture, wars, the death of important people.

18. (63v–71v) Thunder omens, with the meaning of the phenomenon on different days of the month. Complete series of Arabic months, beginning with *al-Kānūn al-awwal*.

19. (71v–74v) Incomplete series of thunder omens including six months: *Šubāt*, *Nīsān*, *Ayyār*, *Ḥazīrān*, *Tammūz*, *Āb*.

20. (74v) Explicit. Ownership note: *Mulk al-kitāb al-Ḥāġġ ‘Abd Allah ibn Sulaymān*.

What follows here is a representative selection of texts from MS Paris BnF Ar. 2633, with an edition of the Arabic original and its English translation.

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

10. [*Thunder omens*]

If you hear the thunder when the moon is waning, then there will be great death among cattle, the weeds will increase, wars, riots and conflicts among kings will multiply in the Eastern lands, and God knows best.

[46r] وان سمعت الرعد في نقصان الهلال ويكون
في البقر موت كثير ويكثر حشيش الارض وتكثر
الحروب والفتن في مشارق الارض ومعاربها بين
ملوك الارض والله اعلم

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

Adār, which begins on the fifth day of the month *Barmahāt*.

If you hear a thunder at the new moon, then there will be a great number of wars and battles, terrible calamities coming from the regions of Yemen, snow and a star will appear, this will happen in the direction of the sea.¹⁷

شهر اذار اوله خامس برمهات
اذا سمعت الرعد في زمان الهلال فانه يكون حروب
وقتل بجدة نعمة وشرو ردية من نواحي اليمن
ومطالع الثلج وكوكب وهو البحري

If you hear a thunder in the month of *Nisān*, which begins on the fifth day of *Baramūdah*, when the moon is waning, then the year will be very good, perfect in wealth and prosperity.

وان سمعت الرعد في شهر نيسان اوله الخامس من
برمودة [46v] في نقصان الهلال فتكون السنة جيدة
كاملة الخير والخصب والله اعلم

Month of *Ayyār*. It has 31 days, it begins in the sixth day of the month *Bašans*.

If you hear a thunder when the moon is waxing—as the Copts wrote—then there will be wheat in every country except for Egypt, but the sowing will take place in Western countries, the year will be bad as for the calamities.

شهر ايار ايامه واحد وثلاثون يوما اوله ستة من
بشنس
اذا سمعت الرعد في زياد الهلال مثل ما كتبوا القبط
يكون القمح في جميع البلاد ويكون بغير ارض مصر
ويكون الزرع في بلدان الغرب وتكون سنة ردية على
النقائر

If you hear a thunder when the moon is waning, then all the beans will suffer a calamity and it will be impossible to find them, whereas the wheat will be good, and God knows best.

وان سمعت الرعد في نقصان الهلال فانه يلحق
القطاني كله عامة ولا تجود ويكون القمح جيد
والله اعلم

17 The adjective *bahrī* (“in the direction of the sea”) may point to different directions, since it is a relative geographical indication that depends on the point of observation. For instance, in Egypt it indicates the North, in Hebrew, it points instead to the West (Lane, *Lexicon* 1, 157a).

(cont.)

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

Month of *Ḥazīrān*, which begins on the seventh day of *Ba'ūnah*.

If you hear the thunder when the moon is waxing—as the Copts wrote—then the king of Africa will change and abdicate, there will be battles, people will deviate from the right path, illnesses will strike the people, and the fruits will become ripe without rotting or being stolen.

If you hear a thunder when the moon is waning—as the astrologers and *Dāqīs*[?] wrote—and it has been established by them that the coming year will be good, only the wheat will not be so, but the fruits will be good, something concealed will emerge from the kings and judges, and you will hear something new: it is said that the troops will perish in the future, and God knows best.

Month of *Tammūz*, which begins on the seventh day of *Abīb*.

If you hear a thunder when the moon is waxing—as the Copts wrote—then the wheat will be good in this year, however there will be death among the animals and cattle.

Some wise men of Babylon said that the fruits will be good, that the bodies of people will burn, not only from different fevers, the authority will be in some countries, and there will be raids by robbers.

شهر خزيان اوله السابع من يؤونه اذا سمعت الرعد فيه [47r] في زياد الهلال كما كتبوا القبط ان الملك افريقية يحول ويزول ويكون قتال وتحول الناس وامراض مستقبله على الناس وتكون الثمرة حسنة غير انها تفسد وتهب

وان سعت الرعد في نقضان الهلال مثل كتبوا المنجمون وداقيس وتحققت منهم على ان السنة المقبلة تكون حسنة الا ان القمح دون الجودة والاثمار تكون حسنة ويظهر من الملوك والقضاة شئ مستور وتسمع شيا جديدا ويقال ان الجماعة يهلكون في المستقبل والله اعلم

شهر تموز [47v] اوله السابع من ايبب اذا سمعت الرعد في زياد الهلال مثل ما كتبوا القبط ان القمح يكون حسنا في تلك السنة غير انه يكون موت في البهايم والبقر وذكر علماء بابل ان الاثمار تكون حسنة واجساد الناس تتحرق الا خلافا الاحتراق والكلمة في بعض البلدان ويكون سرق من اللصوص

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

If you hear a thunder when the moon is waning—as the astrologers wrote—then the fruits will be good and the rains abundant in the months of *Adār* and *Nisān*; the year will be off to a good start—as *Addqīs*[?] says—the winter will not be very cold and the fruits will be good, there will be many armies raised among the viziers, and the decisions will provoke envy, and God knows best.

وان سمعت الرعد في نقصان الهلال مثل ما كتبوا
المنجمون تكون الاثمار حسنة والامطار كثيرة في
شهر اذار ونسيان وتدخل السنة دخولا حسنا كما
تحدث ادديس [48r] وتكون الشتاء قليلة البرد
والاثمار حسنة وتكون جنود كثيرة تظهر في الوزرا
والحكام محل الحسد والله اعلم

Month of *Āb*.

If you hear a thunder at the beginning of the month, on the eighth day of *Masrā*, when the moon is waxing, then the air and the winds will rise against people, along with the illnesses, and robberies will increase.

شهر آب ان سمعت الرعد في اوله ثمانية من مسرى في
زيادة الهلال يكون حال الهواء والارياح على الناس
والامراض وتكثر السرقة

If you hear a thunder when the moon is waning—as the wise men of Babylon wrote—then an eye disease will spread and many people will become blind, abundant snows in the future, and God knows best.

وان سمعت الرعد في نقصان الهلال مثل ما كتبوا
اعلموا بابل يكون الرمد في الناس كثيرا عمايا وثلوج
مستقبلة عظيمة والله تعالى اعلم

n. In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

*These are the signs of the haloes around the sun and the moon in each month.*¹⁸

وهذه العلامة الدائرة حول الشمس والقمر [48v]

في كل شهر

¹⁸ The circular halo around the sun and the moon (*dā'ira*) is often associated with a red shade (*humra*) that appears around the luminaries.

(cont.)

*MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v*The first month is *Baramūdah*.

If, during this month, you see a halo around the sun and the moon, then the profit will be much, the fruits of the earth will prosper, many blessings will reach humankind, because of the Sultan and the just kings.

اول ذلك الشهر برمودة

اذا رايت فيه الدائر على الشمس والقمر فان النيل كثير واثمار الارض تخصب وخيرات كثيرة تدرك بني البشر من قبل السلطان والملوك العادل

Month of *Başans*.

If, during this month, you see red shade and a halo around the sun and the moon, then the rains will be abundant, and the profit likewise, the trees will grow, and the Sultan and his subordinates will be just with the citizens.

شهر البشنس

اذا رايت فيه الحمرة والدائرة على الشمس والقمر يكون المطر كثيرا وكذلك النيل وتنتهي الاشجار ويكون السلطان واتباعه عادلين بالرعية

Month of *Ba'ūnah*.

If, [during this month], you see red shade and a halo around the sun and the moon, this means that there will be strong rains, the fruits will grow, and that the Sultan will be just, and God knows best.

شهر البؤونة

اذا رايت الحمرة والدائرة على الشمس والقمر يدل على انه يكون مطر شديد وتنتي الثمار ويكون عدل من السلطان 49r والله اعلم

Month of *Abib*.

If, [during this month], you see red shade and a halo around the sun and the moon, this means—and God knows best—that there will be wars among the kings of the earth, thieves will fall in the hands of arbiters and judges, and pregnant women will lose their babies, and God knows best.

شهر ابيب

اذا رايت فيه الحمرة والدائرة على الشمس والقمر يدل والله اعلم على حروب بين ملوك الارض واللصوص يقعوا في يد الحكام والقضاة والنساء الحوامل يسقطون اولادهم والله اعلم

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

Month of *Masrā*.

If, [during this month], you see red shade and a halo around the sun and the moon, this—and God knows best—this means the decay of all the fruits, death among people until the month of *Tūbah*, the profit will be much, the wheat cheap and easily available.

شهر مسرى

إذا رايت فيه الحمرة والدائرة على الشمس والقمر
يدل والله أعلم على فساد جميع الاثمار وفي الناس
موت الى طوبة ويكون النيل كثيرا والقمح يرخص
ويوجد والله أعلم

Month of *Tūt*.

If, [during this month], you see red shade and a halo around the sun and the moon, this—and God knows best—this means that the fruits of this year will be abundant, pigs will be cheap until the months of *Bābah* and *Kayhak*.¹⁹

شهر توت

إذا رايت الحمرة والدائرة على الشمس والقمر
يدل والله أعلم [49v] على ان ثمار تلك السنة تكثر
وتخصب والخنزير يرخص الى بابه وكثيرك والله أعلم

Month of *Bābah*.

If, during this month, you see red shade and a halo around the sun and the moon, then there will be a great fear and many turmoils, the kings will make raids, and will have great fear of one another, and God knows best.

شهر بابة

إذا رايت الحمرة والدائرة على الشمس والقمر يكون
خوف عظيم واضطراب كثير وينالوا الملوك دهمة
وخوف عظيم بعضها ببعض والله أعلم

Month of *Hātūr*.

If, during this month, you see red shade and a halo around the sun and the moon, this means that there will be a great cold, terzan fever will strike people, their heads will become heavy, with great pain and a terrible affliction.

شهر هاتور

إذا رايت فيه الحمرة والدائرة على الشمس والقمر
يدل على ان يكون برد كثير وحى مثلثة تلحق الناس
وينالوا نقلا في راسهم ووجع كثير وحزن شديد والله
أعلم

¹⁹ This implies either one or three months of low prices for pigs.

(cont.)

*MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v*Month of *Kayhak*.

If, [during this month], you see red shade and a halo around the sun and the moon, this means that the people will have pain and disease, their knees will break, the children will die, and the smallpox will spread, and God knows best.

شهر كيهك
إذا رايت فيه الحمرة والدائرة على الشمس والقمر
يدل على ان [50r] ينال الناس وجع ومرض
ويتخربوا في ركبهم والاطفال يموتون والجدرى يطرح
والله اعلم

Month of *Tūbah*.

If, [during this month], you see red shade and a halo around the sun and the moon, this means that clouds and wind will spoil the fruits, and the weapons of defence, and God knows best.

شهر طوبة
إذا رايت فيه الحمرة والدائرة على الشمس والقمر
يدل على غيوم وريح فاسد للثمار وصلاح للاردع
والله اعلم

Month of *Amšīr*.

If, [during this month], you see red shade and a halo around the sun and the moon, this means—and God knows best—that God the Highest will unleash His wrath on his servants, so infection, disgrace, and rain will fall upon them, and God knows best.

شهر امشير
إذا رايت فيه الحمرة والدائرة على الشمس والقمر
يدل والله اعلم الله تعالى رد غضبه عن عباده وينزل
لهم الغيث والنداء والمطر والله اعلم

Month of *Maramhāt*.

If, [during this month], you see red shade and a halo around the sun and the moon, this means that a [new] vizier of Egypt will be appointed; he will be viewed favourably by the kings, he will be just with the “third state”, with commerce, with the churches, and the convents.²⁰

شهر برمهاث
إذا رايت فيه الحمرة والدائرة على الشمس والقمر
يدل على ان وزير مصر [50v] يقيم باعمالها ويحسن
حاله عند الملوك ويعدل في الرعية الثلاثة والبيع
والكائس والادبور والله سبحانه والله اعلم

²⁰ The appreciative remark about a future vizier of Egypt who will protect convents and

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

12. *These are the names of the constellations of the zodiac.*²¹

وهذه اسماء البروج

Aries (f) Taurus (e) Gemini (a) Cancer (w)
Leo (f) Virgo (e) Libra (a) Scorpio (w)
Sagittarius (f) Capricorn (e) Aquarius (a)
Pisces (w)

حمل ن ثورت جوزاء ه سرطان م
اسد ن سنبله ت ميزان ه عقرب م
قوس ن جدى ت دلو ه حوت م

13. *Chapter to know about the condition of a sick man.*

باب يعرف به حال المريض

The Sage said: count the days of the Arabic month up to the day on which the man fell ill, start to subtract 3 by 3 from this number. If the remainder is 1, then he will recover quickly; if the remainder is 2, then his illness will endure; if the remainder is 3, then he will die, and God knows best.

قال الحكيم ايام الشهر العربي الى اليوم الذي ضعف فيه اسقطهم ٣٣ فان بقى واحد فهو يبرئ سريعا
وان بقى اثنين فهو [51r] يطول مرضه وان بقى ثلاثة فهو يموت والله اعلم

14. *The Prophet Daniel on lightnings.*

القول عن دنيال النبي على البرق

Month of *Aylūl*, which is *Tūt*.
If you see lightning during this month, then the year will be prosperous and good.

شهر ايلون وهو توت
ان رايت فيه برقا فانه تكون سنة مخصبة حسنة

churches, together with the choice of names for the months, points to a particular Coptic influence on this textual block.

21 Here, the zodiac constellations are associated with the four elements expressed by four sigla, rubricated on top of each sign: م (*mīm*) for water (*mā'*), ه (*hā'*) for air (*hawā'*), ت (*tā'*) for earth (*turāb*), and ن for fire (*nār*).

(cont.)

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

Month of *Tiṣrīn al-awwal*, which is
Bābah.

If you see lightning during this month,
then there will be armies and great agi-
tation, they will kill a man from *Rūsā*[-?],
and God knows best.

تشرين الاول وهو بابة

ان رايت فيه برق يكون جيوش وفتح عظيم ورجل
من الروسا يقتلوه والله اعلم

Month of *Tiṣrīn al-tānī*, which is *Hātūr*.

If you see lightning during this month,
then the year will be very good and
happy, cereals will be available, but there
will be little barley.

تشرين الثاني وهو هاتور

ان رايت فيه برق فانه يكون صالحا حسنا جيدا
سعيدا وتجد الغلة وفيه يقع الشعير قليل ويسير

Month of *Kānūn al-awwal*, which is *Kay-
hak*.

If you see lightning during this month,
then it will be a good year for cereals, but
there will be fear about their decline.

كانون الاول وهو كيهك

ان رايت فيه برق فانه يكون حسنا على الغلة [51v]
ويخشى عليه من النقصان

Month of *Kānūn al-tānī*, which is *Ṭūbah*.

If you see lightning during this month,
then there will be no good in it for [those
with] reprehensible qualities.

كانون الثاني وهو طوبة

ان رايت فيه برق فانه يكون لا خير فيه في خصال
مذمومة

Month of *Šubāṭ*, which is *Amšīr*.

If you see lightning during this month,
then it will be a good year for grain and
all the cereals.

شباط وهو امشير

ان رايت فيه برق فانه يكون صلاح حسن من اجل
الحنطة وجميع الغلات

Month of *Nīsān*, which is *Baramhāt*.

If you see lightning during this month,
then it will be a good year, cereals will be
available, but there will be little barley.

نيسان وهو برمات

اذا رايت فيه برق فانه يكون صالحا حسنا وتجد فيه
الغلة ويقع الشعير قليلا

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

Month of *Ayyār*, which is *Bašans*.

If you see lightning during this month,
then there will be nothing good in it,
except for the sword.

ايار وهو بشنس اذا رايت فيه البرق فانه يكون لا
خير فيه الا السيف

Month of *Ḥazīrān*, which is *Baūnah*.

If you see a lightning during this month,
then a noble man will die in the land
where the lightning has been seen.

حزيران وهو بؤونة
ان رايت فيه برق يكون يموت رجل شريف في
الارض الذي يري فيها البرق

Month of *Āb*, which is *Masrā*.

If you see a lightning during this month,
then it will be a good year for business
and security, and God knows best.

شهر آب [52r] وهو مسرى
ان رايت فيه البرق فانه صالح الامور وطمانينة والله
اعلم

15. *Chapter against headache.*

Takšiš ikšiš takšiš nakšāš remove every
pain from the head of So-and-So, like the
sword emerges from the moon, the moon
from the sword, and the sword from the
moon. I am the one who performs the
incantation (*al-rāqī*) and God is the One
who cures.

تكشيش ايكشيش تكشيش نكشاش اخرج ايه
الوجع من راس فلانه كما خرج السيف من القمر
والقمر من السيف والسيف من القمر انا الراقي والله
الشافى

16. *The Prophet Daniel on the earthquakes
that may occur.*

The Sage, may God have mercy on him,
said:

القول على الزلازل التي تحصل
قال الحكيم رحمة الله عليه

If an earthquake occurs in the month of
Nīsān, then the rains will be abundant,
prices will decrease, bread will be abun-
dant, the country bowed, and there will
be migratory movements by the Arabs,
and God knows best.

اذا حصل زلزلة في شهر نسيان فان المطر يكون كثيرا
ويكثر الرخص والخبز ورقا البلاد حرقا رحل عربية
والله اعلم

(cont.)

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

He said: if an earthquake occurs in the month of *Ayyār*, there will be discord among the kings, wars will increase, evil will spread in the land of Babylon, Palestine, and in Western regions likewise, and God knows best.

قال شهر ايار اذا حصل [52v] فيه زلزلة يقع خلف
بين الملوك وتكثر الحروب والشر بالارض بابل
ونواحي الغرب والله اعلم

He said: if an earthquake occurs in the month of *Ḥazīrān*, there will be an epidemic among the horses, discord among the houses, pains will strike the land of Palestine, prices will remain low, and God knows best.

قال شهر خزيран اذا وقع فيه زلزلة يكون يقع لوبا في
الخليل وخلف ديار بكر اوجاع وارض فلسطين ويقع
الرخص والله اعلم

Month of *Tammūz*: if you see an earthquake in this month, then in this year incomes will not grow, robbery and high prices will affect the land of *Rūm* (Byzantium) and Syria.

شهر تموز
اذا رايت فيه زلزلة لا يزيد النال في تلك السنة ويقع
النهب وغلاء في بلاد الروم وفي ارض الشام

He said: month of *Āb*, if an earthquake takes place during this month, then the winter will come early, damaging the agriculture, there will be rebellions in Syria, and the roads will be blocked, and God knows best.

قال شهر الآب
اذا كان فيه زلزلة فان الشتاء يتقدم ويفسد الزرع
ويكون خوارج في بلاد الشام وتنقطع الطريق والله
اعلم

He said: month of *Aylūl*, if an earthquake takes place during this month, illnesses will multiply, important personalities will die in Syria and in the country of the North, praised be the One who knows what is concealed.

قال شهر ايلول
اذا كان فيه زلزلة يكثر المرض [53r] ويموت رجل
ذو قدر في الشام ونحو بلاد الشمال وسبحان عالم
الغيب

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

He said: month of *Tiṣrīn al-awwal*, if an earthquake takes place during this month, then damp and rain will increase, as will do the prices, and God knows best.

قال تشرين الاول
اذا كان فيه زلزلة كان النداء والامطار كثيرة
ورخص كثير والله اعلم

He said: the month of *Tiṣrīn al-tānī* indicates that the country will harbour strange men, the fear of the Sultan will grow, and he will die in this year, and God knows best.

قال تشرين الثاني يدل على ان يطاء البلاد رجل
غريبة ويكثر الخوف على السلطان ويهلك في تلك
السنة والله اعلم

He said: month of *Šubbāt*, if an earthquake takes place during this month, this means further issues will arise and low prices will increase in this year.

[53v] قال شباط
اذا كان فيه زلزلة يدل على ورود من جهته امور
ضيفة ويكثر الرخص في تلك السنة

He said: month of *Idār*, if an earthquake takes place in this month during the day, there will be a long Spring in this year, and God knows best.

قال شهر اذار
اذا كان فيه زلزلة نهارا يكثر الربيع في تلك السنة
والله اعلم

17. *Discourse on the auspicious ascensions of Sirius.*

القول على شعري اليمانية عند طلوعها

Daniel—Peace be upon him—said: [The auspicious ascensions] included every first day of the Coptic year (*nayrūz*), and the signs that provide clues, and the things that are in the world, made by the Ancients, who preceded us in time, and who found [all these things] true. This is what Aristotle illustrated and composed, together with the record of the

قال دانيال عليه السلام منها كل يوم النيروز
وعلامات ما يظهر اياته وما يكون في العالم من
الاشياء التي عملتها الاول من تقدم على ممر السنين
فوجدوه حقا وهو الذي شرح ارسطاطاليس
لفسره وذكر حكم كل برج من البروج الاثنى عشر
[54r] ايضا وما له من البلدان فيكون فعلها في

(cont.)

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

influence of every constellation of the zodiac on the countries that pertain to it; since their action is specifically connected with this constellation, along with the association of the ascension of Sirius with the seven planets specifically related to the different countries.

The eminent Ptolemy said: Every country is associated with one of the constellations of the zodiac, and specifically to one of the seven planets during the existence of this city with its specificity. And so this also becomes a solid proof of its unsurpassable influence, and the final argument for knowing the One who knows this world, marked by change, in order to establish its truth and not to exultate from it, God the Highest willing.

Constellation of Aries

Mars is its governor. To the constellation of Aries belong the countries of Babylon, Persia, Azerbaijan, and Palestine; while the association with Bahrayn, Talqan, Balkh, Cesarea, Tabariyya and Fars is in retrogression.

When the rising takes place at the moment of its harmony, then it is the companion of the constellation of Aries, which at that moment is in the ascension of Sirius. And at the moment of its rising, a wind called *Rṭbbs* breaks into the world, and ends towards Ra's al-

ذلك المخصوص بذلك البرج مع شركة طلوعها من
الكواكب السبعة المختصة بالبلدان

قال الفاضل بطليموس ان لكل بلد ظالع من البروج
الاثنى عشر وشركة وكوكب من الكواكب السبعة
عند بقاء تلك المدينة بخصوصه فصار له شهادة قاعدة
ايضا بحكم ذلك لا يتجاوزها ولا يخرج عنها البتة ليعلم
من يعلم هذا العالم المعروف بما يحدث فيها ليقع من
صحته ان شاء الله تعالى

برج الحمل

المستولى عليه المريح ولبرج الحمل من [54v] البلاد
بابل وفارس واجريجان وفلسطين والمتردد عليه
شركة البحرين والطاقان وبلخ وقيسارية وطبرية
والفرس

اذا كان الطالع عند تناسبها فهو شريك برج الحمل فيها
تجدّه عند طلوع الشعري وعند طلوعها يخرج ريح
في العالم يقال لها برطبيس وينتهي الى رأس القلب
ويرجع الى الشام ويدور الى المشرق الى ريع القمر
وينور

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

Qalb,²² and goes back to Syria, and turns towards the East until the first quarter of the moon.

There will be winds, and they will last until the inhabitants of the shores have died, and after this the sky will be clean, the moon will appear red, and it will have many haloes, albeit not very brilliant, and the moon will be eclipsed.

The stars of the sky will send out their rays, while the sun will not emit its light, profits will rise a lot, but the grain will burn, the rivers will become bigger, the water in the springs, the rains, and the winds will grow. The sowing will be good, the plants on the ground will be more productive and fertile than in the past, grain and fruit will be good, the locusts will strike in the middle of the year, but the people will not die, nor will they be frightened by this.

The barley will be much, the fury will be tempered, Spring will be hot, prices will increase, early fruits will not last long, the price of wheat will increase in Maghreb and in Byzantium at Pentecost.

وتكون رياح وتحب حتى ان سكان اهل السواحل
يهلكون وبعد ذلك تكون السماء صافية وترى القمر
احمر ويكون بدوئه كثير لا يضاء كثيرا [55r]
وينكسف

وتكون كواكب السماء ترسل شعاعات ولا تكاد
الشمس يصفوا ضوها ويكون صعود النيل وتحرق
اكثر الاحبة ويقيم على الارض ستين ليلة وتزيد
ساير الانهار ويكثر ماء العيون والامطار والارياح
ويكون زرع السنة صالحة ونبت الارض يصير كثير
الخصب زائجا وما كان من النبات كبيرا فردي
ويصلح الزرع المتأخر اكثر من المتقدم واشعار
الانعام صالحة ويقع الجرد في وسط السنة ولا يودي
وتفزع الناس منه

ويكون الشعير كثير والغيث ممزوج والربيع [55v]
حار ويعلو السعر وينتحسن والاصباغ وتكون
الاثار البدرية ليست بطائلة ويكون غلاء القمح الى
عند العنصرة في بلاد المغرب وبلاد الروم

22 A mountain in the Sinai.

(cont.)

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

There will be thieves among the people, a lot of blood will be spilled, there will be many slaughters and wars among the people, but the pity will be great because of it, the use of weapons will increase during this year in a region of the country.

There will be wind and rains on the sea, and many ships will sink in the Southern part of Egypt (*Ṣaʿīd*), provoking the greatest confusion, likewise in the centre of Alexandria which will be in a state of agitation.

The majority of these signs will be in the climate of Aries, and in the countries that are under the influence of this constellation.

So, in this year there will be many virulent wars, controversies, and battles among the elites. And this is that two kings will fight one against the other, one in the East, the other in the West.

During the year, one of the great Persian kings will perish; camels, donkeys and pigs will give larger litters; solid snow [hail] will fall; death will strike among the quadrupeds, specifically the sheep and goats; snakes and evil spirits will multiply in the sea; the majority of people will fall sick with mange, itch, fever, pestilence, sudden death, pains in the throat, cough, and eye disease.

وتكثر اللصوص في الناس وتهرق دما كثيرة ويكون
في وسط الناس ملاحم كثيرة وحروب ورحمته
كثيرة عظيمة ويكثر استعمال السلاح في تلك السنة
في موضع من البلاد

ويكون ريح وامطار في البحر وتنكسر سفن كثيرة
في صعيد مصر الاعلا تشويش وكذلك في وسط
اسكندرية ويتحرك

واكثر هذه الايات باقليم الحمل ومني ارض فارس
والبلاد التي [56r] تكون تحت هذا البرج

ويكون في هذه السنة حروب كثيرة شديدة
واختلاف وقتال في خيار الناس وذلك ان ملكين
يقتل احدهما في مشرق والاخر في المغرب

ويهلك في السنة ملك عظيم من ملوك فارس ويكثر
نتاج الابل والحمر والخنازير ويقع ثلج صالح ويقع
الموت في ذوات الاربع قوايم من الخراف والمعز
وتكثر الحيات والشياطين في البحر ويمرض اكثر
الناس ويكون مرضهم الجرب والحكة والحصى
والطاعون وموت الفجأة واوجاع الخلق والسعال
والرمد

MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2633, ff. 46r–56v

When the Christians have finished their fasting, a contagious disease will strike the children; the land of Mocha will be destroyed, there will be corruption and destruction and many will die; a great king will be killed; oil will be cheap in North Africa, while wheat will become expensive in Syria, in the Balkans, and in Egypt, and so the one who buys wheat will make great profit.

There will be starvation among people; the people in the remotest parts of Egypt will suffer great troubles; prices will decrease in Palestine; the rains will be abundant; towards the end of the year the barley will increase in Damascus, Homs, Raqqa, and Antakia and their governorates; wars will start in the West, and battles in all the corners of the Western dominion, and will last for four months, and God the Highest knows best.

واذا فرغوا النصاري من صيامهم وقع [56v] الوباء
في الصبيان وتخرب ارض المخا ويكون فساد وهلاك
لها بموت عظيم ويقتل ملك عظيم ويرخص الزيت
بافريقية ويغلو القمح بالشام وبالبلقان ومصر ومن
اشترى قمحا يربح فيه كثيرا

ويكون الجوع في الناس كثيرا ويلقي الناس جهدا
كثيرا في اطراف مصر ويكون بفلسطين الرخص
وتكون امطار السنة كثيرة ويكثر الشعير في اخر
السنة ويغلو الشعير بدمشق وحمص والرقّة وانطاكية
وما والاها ويظهر حروب في الغرب والقتال في
كل ناحية من سلطان الغرب ويقيم اربعة اشهر والله
تعالى اعلم .

Concluding Notes

The extremely fluid Arabic tradition that attributes to the prophet Daniel the knowledge of celestial divination, draws on the Ancient Near Eastern tradition (structure and contents of the omens) on the one hand and, on the other hand on the Greek authorities in the fields of astrology and natural sciences in general (Aristotle and Ptolemy). A number of the textual blocks collected in this multiple-text manuscript point to a strong Coptic influence on this particular recension of the text.

The prophet Daniel offers the perfect authorial profile for guaranteeing the transmission of celestial divination into the Arabo-Islamic context: as a Biblical prophet, he is venerated in Islamic religious thought, but he also brings with

him from the stories about the prophets a consistent number of narrative elements that strengthen his authority in the eyes of the readership.

This very fluidity endowed this material with a wide circulation and success with the readership. A number of elements (names of the months and calendrical information in general, cities and geographical areas) can be easily changed in order to adapt the text to different contexts of reception. The contents of the predictions are so general that they fit in every season and place (general references to kings and rulers, plagues, prosperity, famine, etc.).

The common features and the similarities between the Arabic tradition of celestial omens attributed to Daniel and the Ancient Near Eastern tradition are so striking, that it seems unlikely that the Arabic text was produced independently from Ancient Near Eastern material and its reception and transmission in the Late Antique world.

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At the Dawn of Plant Taxonomy: Shared Structural Design of Herbal Descriptions in Šammu šikinšu and Theophrastus' *Historia plantarum* IX

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When we think of the first scientific developments in botany we think of Theophrastus (ca. 370–ca. 287 BCE), who, for many good reasons, earned the appellation of “Father of Botany”. His treatise *Historia plantarum*,¹ which appeared ca. 300 BCE, is considered the earliest fully-surviving example of Pre-Linnaean plant taxonomy (a systematic effort to describe, classify and name plants).² But to what degree are the principles and the reasoning behind this remarkable achievement an exclusive product of Greek culture and the philosophical school to which Theophrastus owed so much? Is it possible to recognize elements of that same systematic thinking in an earlier scholarly milieu of the ancient world?

Focusing merely on one aspect of taxonomy, namely on the *description of medicinal plants*, the present article explores the simple but important idea that a very precise method was already in place prior to Theophrastus for describing herbal remedies and that this method was not uniquely Greek, even

* I feel privileged to have had Mark Geller as my teacher. Not only his deep knowledge, but also his endless enthusiasm and insightful intuition have always been an inspiration during my graduate studies. It is with great pleasure and gratitude that I offer this small essay to him.

I would also like to thank Henry Stadhouders for kindly reading the manuscript of this article and for offering many valuable suggestions. Abbreviations of Assyriological works will follow the *RIA* list. Other abbreviations will be explained in the bibliography.

1 The attribution to Theophrastus is a matter of debate (more below). In this article this text will be referred to as “Theophrastus’ herbal” for mere convenience.

2 Cf. Sivarajan and Robson 1991, 67: “The beginnings of taxonomy are lost in antiquity (...). Anyway, it is Theophrastus (370–287 BCE), a student of Aristotle and the most outstanding naturalist of his time, who is accredited with the beginning of plant taxonomy as an organized science (...). In those days classifications were mainly based on habit. He divided plants into herbs, shrubs and trees and recognised annuals, biennials and perennials. He also recognised Dicotyledons and Monocotyledons, difference in ovary position and polypetalous and gamopetalous corollas. His monumental works, *History of Plants* and *Enquiry into Plants*, are probably the most complete and ordered of all ancient biological works.”

though the two most prominent extant herbals were written by Greek authors.³ Rather, it will be shown, the same structure adopted by Theophrastus for plant descriptions was already in place in Mesopotamia at least five centuries earlier.

This idea will be tested by comparing the content of two herbals: the ninth book of Theophrastus' *Historia plantarum* (and specifically his list of herbal descriptions that begins with various kinds of panaceas in IX, 11.1 and goes to the end of the book) and a lesser known, fragmentary Babylonian treatise on medicinal plants known as *Šammu šikinšu*, which preserves a number of herbal descriptions, and whose oldest exemplars date back to the 9th century BCE.⁴

Book IX of the *Historia plantarum* is often defined as a “herbal” because of its emphasis on the healing properties of the plants it treats. In discussing whether the term can appropriately be applied to such an old text, Stannard (1969, 213) proposed Lawrence's definition of a “herbal” as “a book on plants of real or alleged medicinal properties, which describes the appearance of those plants, and provides information on their medicinal importance and use”. Adopting this definition, Scarborough conclusively supported the designation of book IX as a herbal; in fact, he noted: “It is the earliest herbal in Greek that has come down almost complete.”⁵ According to these same criteria, *Šammu šikinšu* should also be considered a herbal. Elements from the two texts will therefore be compared, inasmuch as they both belong to the same genre of medical literature.⁶

The structural analysis of these two works is chiefly aimed at understanding whether a standard method was behind these two manuals' descriptions. A positive answer to this query would suggest that not only Theophrastus and his school adopted this system, but also the scribes who first composed *Šammu šikinšu* did.

As indicated above, this preliminary exploration only focuses on these two texts. The same idea, however, could (and eventually should) be checked in other ancient Greek authors of pharmaceutical handbooks whose writings

3 Namely, Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, book IX and Dioscorides' *De materia medica* (ca. 60 CE).

4 For further comments and references see Böck 2010, 164; Böck 2011. A new edition and translation was published by Stadhouders (2011 and 2012), and this is the edition that will be followed here.

5 Scarborough 1978, 354.

6 This is not to say that other evidence of herbal compositions exists for that time period. Some passages survived, for instance, from botanical treatises of Diocles of Carystus, but these are mostly fragmentary, or mere allusions.

parallel the *Historia plantarum*, such as Diocles of Carystus⁷ and especially Dioscorides. In addition, an examination of mineral—and animal, if our *šikinšu* series were more complete—taxonomy could also be undertaken to complement this initial study.⁸

Šammu šikinšu

Šammu šikinšu is a herbal treatise that provides the description and characterization of herbs and plants used for pharmaceutical purposes in Mesopotamian medicine.⁹ As noted above, its earliest attested exemplars date back to the 9th c. BCE. The fragments forming this text likely represent what is left from a series that comprised at least three cuneiform tablets, and which clearly resulted from the same scholarly reflections and discussions that also led to the two other most significant Babylonian pharmaceutical works, the so-called *Therapeutical Vademecum* and the drug list Uruanna (or Irianna),¹⁰ some of whose material is attested as far back as the end of the 2nd millennium BCE.¹¹

Šammu šikinšu presents several features that remind us of Hellenistic, Roman, and Medieval herbals,¹² and the tradition of its transmission could have played a role in the early Greek developments that gave rise to that fundamental genre of medical literature in the West.

Theophrastus' *Historia plantarum* IX

Of Theophrastus' many writings, the most celebrated is his *Historia plantarum*, the first *extant* treatise on botany which influenced all later compositions on

7 The first of a series of herbals containing descriptions of plants and their medicinal effects, of which, however, only some fragments have survived, is according to Wellmann (1898, 360) the work of Diocles of Carystus who lived in the fourth century BCE. For a recent edition of Diocles' fragments see van der Eijk 2000–2001.

8 For a recent edition of the other two *šikinšu* series see Schuster-Brandis 2008, A.II.5; Mirelman 2015.

9 Cf. Stadhouders 2011 and 2012. Updated versions at <https://uu.academia.edu/HenryStadhouders>.

10 This list is commonly referred to as Uruanna (short for Uruanna = *maštakal*) from the first line of the composition. According to Marten Stol (2003–2005, 504, § 2.4a), however, the correct reading of the first term should be Irianna. Cf. also *AHw* 386, 630.

11 Stadhouders 2011, 3–4. This comment will be better developed below.

12 For additional remarks on this idea, see Reiner 1995, 25 ff.

plant lore and classification. In particular, the ninth book of this work furnishes descriptions of the medicinal qualities of plants, descriptions that continued to be transmitted in all later herbals of antiquity. However, the authenticity of this book, which some attribute to an unknown skilled root-cutter (*rhizotomos*),¹³ has for long been controversial and still is a matter of debate.¹⁴ Nonetheless, as Scarborough noted, there are elements supporting the idea that, while book IX must have “inherited a long history of empirical observations” of herbs from non-academic practitioners, these observations appear to have been inserted “into the Peripatetic framework and classification system, which had served so well in the first eight books of *Historia plantarum*, as well as in *De causis plantarum*.”¹⁵ Furthermore, there are additional indications that this section of the *Historia plantarum* may have also incorporated some of Diocles of Carystus’ (4th c. BCE) observations,¹⁶ locating book IX in a context that included the finest scholarly accomplishments of the time.

Yet, the context to which the book seems to belong is not exclusively academic, as it includes (more or less reliable) observations and recommendations collected from contemporary root-cutters and drug-sellers.¹⁷ While Scarborough’s remarks are an invitation to cast some doubts on the idea that this book is spurious, the issue is not conclusively resolved.

Regardless of the discussion on the philosophical versus practical nature of the sources used in this herbal, and regardless of the modern debate concerning its authenticity, this article will show that the *structure* adopted in *Historia plantarum* IX for plant descriptions clearly matches the rather detailed architecture used by *Šammu šikinšu* centuries earlier in Mesopotamia. This simple observation situates book IX within a very ancient normative tradition, such as the one that characterizes the Babylonian scribal/academic world. It thus would seem likely that this section of the *Historia plantarum* was the

13 Cf. Bretzl 1903, 366 and n. 24; Stannard 1969, 213.

14 For an in-depth analysis of the herbals in book IX and a discussion on its authenticity see Scarborough 1978, 353.

15 Scarborough 1978, 357. A few pages later (p. 365) in the same publication he adds: “At the very least, *Historia plantarum* IX, 11.3, indicates the heritage of Aristotle, easily seen in *Progression of Animals*, *Parts of Animals*, and other works.” Theophrastus’ own knowledge on plants derived from the experience he had gathered from Aristotle’s teachings and in his botanic garden, but not only; it is clear from some of his comments that he was aware of the new discoveries made during Alexander’s expedition to the Middle and Far East (cf. Hort 1916, xxiii).

16 Scarborough 1978, 355–356.

17 Scarborough 1978, 355. Cf. also Scarborough 2006.

accomplishment of someone who was quite familiar with scholarly practices, and one wonders whether contemporary *rhizotomoi* could realistically have had this familiarity. At any rate, since the present study does not intend to solve this conundrum, from this point onward, I will simply refer to book IX as if it legitimately belongs to the *Historia plantarum*.

Quadripartite Structure

What emerges from a comparative analysis of plant descriptions in both texts is the remarkable similarity of their structural design. The schema used by Theophrastus to illustrate medicinal plants hews closely to the same general model that also characterizes *Šammu šikinšu* and which is mainly divided into four parts.¹⁸ These are (from A to D):

A) General identification (either via comparison or mention of a common name).¹⁹ This can be an opening statement marked by general observations, such as aspects of similarity with other known plants, or the naming of the plant, when this is well known. This apparently “Peripatetic” system of identifying the similarities (or distinctions) with another plant as a way to recognize the essential nature of the first one, is fundamental in botanical taxonomy, but is not exclusively Peripatetic. It had already been recorded several centuries before the age of Theophrastus in *Šammu šikinšu*.

The introduction of the plant *name*, however, is articulated in a slightly different way in *Šammu šikinšu* compared to that found in Theophrastus. *Šammu šikinšu* introduces each plant roughly in these terms: “The plant that is similar to/that is characterized by X (...), is called Y,” with the mention of the name occurring after the whole physical description of the plant and its habitat, whereas Theophrastus gives the plant’s name right at the beginning: “The plant called Y is similar to/is characterized by X (...).” The distinction is likely

18 The order in which these four parts follow one another is retained in all entries of *Šammu šikinšu*. Occasionally it undergoes some variation in Theophrastus.

19 Lawrence 1955, 1: “*Identification* is what one does when keying out an unknown, when determining the kind of plant by comparing it with a plant of known identity, or with a description of such a plant. If someone tells you only the common name of a plant, he has identified it. The name given by this identification may not be correct, but the function or process remains the same.”

the reflection of language or of each composition's scholarly legacy.²⁰ Namely, *Šammu šikinšu* shows close ties to the other pharmacological works of its time and seems to be constructed in interrelated ways. It has been suggested that the first part of each entry may "reflect the binary scheme of Uruanna sections in that one plant is being compared to another or (...) a number of others".²¹ In any case, this variance regarding the position of the name does not disturb the main descriptive system.

The first statement of the descriptions is thus of a general nature and aims at introducing the plant's broad features. The *Historia plantarum* occasionally adds, at this position, comments regarding the geographical/topographical origin (specific regions, islands, lakes or mountains) where such plants are native (i.e. *Hist. pl.* IX 16.1, 16.4), although this type of data can also occur after section B (as in *Hist. pl.* IX 16.4). Similar comments are not provided in *Šammu šikinšu*.

B) Following the general statement is a description of morphological data, which have always, in the past as in modern times, been at the core of plant classification.²² Because of its general importance in taxonomic studies and because of the details of its architecture, this section will be discussed in more detail below.

C) What follows after the morphological features is generally a comment on the plant's habitat or type of ground/soil where it grows best. It is mostly in this section that Theophrastus chooses to add remarks about the time when the plant should be gathered, although the position of this last detail seems to move around (cf. *Hist. pl.* IX 11.11, 12.4, 13.1

20 Greek in particular tends to put the *topical* subject (as opposed to *grammatical* subject) at the beginning of a clause or sentence.

21 Stadhouders 2011, 4.

22 Stuessy 2009, 183: "It is no exaggeration to state that morphological data, based on the external form of organisms, have been, and still are, used most in plant classification. Morphological features have the advantage of being easily seen, and, hence, their variability has been much more appreciated than that of any other kinds of features. This is especially true with herbarium material, on which a great deal of taxonomic work is based. The early plant taxonomists relied almost exclusively upon morphology to classify and identify the plants being sent to them from many parts of the world. As a result, the system of classification (...) was based primarily upon morphological data. It is still the foundation for most of our classification today, although molecular data (DNA) are becoming increasingly more important at all levels of the hierarchy."

and 13.3). Information about the time of gathering is not present in the Mesopotamian “herbal”. This element (and probably others too, such as the geographical indications) may thus be regarded as a later development. While the first two and the last sections (A, B, D) are a constant presence, the description of the habitat (C) is not. Whenever present, however, it usually occurs after the physical description and before the specifications for the medicinal use of each substance.

D) Finally, the medicinal properties and modes of administration of each plant (in this order) are described at the last position. Once more, in *Šammu šikinšu* this sequence is clearly a reflection of the relationship of this text with other contemporary reference manuals. As a matter of fact, while the first section (A) shows connections with Uruanna, the organization of this final section on the medicinal use matches closely the arrangement of the so-called *Therapeutical Vademecum*, another cuneiform pharmaceutical handbook whose entries are subdivided in three columns that listed a) the plant name, b) its medicinal properties (or the ailments it should cure), and c) the modes of how to prepare and administer it.²³

Below are two examples from *Šammu šikinšu* to illustrate such structure.²⁴ The description of *ašqulālu*-epiphyte in *Šammu šikinšu* I: 7,²⁵ for instance, reports:

A, General identification:	The plant whose appearance is like (that of) [...],
B, Morphological description:	whose [leav]es divar[icate],
C, Habitat:	which grows [in ...], (and) which does not take root in the soil, that plant is called [<i>ašqu</i>]lālu-epiphyte, [...];
D, Medicinal use:	it is good for eradicating Antašubba. You dry it, pound it, rub him with it in oil and he will be cured.

23 This is a therapeutical repertoire (also called “*Vade mecum* of the physician”), whose best preserved tablet (*BAM* 1) is fully edited in Attia and Buisson 2012.

24 Each part, A, B, C, D, is listed here as a new line, simply to emphasize the sequence, but the text in the original sources is continuous.

25 Stadhouders 2012, 2. The roman numeral in this and the following citations refers to the equivalent *Šammu šikinšu* text number, per Stadhouders’ edition.

Again, *Šammu šikinšu* IV: 9 follows the same structure (A, B, C, D).²⁶

- A: The plant whose appearance is like the tail of a sc[orpion, ...],
- B: whose seed is as x[x] as (that of) the *ħallūru*-legume [...],
- C: [it grows] on derelict te[rr]ain, [that plant is called xx-plant];
- D: [it is good] against jaun[dice ...].

The 9th book of the *Historia plantarum* also follows the same pattern. One of the most straightforward examples is the description of madder (τό ἐρευνθέδανον, *Rubia tinctorum*) in Theophrastus' *Historia plantarum* IX 13.6 (structure: A, B, C, D).²⁷

- A: Madder,
- B: has a leaf like ivy, but it is rounder:
- C: it grows along the ground like dog's tooth grass and loves shady spots.
- D: It has diuretic properties, wherefore it is used for pains in the loins or hip-disease.

And *Historia plantarum* IX 11.11 (structure: A, B, C, D).²⁸

- A: (Of the plants called *libanotis*) The barren kind,
- B: has a leaf like that of the bitter lettuce, but rougher and paler; the root is short.
- C: It grows where there is abundance of heather.
- D: The root can purge both upwards and downwards, the upper part being used for the former, that nearer the ground for the latter purpose. Also, if it is put among clothes, it prevents moth. It is gathered at the time of wheat-harvest.

Because of the fragmentary state of *Šammu šikinšu*, not all parts are always present in each entry but whenever the text survived, the order of these elements always matches the above pattern, just as the plant descriptions of the *Historia plantarum* do.

²⁶ Stadhouders 2012, 14.

²⁷ Hort 1980, 284–285.

²⁸ Hort 1980, 276–277.

Morphological Description (B 1–8)

The second section (B), describing morphological features of plants, also appears to be structured according to a precise plan. The descriptions of the distinct plant parts (leaves, seeds, roots, etc., here artificially numbered from B 1 to B 8) normally follow this order of entry:

B 1) In the first place, there are occasionally provided general remarks such as colour (Šš I: 24; II: 14, 18, 31; IIIa: 15–16 and *Hist. pl.* IX 13.3, 13.5, 20.4), smell (*Hist. pl.* IX 13.3), taste (*Hist. pl.* IX 13.3), presence of milk (Šš I: 12; II: 6) or not (Šš IIIa: 2), presence of tendrils (Šš I: 23)²⁹ or offshoots (Šš I: 24; II: 14), etc.

It is my initial impression that *Šammu šikinšu* lists at this position those elements that can be *visually* observed, but that do not represent aspects of the plant's morphology that are crucial for its medical employment. These are instead analysed, one by one, in the sections here marked B 2–B 7. Other special features that do not fall into this “visual” category, as for instance “taste”, appear in *Šammu šikinšu* at the end of section B, after the description of the single parts (in B 8). The *Historia plantarum* shows instead a little more variability than *Šammu šikinšu*, with information regarding “smell”,³⁰ “taste” or, as mentioned above (discussion of A), the geographical location where the plant can be found (specific regions, specific islands or mountains), given both before and after the physical description.³¹

B 2) Leaves. This is the most often described plant feature (likely because of the ease of observation and common use) and is still examined extensively in taxonomic studies today.³² In Theophrastus the description of “leaves” clearly precedes the one of “stems” (8 times out of 9 cases), whereas in *Šammu šikinšu* this order fluctuates more; whenever the text reports both components, in fact, the sequence “leaves-stems” alternates equally with the sequence “stems-leaves”.

29 The presence of tendrils described in I: 26, instead, seems to refer to the fruit and therefore this particular would belong to section B 7.

30 Which is conspicuously absent in the cuneiform herbals.

31 Information regarding the *colour* of the plant occurs instead, both in *Šammu šikinšu* and in the *Historia plantarum*, at the beginning of this section (B).

32 Cf. Stuessy 2009, 185.

B 3) Stems (or height).

B 4) Flowers. The identification of a flower's description in *Šammu šikinšu* is problematic because the term is invariably written with its logogram, GURUN, which means both "flower" and "fruit". On two occasions, however, (Šš IIIa: 7 and I: 34) the description of the plant's GURUN occurs before the description of its seed or root. Could this suggest that the sign GURUN was here referring to the flower? Compare the sequence in *Historia plantarum* IX 18.1: "Marsh-mallow has a *leaf* like mallow, but larger and rougher; the *stems* are soft, the *flower* yellow, the *fruit* like that of mallow, etc."³³

B 5) Seeds. The description of this element is quite frequent in the Babylonian text, just like the use of seeds is fairly common in Babylonian medicine. In contrast, it is absent in the herbal descriptions of Theophrastus' book IX, as it is considered belonging to the fruit.

B 6) Roots.

B 7) Fruits.

B 8) Special features. These include elements such as taste (Šš I: 15, 22, 42; *Hist. pl.* IX 11.3, 18.1), smell (*Hist. pl.* IX 11.3), geographical location (*Hist. pl.* 13.2, 16.4), etc. In one case, Theophrastus explicitly writes: "It is a low growing herb and *shows no special features...*" (*Hist. pl.* IX 16.4–5), indicating that possible special features were expected to be inserted at this point in the description.

A few examples will illustrate this outline:

Šammu šikinšu I: 22. Structure: A, B (2, 3, 6, 8).³⁴

- A: The plant whose appearance is like (that of) the *šarnagu*-plant,
 B: 2. whose leaves are small,
 3. whose stem is (like the stem of) the *šarnagu*-plant,

33 This entry, however, lists the root (B 6) after the description of the fruit (B 7), contrary to the norm (IX 11.5, 11.1, 12.3, 12.5, 16.4 and 19.2).

34 Stadhouders 2012, 4.

6. [whose] ro[ot] is again like (that of) the *šarnagu*-plant, yet small(er),
8. which has the taste of xx—that plant [is] cal[led] bull's-hind-leg-plant.

Šammu šikinšu I: 23. Structure: A, B (1, 2, 5, 6), D.³⁵

- A: The plant whose appearance is (such) that it creeps along the ground like *errû*-gourd,
- B:
1. whose tendrils are like (those of) the *qiššû*-gourd,
 2. whose leaves stand far apart like (those of) the x[x],
 5. whose seed is like the seed of the *hurātu*-sumach,
 6. whose root is bitter and soft—that plant [is] called *imhur-lim*-plant;
- D: It is good against the Furious One, De[pu]ty Po[wer] of Adad. You dry it, pound it and rub [him] with it in oil. It is (also) good against every kind of sores; you pound it, rub him with it in oil and he will be cur[ed].

Šammu šikinšu I: 37.³⁶ Structure: A, B (2, 6), C, D.

- A: [The plant whose appearance] is like (that of) the dog's-tongue-plant;
Variant: The plant whose appearance is like (that of) the [xx]-plant,
- B:
2. whose leaves are small [...], which always tends to [pu]sh its way [to the front] (??),
 6. whose root will be be[nt ...] wherever you pull it,
- C: which grow[s in xx]x—that plant] is call[ed] *liddanānu*-plant [...].
- D: He shall drink it at regular intervals [in xx] on an [empty] stomach and he will be cured.

The same model is evident in Theophrastus' *Historia plantarum*. For instance, *Hist. pl.* IX 11.1³⁷ follows the structure: A, B (2, 4, 6), C, D.

- A: That (All-heal) of Chaeronea
- B:
2. Has a leaf like monk's rhubarb, but larger and rougher,
 4. a golden flower,
 6. and a small root;
- C: and it specially loves rich ground;

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ Stadhouders 2012, 6.

³⁷ Hort 1980, 268–269.

- D: They use it for the bites of snakes, spiders, vipers and other reptiles, administering it in wine or anointing the place with it mixed with olive oil. In treating a snake-bite they use a plaster of it, and also give a draught of it mixed with vinegar; and they also say that it is good for sores when mixed with wine and olive oil, and for tumours when mixed with honey.

Once more, *Hist. pl.* IX 11.10³⁸ presents the following structure: A, B (2, 3, 6, 7), C, D.

- A: Libanotis (the fruitful kind—discussion about difference between fruitful and barren kinds)
- B: 2. This plant has a leaf like marsh celery, but much larger,
3. a stem a cubit long or more,
6. a large, stout root, which smells like frankincense,
7. and a white rough elongated fruit.
- C: It grows chiefly wherever there is parched and rocky soil;
- D: the root is serviceable for sores, and for diseases of women when given in a draught of dry black wine. The fruit is good for strangury, for the ears, for ulcers on the eye, for ophthalmia and for producing milk in women.

Having mentioned that some variation occurs in both texts, it may be useful to illustrate the extent to which these morphological descriptions follow the structure suggested above, and the limitations set by the state of preservation of the sources. As a rough estimate, in *Šammu šikinšu* only four descriptions of plants (without counting the fluctuating sequence leaves-stems) do not keep the order indicated above for section B. Thus, ca. 97% of all entries (which so far have been counted to 137) are consistent with the system here illustrated. Nonetheless, partly because of the fragmentary state of the text and partly because of the succinct style of the composition, many entries describe only one plant feature (only about 20% of all entries provide two or more features). The amount of examples against which the system can be tested is therefore significantly reduced. And yet, even narrowing down this analysis to the entries that have more than one feature, the great majority (over 85%) of them confirms the structure here established. If the text were better preserved, we could make safer statements in this regard.

38 Hort 1980, 276–277.

The same structural design seems, at a first glance, to also fit the botanical descriptions provided by Dioscorides in his *De materia medica* (for example III 153):³⁹

- A: Cock's head
- B: 2. the leaves are like those of the lentil but slightly longer,
 3. the stem is one-span tall.
 4. It has a red flower,
 6. and a small root.
- C: It grows on wet and fallow lands.
- D: Ground up and plastered on, the plant can disperse swelling; drunk with wine, it treats micturition, etc.

The full extent to which a similar organization of the data might underlie Dioscoridian systematics remains to be determined. A more thorough analysis of this last work will soon be conducted by the writer.

Conclusions

As a striking result of the present investigation, preliminary though it has been, it can be concluded that the herbal descriptions in *Šammu šikinšu* and those in book IX of the *Historia plantarum* clearly share a common structure that may be summarized as follows:

- A) General identification (similarity with other plants or mention of common name);
- B) Description of plant morphology [In this order: 1. general remarks; 2. leaves; 3. stems; 4. flowers; 5. seeds; 6. roots; 7. fruits; and 8. special features];
- C) Habitat, or place where the plant grows best;
- D) Medicinal use (In this order: 1. medicinal properties; 2. modes of administration).

Although the specific botanical lore collected in the earlier Assyro-Babylonian manual surely derived from practical knowledge and experience accumulated over the ages, any endeavour to determine the *exact process* through which its

39 Beck 2011, 250.

distinctive structure came to be as a conventional method of describing medicinal plants is (as expected) never discussed in the extant sources, and at present bound to fail. Nonetheless, it seems evident that the distinctive pattern in the organization and order of its sections reflects the same academic discussions and exercises that produced such concurrent pharmacological works in the Assyro-Babylonian tradition as the *Therapeutic Vademecum* and Uruanna.⁴⁰ This level of formal standardization is not the least surprising in the case of *Šammu šikinšu*, as it fits well the character of most other cuneiform “scientific” compositions and series that stemmed out of the same scribal context.⁴¹ Thus, the *structure* and *pattern* of this text inserts itself naturally and seamlessly into the multifaceted pharmacological production of the Babylonian scribal tradition.

The other document explored in this article, book IX of the *Historia plantarum*, is the second oldest example (if we consider *Šammu šikinšu* as the first) of a herbal surviving in more than fragmentary shape. It is quite significant that the items of its herbal descriptions follow the very same precise arrangement as *Šammu šikinšu*, including several specific variables, all organized in virtually the same order.⁴²

What all this suggests is the distinct possibility that the structuring of the data in this second composition (*Hist. pl.* IX) did not originate independently, but that it developed within the same normative tradition common to *Šammu šikinšu*. In other words, it is quite likely that the two texts adopted a shared method to shape their herbal descriptions. Furthermore, while it is very difficult to pinpoint the exact avenues of its transmission, it seems reasonable to assume that such a precisely designed structure would have more likely circulated through formal (and technical) education, or through written sources, than through oral and casual communication,⁴³ the latter being more fluid and subject to change.

40 For more on this discussion see Stadhouders 2011, 4.

41 By this I am not referring to standardization in terms of content, as exact wording seems to have not been a concern of Mesopotamian scribes. For a more in-depth discussion on the concepts of standardization, canonicity and authorship see Rochberg-Halton 1984.

42 In addition, these variables (especially the plant morphological features) do not necessarily reflect a universal sequential *logic*, as ancient medical recipes could be argued to do (description of ailment, recommendation of what to do to cure it, and a short, reassuring, prognosis).

43 It is precisely in the scholarly context, and for the purposes of teaching, access and transmission, that knowledge commonly undergoes careful organization.

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Simplicia and Unpublished Fragments of *Alamdimmû* from the British Museum

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There are few Assyriologists within the field of Cuneiform Medicine whose ongoing research covers so broad a range of Mesopotamian scientific texts as does the work of M.J. Geller. His research reaches from bilingual incantations to technical therapeutic and pharmaceutic texts. The jubilarian has added to knowledge in those fields considerably. His *œuvre*, apart from the Talmudic and Aramaic material, often penetrated wider areas of scientific research like the History of Science, *Wissensgeschichte* (History of Knowledge), the History of Medicine as well as the Studies of the Religions of the Ancient Near East.

I am pleased to dedicate to my PhD supervisor an edition of several texts from the British Museum which touch upon different areas of Mesopotamian medical or divinatory scholarship. The first text to be discussed here belongs to the field of Cuneiform Medicine. The second section of the present essay is concerned with new fragments and joins of the standard physiognomic omen series *Alamdimmû*.

1 The Therapeutic Tablet BM 38583

BM 38583 has been known to scholars for some time but has not been published until now.¹ It represents the lower part of an IM.GÍD.DA tablet dealing with topically arranged excerpts of remedies for different diseases. The preserved sections may be a third or a half of the original tablet.

* Special gratitude goes to Strahil V. Panayotov for his sedulous corrections, to J. Cale Johnson for helpful remarks, and to Jeanette C. Fincke for providing me with photos of tablets from the Babylonian and Sippar Collections of the British Museum. The abbreviations follow the *RIA*. The tablets are published with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

1 See Finkel 1998, 80, fn. 9; Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 693, n. 177; Scurlock 2014, 727 (concordance to *BAM* 578), and Böck 2014, 148–149, 152, stating that the diseases given in the text are associated with the healing goddess Gula (ibid., 149).

The structure of the sections is straightforward and starts with the topicalizing phrase DIŠ NA x GIG, “If a man is sick with x.” The following entries repeat the phrase by using DIŠ KL.MIN. At the end of the preserved sections, except for obverse line 2’, a rubric with the number of the entries is given. They are labelled as *bulṭu* (“cure”) for each respective disease. Most of the prescriptions are *simplicia*, while some are multi-ingredient prescriptions (obv. 1’–2’; 3’–5’; rev. 9–11).

Two sections are more or less complete and deal with two well known complaints: *sāmānu*² (obv. 3’–11’) and *aw/murriqānu* “jaundice”³ (obv. 12’–rev. 8). Two further sections, one at the beginning of the obverse and another at the end of the reverse are poorly preserved. The last of them deals with “stone” complaints, i.e. probably vesical or bladder calculus (*abna maruṣ*; rev. 9–11).

Treatments for *amurriqānu* “jaundice” are partly known as treatments against *aḥḥazu*. The latter is another form of jaundice.⁴ In contrast, treatments against *sāmānu* are not paralleled in therapeutic texts like *BAM* 324, *BAM* 409 or *BAM* 494, and seem to be at least partly connected to magico-medical practices.

The last two sections, on *amurriqānu* and “stone” complaints, follow more or less an anatomical order.⁵ The first broken section and the section on *sāmānu* eventually share the thematic relation to skin complaints whose treatment relies on a surface application. The latter was needed because of the skin affliction—be it the sensation of heat, or scabs, cracks and other kinds of pathological changes on the skin.⁶

2 For the identification of *sāmānu* as a fungal skin infection (mycetoma), see Kinnier Wilson 1994, 111–115. For incantations against *sāmānu* since the third millennium see Finkel 1998, as well as the short discussion of the possible identifications *ibid.*, 72–73. Cf. further Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 62 for a proposed identification of *sāmānu* as “soft tissue infection” contra Kinnier-Wilson (see above); cf. Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 692, n. 176. See additionally Beck 2015.

3 See primarily Kämmerer 1999–2000, and Adamson 1993, 157–158, as well as Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 138 ff., distinguishing between *aḥḥazu* “jaundice” and *amurriqānu* “jaundice and bloating or wasting”, whereas *amurriqānu* is further interpreted as cirrhosis and cancer “that involves and destroys most of the normal liver tissues” (*ibid.*, 139).

4 See commentary to obv. 13’–14’, rev. 1 and 6.

5 Cf. the order of the therapeutic series within the Assur Medical Catalogue; Steinert forthcoming, 2.1.1.: ll. 29–47 which is most likely DIŠ *amēlu suāla maruṣ* (includes *amurriqānu* and *aḥḥazu*)—DIŠ *amēlu reš libbišu naši* (partly broken; maybe an intermediate series)—DIŠ *amēlu kalissu ikkalšu* (including the “stone” complaints).

6 See commentary to obv. 1’–2’.

BM 38583

Measurements: 5.9 × 5.2 × 2.1 cm

Provenience: Babylon(?)

Period: Neo- or Late Babylonian

Edition: extracts in Böck 2014, 148 (rev. 4), 152–153 (obv. 7')

Copy: see Fig. 22.1a (obv.) and b (rev.)

CDLI No.: none

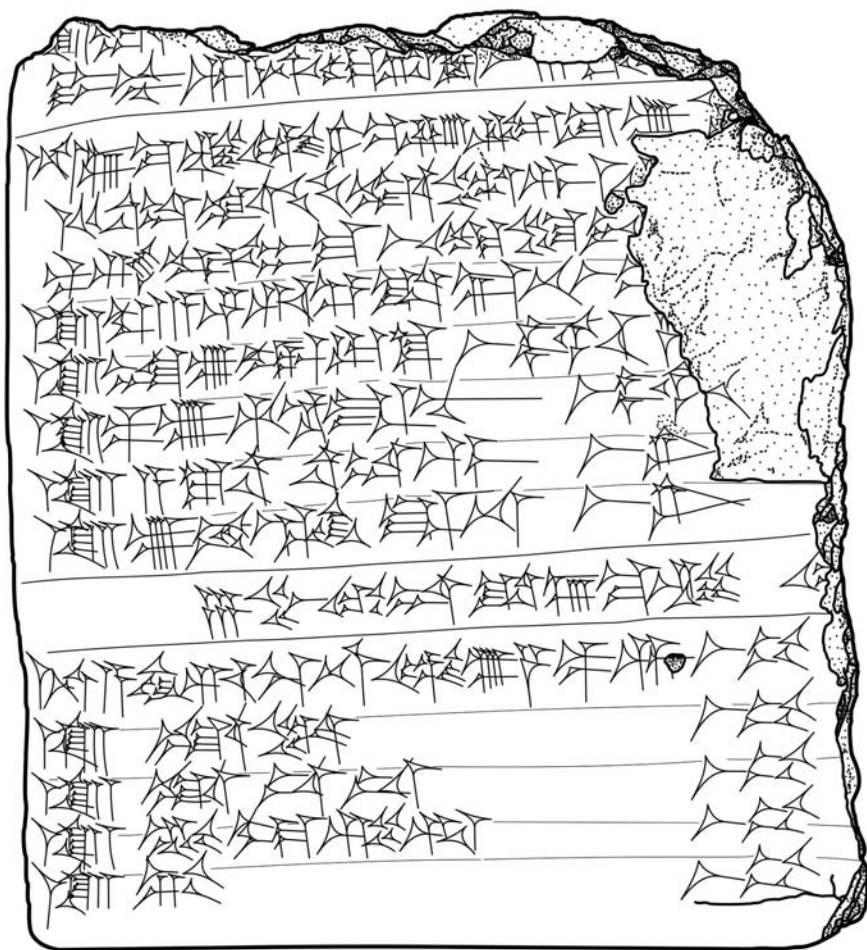


FIGURE 22.1A *BM 38583, obverse*

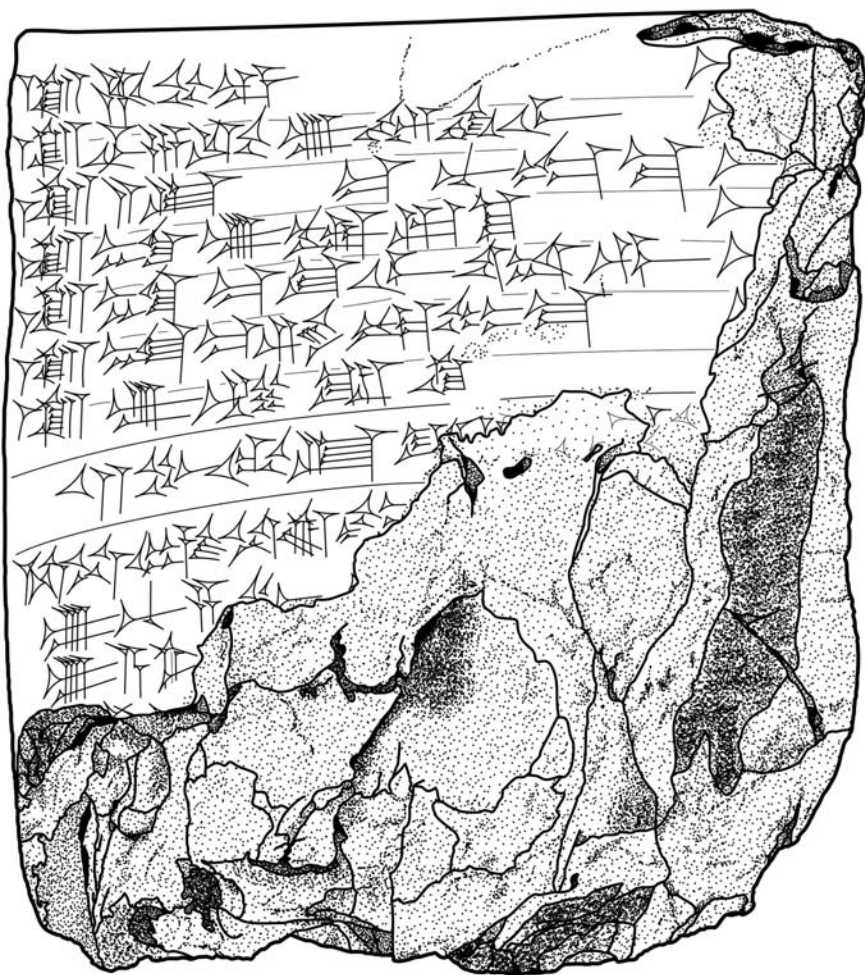


FIGURE 22.1B BM 38583, reverse

Transliteration

*Obverse*1' 'DIŠ KL.MIN ^{šim}r x' [...]

2' tur-ár SÚD a-na UGU 'ta-zar-rù(?) x x' [...]

3' 𒀭DIŠ NA sa-ma-nam GIG 𒀭GIŠ EREN ŠÉŠ-su 𒀭ú, r[u? ...]

4' DIŠ-niš 𒀭HÁD.DU ^{šim}GÚR.GÚR ^{šim}LI SÚD ana 'IGI?' [...]

5' PA GI.ZÚ.LUM.MA ina UGU tu-'da?'-[qaq? ...]

6' 𒀭DIŠ KL.MIN SAHAR a-sur-re-e ša É SUMUN ina K[AŠ? NAG]

- 7' (If)—ditto—you lay the root of the “hound’s tongue”-plant around his neck.
 8' (If)—ditto—[you lay] the twigs of the *urānu*-anise(?) around his neck.
 9' (If)—ditto—you dry (and) pound a crab/a beet(?), (and) with oil [...].
 10' (If)—ditto—*pizallurtu*-plant with oil [...].

11' 6 treatments for one who is sick with *sāmānu*-disease [...].

- 12' (If) a man is sick with *amurriqānu*-jaundice: you pound “(shepherds’-staff”-plant (and) [he shall drink it] with beer.
 13' (If)—ditto—[he shall drink] *burāšu*-juniper with beer.
 14' (If)—ditto—[he shall drink] *kukru*-aromatic [with beer].
 15' (If)—ditto—[he shall drink] the fruit of the *kazīru*-plant with beer.
 16' (If)—ditto—[he shall drink] milk with beer.

Reverse

- 1 (If)—ditto—[he shall drink?] *ḥašû*-thyme with [...].
 2 (If)—ditto—[he shall drink] 1/6 of “it faced a thousand (diseases)”-plant with [...].
 3 (If)—ditto—[he shall drink] 2 shekels *nurmû*-pomegranate with beer.
 4 (If)—ditto—[he shall drink] the root of the “hound’s tongue”-plant with [beer].
 5 (If)—ditto—you dry (and) pound the root of the *šûšu*-liquorice tree, (and) [he shall drink it] with [beer].
 6 (If)—ditto—[he shall drink] the root of the *kûru*-plant with [beer].
 7 (If)—ditto—[he shall drink] *namruququ*-plant [with beer?].

8 12 treatments for one [who is sick with *amurriqānu*-jaundice ...].

- 9–11 (If) a man is sick with “stone” (i.e. calculus): *biššûr atāni*-shell [...] / *nušābu*-plant [...] / *azallû*-plant [...].

Commentary

Obverse

1'–2': This section’s topic is unfortunately broken. The use of *zarû*, “to scatter”, instead of *eqû* (MAR) for “to daub” together with *ana* UGU-*šû* is found in *BAM* 147: rev. 2' and *BAM* 148: rev. 4', but cf. the similar entry *AMT* 63/2+: 11' (with MAR). All these texts are against persistent fever (*ummu lazzu*). See also *SpTU* 1 44: 31–32 (against *bušānu* together with *simmu*) and 34 (*umšat ḥīlī*) with *ana* UGU; *AMT* 75/1: iv 21 (against cracked heels). For further attestations cf.

AHw 1516 s.v. *zarû(m)* II 3. A reading *ta-ʿšar-rap*¹ seems unlikely in association with *ana* UGU.

3'–10': Most of the *simplicia* given here as well as the multi-ingredient prescription in ll. 3'–4' are not attested against *sāmānu*. It should be noted, however, that except for *BAM* 1: ii 12–20 the *sāmānu* sections in the Vademecum are not preserved, cf. e.g. *BAM* 422: iii 8–14. The applications are very heterogeneous and make the impression of a more magical approach in comparison to the treatments against jaundice which occur in the following section (cf. the application of ingredients on the patient's neck in ll. 7'–8' or the use of dust in l. 6'; dried crab is also rarely mentioned as *materia medica*).

6': Dust as an ingredient for the treatment of *sāmānu* is mentioned several times, cf. *BAM* 1: ii 14 (SAḤAR *ma-la-ḥi*), among various plants as well as in two treatments using several kinds of dust in *BAM* 494: i 35'–37', 38'–41'.

7': The application of a "hound's tongue" hung around the neck of a patient is known as a remedy against snake and dog bites in *RA* 15, 75: 11, cf. also the Vademecum text *CT* 14 23: 3, 8. The plant as well as its root was also used against cough and jaundice.

9': Cf. *CAD* A/1 392 s.v. *alūtu* A "a beet", which is presumably to be connected with the word for crab (*alluttu*) because of the same logograms ṽLÚ.U₁₈.LU^{sar} (*alūtu*) and A.LÚ.U₁₈.LU (*alluttu*). For the use of "dried crab" see *AMT* 75/1: iv 20 (against cracked soles of the feet) and *AMT* 31/6: 10 (against yellow teeth).

12'–reverse 7: Nearly all of the *simplicia* given here against jaundice are also known from the so-called Vademecum (i.e. *BAM* 1) or *SUALU* 5 (i.e. *BAM* 578).

12': Cf. var. *BAM* 578: iii 21 and *BAM* 64: iii 8' (ṽNÍG.GIDRU SA₅ SÚD *ina* KAŠ NAG).

13': Cf. *BAM* 578: iii 8 and partly broken *BAM* 1: ii 63. The same remedy is also listed in *BAM* 578: iv 29 and var. *STT* 92: ii 3 against another form of jaundice (*aḥḥazu*) with the other ingredients mentioned here—*ina* GA KU₇.KU₇ u Ì.GIŠ!(GAZI) EŠ.MEŠ.

14': The use of *kukru*-plant as a *simplicia* is also attested in *BAM* 578: iv 29 again against *aḥḥazu*.

15': There are only a few attestations of this plant, cf. *BAM* 578: iii 21 and *BAM* 64: iii 9 (both with SÚD). Since both texts, *BAM* 64 and *BAM* 578, belong to the medical series *SUALU* which is concerned with internal diseases, and in the respective sections especially with jaundice, the use of this plant as *simplicia* seems to be restricted to treatments for this disease.

16': This treatment seems to be unique. The use of milk is otherwise not attested in this context. One could argue that the scribe may have missed something before GA e.g. <g^{is}GI DU₁₀>.GA, <Ì.GIŠ BÁRA>.GA or <LAGAB.MUNU₄.DU₁₀>.GA.

Reverse

1: Cf. *BAM* 578: iii 22 as ^uḤAR.ḤAR and against *aḥḥazu*, cf. *BAM* 578: iv 29.

2: Cf. *BAM* 578: iii 23, also with IGI.6.GÁL.LA.

3: Cf. var. *BAM* 578: iii 22 (KUŠ^{gls}NU.ÚR.MA). It is also found as an abbreviated entry in *BAM* 578: iv 21.

4: Cf. *BAM* 1: ii 60 as well as *BAM* 578: iii 23 and maybe abbreviated in *BAM* 578: iv 19.

5: Cf. *BAM* 1: ii 62 and *BAM* 578: iii 15. A slightly extended entry also occurs in *BAM* 578: iv 18 and var. *STT* 92: ii 4–5, 7.

6: Against *aḥḥazu* see *BAM* 578: iv 29 and *BAM* 423: i 29' (mA). Cf. var. *BAM* 1: ii 58 (GIL.ZÚ.LUM).

7: Cf. *BAM* 1: ii 57 and *BAM* 578: iii 10, 11 or 12. In the letter *PBS* 1/2 72: 34, the *nam/bruqu*-plant appears among other medical plants against stomach-ache, which fits the context of this ingredient's use within the SUALU series. In other contexts, it is used for abortion, e.g. *BAM* 246: 11–13.

9–11: Regarding the diagnostic description, the section comprised remedies for stone complaints (NA₄ GIG). Cf. var. *BAM* 396 (= *BAM* 7 1): ii 7', where *biššūr atāni* appears along with different ingredients as an ailment accompanying the discharge of a calculus. For PEŠ₄.ANŠE without NA₄ as determinative, cf. *BAM* 396: iii 14 against suffering from "stone" (this entry also mentions *azallû* and *nušābu* but begins with ŠIKA NUNUZ GA.NU₁₁). The term ^{na4}PEŠ₄.ANŠE further occurs in *BAM* 396: iii 22 but with different ingredients. Contra Böck 2014, 149, the content of this section seems not to be *simplicia*. The only preserved part here shows a multi-ingredient prescription without a resuming KI.MIN in rev. 10–11.

2 Unpublished Fragments and New Joins of the Physiognomic Omen Series *Alamdimmû*

The subsequent collection of new witnesses for the physiognomic-morphoscopic omen series *Alamdimmû* (2.2. duplicates; 2.3. unplaced or new passages) includes transliterations and notes on their place in the main text. Fragments with new material and new text portions are given in translation as well.⁷

⁷ This collection originated from a short-hand survey for the BabMed workshop on "Physiognomy and Ekphrasis" in February 2016.

List of new witnesses and joins

New texts	Joins to	Position in the series
BM 34360		(see J.C. Fincke <i>infra</i>)
BM 39166		(see J.C. Fincke <i>infra</i>)
BM 39172		(see J.C. Fincke <i>infra</i>)
BM 42801		(see J.C. Fincke <i>infra</i>)
BM 46232		(see J.C. Fincke <i>infra</i>)
BM 48493		<i>šumma umṣatu</i> (27?–41, B: v' 1'–11')
BM 72564		<i>šumma kittabru</i> (123–131)
K 5651	+ K 6190+	<i>šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât</i> (vi 122–128, v)
K 6430	+ K 12198	<i>alamdimmû</i> 10 (49–59)
K 6783		<i>šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât</i> (obv.) or <i>alamdimmû</i> 5
K 7189	+ K 12550	<i>šumma kittabru</i> (79–92)
K 7881		<i>šumma kittabru</i> for women (unplaced)
K 7956	+ K 2718+	<i>alamdimmû</i> 8 (131–149)
K 7958		<i>alamdimmû</i> 6 (10–26)
K 8625	(+) K 6190+	<i>šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât</i> (i? and viii 8 ff.)
K 8920	+ K 2335	<i>alamdimmû</i> 2 (53–73, 116–127)
K 9089		<i>šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât</i> (obv.; unplaced)
K 9850	+ K 4016	<i>alamdimmû</i> 7 (1–3, 1'–7')
K 10336	(+) K 3985+	<i>šumma tirku</i> (52–61, 69–79)
K 10812		<i>šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât</i> (?)
K 12896	+ K 9458	<i>alamdimmû</i> 10 (112–119B)
K 16870	+ K 4039+	<i>šumma kittabru</i> (8–14)
K 17899	+ K 3985+	<i>šumma tirku</i> (23–33)

2.1 *Duplicates of the Physiognomic Omen Series Alamdimmû*
(Babylonian Sources)

- 1 BM 48493 *šumma umṣatu* (27?–41, B: v' 1'–11')⁸

Measurements: 5.8 × 3.8 × 2.6 cm

Provenience: Babylon(?)

8 Böck 2000, 184–186. The passages on the obverse of B in Böck's main text include a lot of *hepi*-glosses whose reading is now made clear by this new witness, as is the reading of broken signs on the reverse of witness B.

Period: Neo- or Late Babylonian

Edition: none

Copy: see Fig. 22.2a (obv.) and b (rev.)

CDLI No.: none



FIGURE 22.2A *BM 48493, obverse*

Transliteration

Obverse

i

1' [DIŠ x] 'x x' [...]

2' [DIŠ] 'x ŠÀ' IGI [...]

3' DIŠ *ina* ŠÀ IGI 'x' [...]

4' DIŠ (*ina*) AN.TA IGI '15' [...]

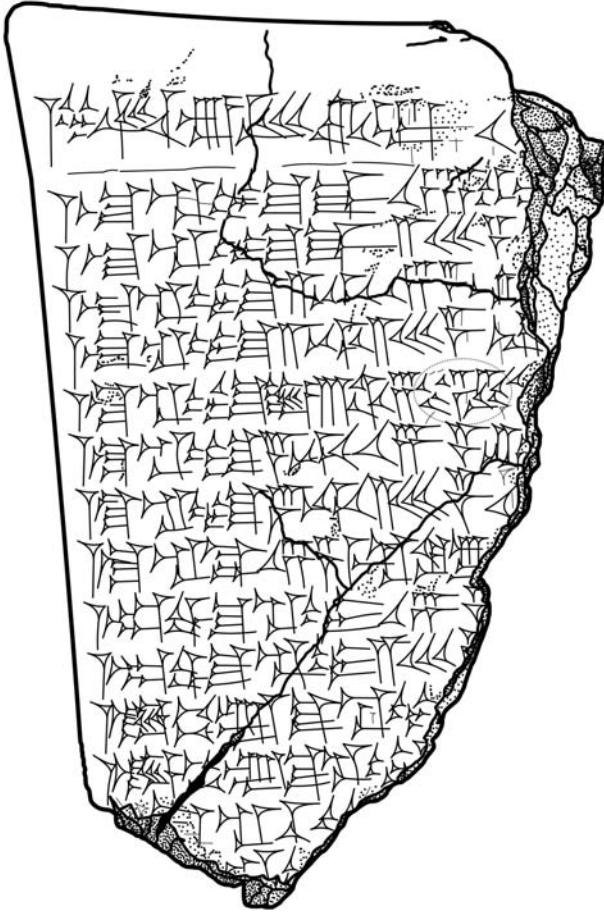


FIGURE 22.2B BM 48493, reverse

- 5' DIŠ *ina* AN.TA IGI '150' [...]
 6' DIŠ *ina* KI.TA IGI 15 [...]
 7' DIŠ *ina* KI.TA IGI 150 'GAR' [...]
 8' DIŠ IGI.MEŠ-šu DIRI.MEŠ [...]
 9' DIŠ *ina* kib-ri IGI-šu 15 'GAR' [...]
 10' *bi-ib-re-e-e pa-ni* [...]

-
- 11' DIŠ *ina* SAG KIR₄ ZAG GAR [...]
 12' DIŠ *ina* SAG KIR₄ GÙB GAR [...]
 13' DIŠ *ina* KIR₄ 15 GAR 'x' [...]
 14' DIŠ *ina* KIR₄ 150 GAR 'x' [...]
 15' DIŠ *ina* MURUB₄ KIR₄ 15 GAR 'i'-[*zi-im-ta-šu* ...]

- 16' DIŠ *ina* MURUB₄ KIR₄ 15^o GAR 'ru?' [...]
 17' 'DU' [a ...]
 18' DIŠ *ina* SUHUŠ KIR₄ 15 GAR 'bu?' [...]
 19' DIŠ *ina* SUHUŠ KIR₄ 15^o GAR [...]

Reverse

iv or vi(?)

- 1 DIŠ GÌR.MEŠ-šú DIRLMEŠ ŠÀ HUL 'IGI?' [...]

-
- 2 DIŠ *ina* ŠU.SI GÌR-šu GAL 15 GAR pi 'x' [...]
 3 DIŠ *ina* ŠU.SI GÌR-šu GAL 15^o GAR [...]
 4 DIŠ *ina* ŠU.SI GÌR-šu 2-ti 15 GAR *ina* 'É?' [...]
 5 DIŠ *ina* ŠU.SI GÌR-šu 2-ti 15^o GAR *ina* 'ŠÀ'/'EN' [...]
 6 DIŠ *ina* ŠU.SI GÌR-šu MURUB₄ 3-tú 15 'ŠE?' GAR ik 'x' [...]
 7 DIŠ *ina* ŠU.SI GÌR!-šu 4-ti 15 GAR EN [...]
 8 DIŠ *ina* ŠU.SI GÌR-šu 4-ti 15^o GAR 'ŠÀ?' [...]
 9 DIŠ *ina* ŠU.SI GAL 15 GAR *me-se-ru* DAB-[*su?* ...]
 10 DIŠ *ina ap-pi* ŠU.SI GÌR 15 [GAR ...]
 11 DIŠ *ina ap-pi* ŠU.SI GÌR 15^o [GAR ...]
 12 DIŠ *ina* MURUB₄ *bi-rit* ŠU.SI 'GÌR' [15 GAR ...]
 13 DIŠ *ina* MURUB₄ *bi-rit* ŠU.SI 'GÌR' [15^o GAR ...]
 14 'DIŠ x ŠU'.SI-šú 'GÌR?' [...]
 15 [x x (x)] 'SI x' [...]

Commentary

Obverse

2'–3': The protases of these entries are not preserved in witness B, the only parallel to this section. It is clear that one should also expect the directions right and left regarding the respective part of the eye (*libbi īni*).

4'–5': These lines do not correspond to the reconstructed reading [... AN].TA IGI.'MEŠ' of the text in witness B (BM 34718).⁹

10': The meaning of *bibrû* in relation to a face is unclear. This expression is also attested in *Alamdimmû* 8: 105 among entries for the face, where it is said to be "beautiful" (*ba-ni*). Böck thinks of an anatomical feature, which might be correct since the term is otherwise attested as a bird associated with Enlil, or as a kind of rhyton, cf. *CAD* B 222–223 1.–2.

⁹ See Böck 2000, 186.

11'–12': These protases are not preserved in witness B but glossed with *hepi*.

13'–14': Witness B: ii 15'–16' (= ll. 37–38 of the main text) adds here two further entries for the next condition (DIŠ *ina* MURUB₄ KIR₄ 15/150 GAR) with different apodoses (EN INIM-'šú NA?' IGI-*mar*). The formulation *ina* KIR₄-šú in that witness may therefore be considered as a corruption for *ina* MURUB₄ KIR₄-šú.

Reverse

1–15: Since these lines read GAL twice as the condition of the toes, while the very similar instance in witness B: v' 1'–11' reads TUR, this particular passage (referring to the big toe) should be situated somewhat earlier in the main text than the passage in B: v' 1'–11' (mentioning the little toe). Another explanation could be miscopying from the ancient *Vorlage* or a mistake in the modern autograph. Even in our text rev. 9, GAL could be easily confused with TUR because of the distinct form of the head of its middle wedge.

6: It is conspicuous that in comparison to B: v' 6'–7' the described condition appears just on the right side. Otherwise the descriptive pattern like the insertion of MURUB₄ seems strikingly similar, along with the same anatomical locations around this entry.

9: The similar line B: v' 10' reads TUR (see also B: v' 2'–3') instead of GAL but continues with the same apodosis (*me-se-[ra DAB ...]*).

12–15: If the identification as a parallel is correct, these lines are not preserved in witness B and show that the text continues by describing different areas of the toes (like the tip of the toes or the middle of the space between them) which could contain *umṣatu*-marks.

2 BM 72564 (*šumma kittabru*: 123–131)¹⁰

Measurements: 5.1 × 3.5 × 2.2 cm

Provenience: Sippar(?)

Period: Neo- or Late Babylonian

Edition: none

Copy: see Fig. 22.3

CDLI No.: none

¹⁰ Böck 2000, 212–229.



FIGURE 22.3 BM 72564, reverse

Transliteration

- 1' [...]'x x x' [...]
 2' [DIŠ ŠE ina MIN/MURGU GÌR¹¹-šú 150]-'šú' ina SAG 'ŠU?'.[SI-šú ...]
 3' [...]-'šú' KL MIN 'x' [...]'x' [...]
 4' [DIŠ ŠE ina SUḪUŠ] 'ŠU?' SI.MEŠ GÌR-'šú lu šá x x x' [...]
-
- 5' [DIŠ ŠE.MEŠ SAG]. 'DU' NA lu IGI.MEŠ-šú 'lu? GÚ-su' DIRI.'MEŠ'
 [...]
 6' [DIŠ ŠE.MEŠ Á] '15'-šú u 150 (blank) DIRI.'MEŠ' [...]

7' [DIŠ ŠE.MEŠ *ku*]-*tál* ŠU-šú *lu* MIN! *lu* MIN! DAB.MEŠ-*tu* 'GAR-*nu?* x'
[...]

8' [DIŠ ŠE.MEŠ *kàl*] SU-šú DIRI.MEŠ [...]

9' [DIŠ ŠE.MEŠ] 'SA₅'¹.MEŠ *kàl* SU-šú DIRI.MEŠ DUGUD-'*it?*' [...]

10' [DIŠ ŠE.MEŠ] 'BABBAR'¹.MEŠ *kàl* SU-šú DIRI.MEŠ *ana?* 'ZARAḤ' [*u*
NU DU₁₀-GA GAR-šú]

11' [DIŠ ŠE.MEŠ] 'GE₆'¹.MEŠ *kàl* SU-šú DIRI.MEŠ [...]

12' [... AN BA.UL?] 'KI' BA.UL AN BA.GUL.'GUL' [...]

13' [...] 'sal? pa?' *ši-i-tum* 'd+EN'.[LÍL ...]

14' [...] 'ši'-*i-tum* 'dEN?' [...]

15' [...] 'x' [...]

Commentary

3': It is unclear if KI.MIN refers to the protasis introducing an alternative apodosis or to an alternative entry which is not attested in witnesses A and I.

8': Differing from A, B and I, this entry is separated by a dividing line.

12': The expected catchline for the *šumma kittabru* tablet regarding women is skipped; cf. likewise witness A (K 8730+, Bab. script).

12'–14': The incantation AN BA.GUL KI BA.GUL appears in physiognomic context also in the Neo-Babylonian witness I (VAT 17072).¹¹ The incantation appears in magico-medical contexts too; cf. the incantation catalogue for fumigations (unpub.) BM 45393+: i 18–20, mentioned in Finkel 1991, 103. It further occurs in connection with Lamaštu in Schuster-Brandis 2008, necklace 142; also in Farber 1989, 73 text β (BM 56148: iv 44), 144 (*STT* 275: ii 8'–20'). One may wonder about the appearance of this incantation in the rubric of a divinatory series and speculate if it has been used to avert the unfortunate forecasts associated with those moles as in the case of *namburbû*-rituals. Another incantation associated with moles is found on a tablet stemming most likely from Aššur (BM 108872+BM 109097a), and concerned with phytotherapeutic treatments for the removal of certain spots or blemishes.¹² For *šit Enlil* cf. Meier 1939, 206: 16 in connection to the *ašāgu*-plant (a kind of acacia).

11 Böck 2000, 228.

12 Heeßel 2008, 166 and 171, ll. 32–37. This incantation might also have been used within the magico-medical rubbing compendium *Muššu'u*, cf. Böck 2007, 64. The incantation resembles to some degree the "seven heavens, seven earths"-expression also known from the well attested ME.ŠÈ BA.DA.RI incantation (cf. Horowitz 1998, 208 ff.). This incantation is

2.2 *New Fragments and Joins from the Kuyunjik Collection*

Fragments of the subseries *šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât*, “If a woman has a large head,” are listed separately in 2.3.

1 K 8920 (*alamdimmû* 2: 53–73, 116–127)¹³

The fragment joins *Alamdimmû* 2 witness B (K 2335) beginning with l. 73 and ending with l. 115. Furthermore, the fragment adds some new text portions and variants to the main text.

Transliteration

Obverse

- 1' [DIŠ SÍK SAG.DU(-šú) ...] ṛx x x iš? ŠÀ.BI NU x' [...]
 2' [...] ṛáš' : DAM NU TUK UD.BI GÍD.DA ŠE-ṛim' [...]
 3' [... UD].ṛBI' GÍD.DA e-tel-liš [DU.DU-ak?]
 4' [... UD].ṛBI' GÍD.DA ÚŠ ŠÀ.GAR [ÚŠ ...]
 5' [... UD].ṛBI' GÍD.DA ŠÀ.BI DU₁₀.GA ÚŠ ŠÀ.[GAR ÚŠ?]
 6' [... pa-ni] ṛLÚGUD'.DA ŠÀ.HÚL : ŠÀ ḪUL sa-ṛdir?'-[šú ...]
 7' [... UD.BI] ṛqer'-bu KUR-ti ŠU ṛTUK'
 8' [... UD.BI LÚGUD].ṛDA' par-re-e ŠE u KÙ.BABBAR ṛTUK'-[šī?]
 9' [...] ṛár' ŠE u KÙ.BABBAR TUK-šī ana IGI-šú DU-ṛak'
 10' [...] NÍG.TUK-ma ÚKU NU SI.ṛSÁ'
 11' [... ma-']-ṛdu'-ti TUK-ma ÚKU

-
- 12' [...] NÍG.TUK
 13' [...] ÚKU-in
 14' [... munus]ṛKALA' NÍ-šu ÍL.MEŠ
 15' [...] GÍD.DA
 16' [...] GÍD.DA
-

- 17' [...] ṛGÁL' ŠÀ ḪUL ṛTUK'
 18' [...] ÚŠ^{giš}ṛTUKUL ṛÚŠ'
 19' [...] ṛx' ár-ḫiš ṛx'
 20' [...] ṛGÍD.DA'

likewise attested in BM 45393+: i 24–27 which lists incantations accompanying therapies by fumigation. It should be noted that the moles mentioned here are poorly attested in physiognomic contexts but occur far more often in diagnostic and therapeutic texts.

13 Böck 2000, 76–79, 83–85.

21' [...] 'ŠĀ' ḤÚL.'LA?'

22' [...] 'TUK'

Reverse

1' [...] 'x x' [...]

2' [DIŠ SÍK SAG.KI-šú ZAG/15 sa]-'pat' mim-mu 'DINGIR it'-[ta-nab-bal]

3' [DIŠ SÍK SAG.KI-šú GÙB/150 sa]-pat mim-mu LUGAL it'-ta'-[nab-bal]

4' [DIŠ SÍK SAG.KI-šú ZAG ku]-'uš'-šat MUNUS ana NITA iš-'šár?'-[rak]

5' [DIŠ SÍK SAG.KI-šú GÙB ku]-'uš'-šat NITA ana MUNUS iš-'šár-[rak]

6' [DIŠ SÍK SAG.KI-šú ZAG u GÙB ku]-'uš'-šat 'ir-tam-mu ul'-tab-ba-'ru'
ŠĀ.'BI' [DU₁₀.GA]

7' [DIŠ SÍK SAG.KI-šú ku-uš-šat-ma] 'mit'-ḥa-ru ul' 'ir-tam'-[mu]

8' [DIŠ SÍK SAG.KI-šú ku-uš-šat-ma SU₆.MEŠ-šú SA₅?] i-'nap?'-pu-'uš' ina
PAP.ḤAL u munus KALA.GA NĪ-'šu ÍL'-[(šī?)]

9' [DIŠ SÍK SAG.KI-šú ku-uš-šat-ma IGI^{II}-šú] 'ti'-iq-qá-a [ŠĀ ...]

10' [DIŠ SÍK SAG.KI-šú šá ZAG zaq]-pat TI [ŠĀ (AL.)TUK]

11' [DIŠ SÍK SAG.KI-šú šá GÙB zaq]-pat UD.'MEŠ?'-[šú GÍD.MEŠ]

12' [...] 'ŠUB' : 'ku-uš-šat' [...]

13' [...] 'ŠUB.ŠUB?' [...]

Commentary

Obverse

4'-5': The phrase *mūt bubūti imât* (ÚŠ ŠĀ.GAR ÚŠ), "he will die of starvation," is also attested in l. 77.

8': It is unclear what the term *parrû* refers to. Eventually, it is to be associated with the following ŠE, "barley", glossing it as a kind of mashed emmer, cf. *AHw* 835 s.v. *parrû* II.

10': Here as well as in witness D, one should read SI.SÁ instead of SI.LIM, cf. Böck 2000, 76: 62, following the mistake in Kraus' copy (*TBP* 3b).

16': The end of the line clearly shows GÍD.DA contra Böck 2000, 76, restoring [ina?]-pu-[uš?].

19': Cf. the variant in Böck 2000, 78 which reads *nam-riš e-tel-liš* DU.MEŠ (witness D).

2 K 6783 (*alamdimmû* 5?)

In terms of size, distribution of text and content, the fragment may belong to the obverse of *šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât* (K 6808+). Since no MUNUS appears after the ruling in ii' 3', which is otherwise regularly attested in this

position in *šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât* 4 witness A, the fragment belongs most likely to the poorly attested Tablet 5 of the main series *Alamdimmû* which is also concerned with signs on the nose down to the lips.

Transliteration

- i'
 1' [...] 'x x' [...]
 2' [... *tur?*]-'ru¹-pa al-ma-nu-ta₅ DU-'ak¹
 3' [...] ra na-a al-ma-nu-ta₅ DU-ak
 4' [...] ru-qu u pur-ru-da KL.MIN
 5' [...] 'ba?'-ša i-šal-lim
 6' [...] 'x' ina na-ki DAB-bat
 7' [...] 'x' ina na-ki DAB-bat
 ii'
 1' DIŠ SAG 'KIR₄?' [...]
 2' DIŠ SAG 'KIR₄?' [...]
-
- 3' DIŠ SA 'KIR₄?' [...]
 4' 'x' [...]
 5' DIŠ 'x' [...]

Translation

- i'
 1' [...]
 2' [...] are “coloured”: he/she(?) will become a widow(er).
 3' [...] (?): he/she(?) will become a widow(er).
 4' [...] distant(?) and they startle (ditto).
 5' [...] he/she(?) will be healthy/safe(?).
 6' [...] he/she(?) will be caught during illicit intercourse.
 7' [...] he/she(?) will be caught during illicit intercourse.
 ii'
 1' If the tip of the nose(?) [...]
 2' If the tip of the nose(?) [...]
-
- 3' If the veins of the nose(?) [...]

3 K 7958 (*alamdimmû* 6: 10–26)¹⁴

This fragment is a welcome new witness to the poorly attested Tablet 6, dealing presumably with teeth. Cf. the parallel A/2 (*SpTU* 4 150): ii 1'–18'.

Transliteration

- 1' [...] 'ŠUB' [...]
 2' [...] 'x' ŠUB [...]
 3' [...] 'SIG₇? ' ŠUB 'NA BI' [...]
 4' [...] 'SIG₇ ' ŠUB NA BI 'GAZ IGI/pi? x' [...]
 5' [...] 'SIG₇? ' ŠUB NA BI *pi-riš-ti* É. 'GAL x x (x)' [...]
 6' [...] ŠUB *na-mar?* DINGIR *ana* 'LÚ? (x)' [...]
 7' [...] 'su/ra?' su *ru-um-mi* GÍD.DA NA BI *ár-ḫiš ina* ḪI.GAR DAB-*ma* 'GAZ?' [...]
-
- 8' [DIŠ *ši-in-...*] 'x' -*šu nam-ra* NINDA *nap-šá* GU₇ : DIŠ SIG₇-*ma* si ad qar [...]
 9' [...] 'SIG₇ *tur-ru-pa ša-al-lal* : DIŠ GE₆ *tur-ru-pa* UD.MEŠ-*šú* LÚGUD.'DA' [...]
 10' [DIŠ SA₅? ...] 'x' da pa sag/ris : *mu-šá-ziq* : DIŠ *kaš-ša* UD.MEŠ-*šú qer-bi* KUR-*ti* ŠU [DINGIR? ...]
 11' [DIŠ *i-ga/kaš?*]-*ša-aš* GE₆ IGI : DIŠ GAL.MEŠ NINDA *i-bir-ri* : *ra-i-¹mi* [...]
 12' [DIŠ TUR]. 'MEŠ' NÍG.GIG ÚS.MEŠ-*šú* : DIŠ *rit-ku-ba šá* ad ra 'x' [...]
 13' [DIŠ x x x ...] BABBAR ŠUB-*a* : *ši-bá* ŠUB-*a* NÍG.TUK TUK : *i-la-[ni?]*
 14' [DIŠ ... *ú*]-*lap¹-pat* ŠÁ.BI NU DU₁₀.GA : DIŠ *ú-nap-pal ina-an-¹ziq?*
 15' [...] *ra-i-mi* TUK-*ši* : DIŠ BABBAR *tuk-ku-pa* DINGIR-*ni šil-la-¹ti?* [...] [...]
 16' [...] 'x' NINDA *la i-na-ḫu* GU₇ : DIŠ GE₆.MEŠ TIL *u₄-¹mi :¹ ul i-na-ḫu* ' : /DU₁₀? x' [...]
 17' [...] 'UR'.GI₇ : KA UR.GI₇ GAR ÚKU UD.MEŠ-*šú* LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ : *ina-kud?* ' : ' KA-*šú* DAB-*ma* GAZ 'x' [...]
 18' [...] 'i?' ÚKU : NINDA *ma-²da* 'x' [...]
 19' [...] 'ši'-i GAR GABA.RI NU [TUK-*ši*]
 20' [...] 'ri?' GAR É GÁL-*ú ul* 'x' [...]
 21' [...] 'x' GAR 'ḫi¹-*ṭam* TUK : ŠU 'x' [...]
 22' [...] 'x' [...]

14 Böck 2000, 102. Note that the new witness offers more lines than preserved in witness A, which would change the line arrangement of Böck's edition.

Translation

- 1' [...] has [...]
 2' [...] has [...]
 3' [...] has (a yellow-green spot?): this man [...]
 4' [...] has a yellow-green spot(?) [...]
 5' [...] has (a yellow-green spot): this man, the secret of the palace [...]
 6' [...] has [...]: *happiness* of a god for a man(?) [...]
 7' [...] (?) is long, this man will be seized and killed during a revolt.
 8' [If his teeth? ...] are shiny: he will eat plenty of bread : If (they are) yellow and (?) [...]
 9' [If they are] yellow-“coloured”: he is a sleepy one : If they are black-“coloured”, his days will be short.
 10' [If they are red? ...] (?) : he is one who causes trouble : If they gnash: his days are near; seizure of the hand of [a god/king? ...]
 11' [If he is gnashing]: he will experience “anger”/darkness(?) : If they are big: bread will be sparse (for him) : he is a beloved one [...]
 12' [If] they are (small): harm will follow him constantly : If they lie over each other, (?) [...]
 13' [If ...] they show white (alt. grey) spot(s): he will have property : he is pious.
 14' [If he] touches (his teeth): unhappiness : If he rubs(?) (his teeth): he will be troublesome.
 15' [...] he(?) will have a beloved one : If they are white spotted: he is pious, effrontery(?) [...]
 16' [...] he will not weaken to eat bread : If they are black: end of days : he will not weaken [...]
 17' [If] he has (the teeth) of a dog : the mouth(?) of a dog: he will be poor (and) his days will be short : he will have a crisis : he will be silenced (lit. his mouth will be seized) and (he will be?) killed [...]
 18' [...] he will be poor : much bread [...]
 19' [...] is set: he will have no rival.
 20' [...] is set: an existing(?) household [is not? ...]
 21' [...] is set: he will commit (lit. have) a misdeed : hand [of? ...]

Commentary

6': Cf. *CAD* N/1 2a for the verb *namāru* as “to brighten, cheer up, become happy”, said of the mood of deities. In physiognomic context likewise attested as “prosperity (of household)”, see *CAD* N/1 2b (Böck 2000, 96, *Alamdimmû* 3: 130: *na-mar É LÚ ana ṣa-a-tim*) as well as numerous attestations with *ZÁLAG-ir*.

7': The word *surummu* is rarely attested as a term for the rectum, or for a part of the intestinal tract (^{uzu}ŠÀ.GAR.GAR(.RA)), cf. *AHw* 1063 and *CAD* S 416, but the context does not fit the anatomical focus of the surrounding entries concerned with teeth. The form *ru-um-mi* could likewise belong to *ramû* D, "to loosen, release", but here again, the connection *ramû* D with GÍD.DA seems less plausible than the association of an anatomical term with GÍD.DA at the end of the protasis.

8': The spatial distribution suggests SI AD to be separated from QAR but the meaning eludes me.

9': The word *šalla/ālu*, "sleeper, lying one", is likewise the name of a bird, possibly active during night-time (see *AHw* 1077). The bird seems to be associated with bad omens, see Ebeling 1977, 15; Maul 1994, 471 and 479. See also Sagig 36: 5 which gives the apodosis (ŠÀ.ŠÀ.ŠÀ) *šālilu/šallalu* (NÁ) referring most likely to the future qualities of an unborn child.

11': The word *šulmu*, "a black spot, darkness", as reference to anger is usually used in idiomatic expressions like *šulum pānī*.

14': Cf. the MB physiognomic-behavioural omen tablet PUM 4501 in Kraus 1936–1937, 223: 37–38 which lists the same two entries with the difference that the MB text specifies DIŠ ZÚ.MEŠ-šu at the beginning of the entry, while our text omits the anatomical feature. According to Kraus, those entries should be understood in the context of speaking (*ibid.*, 222: 1–2). Furthermore, this parallel helps restore the damaged beginning of this entry and clarify the formerly uncertain reading *ši-in-[na-šu? ...]* of the Uruk witness for this section on teeth.

17': For *pû* + *šabatu* see *CAD* Š 29.

4 K 9850 (*alamdimmû* 7: 1–3, 1'–7')¹⁵

The fragment is now joined to tablet 7/2 witness A (K 4016) and establishes the tablet's beginning or more likely the top of the reverse.

Transliteration

- 1 [...] 'tum' ana? qer-bi-nu tu-ra qa-a-a-'pa-nu?'-[ta₅ DÙ]
- 2 [...] 'MIN?' ÚKU [...]
- 3 [...] 'ina'-an-ziq : DIŠ BABBAR nag? 'x' [...]

-
- 4 [... x ... ti? x] 'x' MUNUS ^{munus}DAM NU TUK KI.MIN
i-'la?'-[ni/ap-pi-in? ...]

¹⁵ Böck 2000, 106.

5 [... (x) NUTUK x?] É AD-[šú ...]

6 [DIŠ *zi-iq-qí ši-in-ni ra-bi* DINGIR]-^rni?^r : DIŠ TUR ^drALAD?^r [...]

7 [DIŠ (blank) *um-mul : lu-mu-un* NA BI *i-šár-rù*] ^r: DIŠ^r 1(?) *zi-iq-qá* [...]

8 [DIŠ 2 *zi-iq-qu-šú*] ^rina^r GĪR ^rx^r [...]

9 [DIŠ *ka-an-zu-za* GÍD.DA ÚKU]-^rin?^r [...]

10 [DIŠ (blank) LÚGUD.DA TI ŠÀ TUK : *i-šar* É KÙ.BABBAR MÁ GAR?]-*an* [...]

Translation

1 [...] is bent to the middle: he will perform the trusteeship.

2 [...] ditto(?): he will be poor [...]

3 [...] he will be troublesome : If (it is) white [...]

4 [...] (?) will have no consort, (ditto) [he will be poor].

5 [...] he will not have [...] the house of his father [...]

6 [If a canine of his teeth is big]: he is pious : If (it is) small: he has a protective spirit(?).

7 [If (it is) overgrown? : in bad condition: this man will be rich.] : If one of the canines [...]

8 [If both canines] from the foot/base [...]

9 [If the jaws? are long: he will be] poor [...]

10 [If (they are) short: he will have “life of heart” : he is prosperous, a house, silver and a boat?] will be pro[vided for him? ...]

Commentary

3: The last sign might be ‘la^r’ or ‘šu^r’, but a restoration to *naglabu* seems very unlikely in connection with teeth. Cf. perhaps the verb *nakālu*, translated in *AHw* 717 as “künstlich, kunstvoll sein/werden” (contrary to the translation of *CAD* N/1 155, “to act cleverly, to play a trick, to cheat”). Here, the verb might refer to an artificially white tooth or comparable.

10: The word *i-šar* (adj. *ešēru*) is not to be misunderstood as another cryptographic writing of *išarru*, “to be rich”. The mention of MÁ = *eleppu* in the enumeration of goods is unique within the physiognomic texts which usually mention silver, barley or a house, as well as abstract terms like property, profit or gain, etc.

5 K 7956 (*alamdimmû* 8: 131–149)¹⁶

This fragment joins witness A (K 2718+) obviously at the end of the tablet, giving the latter half of the catchline of tablet 9 (l. 18').

Transliteration

- 1' [... : DIŠ *ár-i*]-^r*i* GAR x¹ [... MEŠ]
 2' [DIŠ UR.GI₇ GAR UD.MEŠ-šú LÚGUD].^rDA¹.MEŠ NÍG.^rŠU¹ [... GU₇]
 3' [DIŠ ŠAḤ GAR ÚKU]-^r*in*¹ UD.MEŠ [... MEŠ]
 4' [DIŠ KA₅.A GAR *mu-šal*]-^r*li*¹ [... ÚKU-*in*]
 5' [DIŠ ÁB.ZA.ZA GAR NÍG.TUK DUGUD] ^rMU¹ SIG₅-*ti* UD.^rMEŠ?¹ [...
i-šu]
 6' [DIŠ *pi-²a-zi* GAR NINDA NU] ^rZU¹ GU₇ *ina* giš^rTUKUL¹ [...]
 7' [DIŠ BIBRA^{mušen} GAR MU]-šú SIG₅ *ina* NÍG.^rGIG¹ [...]
 8' [DIŠ ŠU.LÚ GAR] ^rga¹-*me-ru-ta*₅ ^rx¹ [...]
 9' [DIŠ *ba-ki-ti* GAR] ^rÚKU-*in*¹

-
- 10' [DIŠ *ina* UGU *pa-ni-šú tir-ku-ma* 1 SÍK] ^rÈ¹-*at ina la u*₄-*me-šú* ^rÚŠ¹
 11' [DIŠ 2 SÍK È] ŠE *u* KÙ.BABBAR TUK-š*i*
 12' [DIŠ *um-ša-tum-ma* 1 SÍK] ^rÈ¹ GIG *di-ḥu* GIG-*ma* ÚŠ
 13' [DIŠ 2 MIN MIN] ÚKU-*in*
 14' [DIŠ *li-ip-tum-ma* 1 SÍK] ^rÈ¹ *lu-úp-nu* DAB-*su*
 15' [DIŠ 2 MIN MIN] UD.MEŠ-šú GÍD.DA.MEŠ
 16' [DIŠ GUG SA₅-*ma* 1] ^rSÍK¹ È TI ŠÀ.BI TUK-š*i*
 17' [DIŠ 2 MIN MIN] *lu-úp-nu* DAB-*su*

-
- 18' [DIŠ GÚ GÍD.DA] ŠÀ ḤUL *i-šarru*(LUGAL) UD.MEŠ-šú *i-^ršu*¹
 19' [...] ^rx¹ [...]

Translation

- 1' [... : If (the face)] “looks like that of an” eagle, [...]
 2' [If (the face) “looks like that of a” dog: his days] will be short; (his) property [... he will consume].
 3' [If (the face) “looks like that of a” pig], he will be poor; his days will be [...]
 4' [If (the face) “looks like that of a” fox], he is brawlsome; [... he will be poor].

¹⁶ Böck 2000, 108–117.

- 5' [If (the face) "looks like that of a" *apsasû*-bovine, he will be rich, reputable and] he will have a good name; his days [... will be short].
- 6' [If (the face) "looks like that of a" mouse], he will consume bread without restraint(?); [he will die] by a weapon.
- 7' [If (the face) "looks like that of a" *bibrû*-bird], his name will be good; by taboo/bale [...]
- 8' [If (the face) "looks like that of a" *ḥāzû*-bird, he will show] capability [...]
- 9' [If (the face) "looks like that of a" *bakkītu*-bird], he will be poor.
- 10' [If on the surface of his face is a *tirku*-mole and one hair] grows out, he will die before his time.
- 11' [If (ditto) (and) two hairs grow out], he will have barley and silver.
- 12' [If (on the surface of his face is) a *umṣatu*-mole and one hair] grows out, he will suffer from *dī'u*-disease and die.
- 13' [If (ditto) two ditto ditto], he will be poor.
- 14' [If (on the surface of his face) is a *liptu*-mole and one hair] grows out, poverty will befall him.
- 15' [If (ditto) two ditto ditto], his days will be long.
- 16' [If (on the surface of his face) is a red *pindû*-mole and one], hair grows out, he will have "life of heart".
- 17' [If (ditto) two ditto ditto], poverty will befall him.
-
- 18' [If his neck is long], grief; he will be rich; his days will be short.

Commentary

6': The sign at the break might be ZU. I would tentatively read NINDA NU 'ZU' GU₇ as an expression for unwitting consumption whether of foodstuffs or other goods, which may be interpreted as an euphemism for an excessive or consumer lifestyle. It is interesting to note that a similar or parallel instance within the small series *šumma Ea liballitka* 2: 5 gives, following the entry about the face of an *apsasû* (here line 5'), the face of the demon Pazuzu, possibly reinterpreting the sound of the word *piazu*, "mouse", cf. von Soden 1981, 111. Conspicuously, the apodosis is the same (NINDA NU ZU GU₇ *ina* ^{gi8}TUKUL GAZ). The phrase NINDA NU ZU GU₇ is interpreted differently by von Soden as "Speise, die er nicht kennt, muss er essen."

7': For the equation of 𒄩𒍪^{mušen} = BIBRA^{mušen} with the *bibrû*-bird as a cock-like bird, at least in the first millennium, see Veldhuis 2004, 224.

8': See Veldhuis 2004, 285 with further literature. Interestingly, in the MB period the Sumerian ŠU.LÚ^{mušen}, "hand of man-bird" (Akk. *ḥāzû*, "croaker"), is equated in a forerunner to UR₅.RA from Boghazkoy with the *pa'û*-bird which is considered to be a water bird in the birdcall texts.

6 K 6430 (*alamdimmû* 10: 49–59)¹⁷

The fragment joins witness B (K 12198), continuing the lines B 1'–12' with traces of the line above and the following line also given in F. Space for half a sign remains in the gap between the two fragments.

Transliteration

- 1' [...] 'x' [...]
 2' [...] TUK [...]
-
- 3' [DIŠ LI.DUR ...] ' : ' nam-rat [...]
 4' [DIŠ LI.DUR ...] 'x : ' kap-ṣat 'mar'-[ra-aṣ ...]
 5' [DIŠ LI.DUR nar]-'bat?' : paṭ-rat 'x' [...]
 6' [DIŠ LI.DUR ma]-'aq'-ta-at 'mar'-[ra-aṣ ...]
 7' [DIŠ LI.DUR baq]-ṣat i-[šár-rù?]
 8' [DIŠ LI.DUR na]-'aḥ?'-sà-tú i-[šár-rù?]
 9' [DIŠ LI.DUR ...] 'x' šal-mat! DAM 'NA' [...]
 10' [DIŠ ...] 'ri/šú?' ṭe₄-ḥa-a-at ŠÀ.BI DU₁₀. 'GA'
 11' [DIŠ ina LI]. 'DUR' NA ŠUB LÚ BI : 'x' [...]
-
- 12' [...] 'DAGAL'.LA ŠÀ ḤUL. 'GIG?' [...]

Commentary

5': In contrast to F, witness B seems to give the alternative reading or variant *paṭrat*, “is loose”, to *narbat*, “is soft”.

7 K 12896 (*alamdimmû* 10: 112–119B)¹⁸

The fragment joins witness I (K 9458): 4'–11'.

Transliteration

- 1' [DIŠ] 'SIR₄¹¹-šú' [sal-ḥa DINGIR MUNUS ...]
 2' [DIŠ] 'SIR₄¹¹¹-šú' [šá-aḥ-tu DINGIR MUNUS ...]
 3' [DIŠ] SIR₄ [ZAG-šú GAL ŠEŠ.MEŠ ...]
 4' 'DIŠ' SIR₄ [GÜB-šú GAL ...]
 5' 'DIŠ' SIR₄ ZAG-'šú' [u GÜB-šú GAL.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ ...]

¹⁷ Böck 2000, 125–127.

¹⁸ Ibid.

- 6' 'DIŠ' SIR₄ ZAG-šú u 'GÙB'-[šú TUR.MEŠ ta ...]
 7' [DIŠ] SIR₄ 'x' 'ki? in' [ta ...]
 8' [DIŠ] 'SIR₄' SIG₇ [...]
 9' [DIŠ] 'SIR₄ x' [...]

8 K 17899 (*šumma tirku*: 23–33)¹⁹

The fragment joins witness A (K 3985+): obv. 23–33.

Transliteration

- 1' [DIŠ ina BAR-ma GAR] 'ina šil-lat KA'-[šú i-qal-lil]
 2' [DIŠ ina TE ZAG GAR] 'ina'-[ziq]
 3' [DIŠ ina TE GÙB GAR] 'x'-ma [DU₁₀]
 4' [DIŠ ina NUNDUM AN.TA ZAG GAR ÚŠ] 'ḥi'-bil-ti [BA.ÚŠ]
 5' [DIŠ ina NUNDUM KI.TA GÙB GAR] 'INIM'-šú UGU 'DINGIR' [u
 LUGAL DU₁₀-ab]
 6' [DIŠ ina BAR NUNDUM AN.TA GAR ina] 'šil'-lat KA-šú [GAZ]
 7' [DIŠ ina KI.TA NUNDUM-šú ZAG GAR I]. 'BÍ'.ZA [IGI]
 8' [DIŠ ina GÙB GAR ŠÁ].BI [DU₁₀.GA]
 9' [DIŠ ina bi-ta-an NUNDUM GAR ÚKU]-[in]
 10' [DIŠ ina lu-'i ZAG GAR mim-mu]-'šú?'[ZÁḤ]
 11' [DIŠ ina GÙB GAR mim-mu-šú x (x)] 'x x' [BIR?-aḥ]

Commentary

3': In ms. A, there are traces of at least one sign between GAR and MA, ending with two long horizontal wedges like TA]B, M]I or N]I. However, I could not find a similar expression within the physiognomic corpus.

6': The copy CT 28, pl. 25 reads rather NUN for /šil/ or /síl/ than TAR for /šil/ which is written quite clearly on the present tablet.

9 K 10336 (*šumma tirku*: 52–61, 69–79)

The fragment belongs most likely to witness A (K 3985+) on the right of the top of the reverse. However, there might be space for at least one or two more signs and the point where the two fragments touch is very thin. Therefore, it remains a non-physical join.

19 Böck 2000, 204–211.

Transliteration

Obverse

- 1' [DIŠ *ina* ...] 'x x' [(x)]
 2' [DIŠ *ina* ...] DU₁₀.GA
 3' [DIŠ GABA ...] DU₁₀.GA
 4' [DIŠ *ina* x ...] DU₁₀.GA
 5' [DIŠ *ina* ...] 'x na? šú?'
 6' [DIŠ *ina* ...] GU₇
 7' [DIŠ *ina* ...] 'x su?'
 8' [DIŠ *ina* ...] 'su?'
 9' [DIŠ *ina* ...] 'x'
 10' [DIŠ *ina* ...] 'ZÁḪ'

Reverse

- 1 [DIŠ GE₆ *ina* ...] 'x' *i-šal-lim*
 2 [DIŠ *ina* ŠÀ ...] 'KUR?' ŠU TUK
 3 [DIŠ *ina* ŠÀ-šú ...] 'KUR?' ŠU TUK-ši
 4 [DIŠ *ina* SAG ŠÀ-šú ZAG ...] 'KUR?' ŠU TUK-ši
 5 [DIŠ *ina* SAG ŠÀ-šú GÙB GAR KUR-ti?] ŠU TUK-ši
 6 [DIŠ *ina* pa-pa-an ŠÀ-šú ZAG GAR] '(x)' UGU-šú GUB-az
 7 [DIŠ *ina* GÙB GAR] 'UGU'-šú GUB-az
 8 [DIŠ *ina* LI.DUR-šú GAR ...] *i-ma-al-la*
 9 [DIŠ *ina* ŠÀ-šú GAR ...] 'x' ana EN DU₁₁-šú IGI
 10 [DIŠ *ina* ŠÀ-šú GAR-ma *ina* ŠÀ na-ra]-'ár' DINGIR TUK-ši
 11 [DIŠ *ina* ŠÀ-šú GAR-ma *ina* ŠÀ SÍK È? ...] 'x' SIG₅

Commentary

Reverse

4: The traces at the break look more like the end of GÁL than KUR. Yet, since the following ŠU TUK-ši should refer to the common phrase *kišitti qāt irašši*, the expected sign in this instance would definitely be KUR or KUR-ti.

10 K 16870 (*šumma kittabru*: 8–14)²⁰

The fragment joins witness B (K 4039+): obv. 5–11.

Transliteration

- 1' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* SA GÚ NA GAR ŠÀ].¹BI¹ [DU₁₀.GA ...]
 2' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* SAG.KI-šú₁₅ GAR AN].¹DUL₇¹ NA ¹ÍL¹-[ši ...]
 3' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* SAG.KI-šú₁₅ GAR AN].DUL₇ NA ¹ÍL¹-[ši ...]
 4' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* DÌLIB SAG.DU-šú GAR ŠU] ¹d¹UTU *ina* PAP.ḪAL
 munusKALA [...]
 5' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* SAG.KI-šú₁₅ GAR at]-¹mu¹-šú UGU DINGIR ¹u LUGAL
 DU₁₀¹. [GA ...]
 6' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* SAG.KI¹¹-šú lu šá₁₅ lu šá₁₅ GAR] ¹ŠU¹.BI.[AŠ.ÀM]
 7' [DIŠ ŠE *ina* ku-tál GÚ-šú GAR] ¹NU?¹ [...]

11 K 7189 (*šumma kittabru*: 79–92)²¹

The fragment joins witness C (K 12550): rev. 1'–8'. Interestingly, the unplaced fragment K 12379 most probably duplicates this passage too.²²

Transliteration

- 1' [DIŠ (ŠE) *ina* ₁₅] ¹LI.DUR¹ [GAR ...]
 2' [DIŠ (ŠE) *ina*] ¹150¹ LI.¹DUR¹ [GAR ...]
 3' [DIŠ (ŠE) *ina*] ¹KI¹.TA LI.DUR [GAR ...]
 4' [DIŠ (ŠE)] *ina*¹ MURUB₄ GÚ.MURGU-šú [GAR ...]
 5' [DIŠ (ŠE)] *ina*¹ MURUB₄ GÚ.MURGU-šú₁₅ [GAR ...]
 6' [DIŠ (ŠE)] *ina* MURUB₄ GÚ.MURGU-šú₁₅ šú [GAR ...]
 7' [DIŠ (ŠE)] *ina*?¹ ri-bit-a-ti-šú lu šá₁₅ lu ¹šá?¹ [₁₅ GAR ...]
 8' [DIŠ (ŠE) *ina*] SÍK GAL₄.LA-šú [GAR ...]
 9' [DIŠ (ŠE) *ina*] ¹UGU¹ GÌŠ lu AN.TA-nu lu ¹KI¹. [TA-nu GAR ...]
 10' [DIŠ (ŠE) *ina*] ¹UGU¹ GÌŠ-šú lu šá₁₅ lu šá₁₅ ¹150¹ [GAR ...]
 11' [DIŠ (ŠE) *ina*] ¹SIR₄¹ ₁₅-šú [GAR ...]
 12' [DIŠ (ŠE) *ina*] ¹SIR₄¹ ₁₅0-šú [GAR ...]
 13' [DIŠ (ŠE) *ina*] ¹SUḪUŠ?¹ SIR₄-šú [GAR ...]
 14' [DIŠ (ŠE) *ina*] ¹TUGUL₁₅-šú¹ [GAR ...]

20 Böck 2000, 213–214.

21 Böck 2000, 221–222.

22 Contra Böck 2000, 318, text 1, where one should read UGU GÌŠ instead of KIR₄ GÌŠ. The only difference is the reading SA.SAL.LA-šú that should be emended to SÍK! GAL₄.LA-šú.

12 K 7881 (*šumma kittabru* for women)

The spatial distribution, terminology and feminine possessive suffix used in the apodoses suggest that this fragment could belong to the tablet of *kittabru*-marks on women (A: K 6254+),²³ of which a considerable part is missing, particularly on the reverse.

Transliteration

- 1' [...] 'x' [...]
 2' [... ŠĀ.BI] NU DU₁₀. [GA]
 3' [...] 'UD?' ME 'IGI/SIG₅? [(x)]
 4' [... Á/NÍG]. 'TUK' É-šá IGI [x]
 5' [...] 'ALAD' SIG₅ TUK-['ši]
 6' [...] MEŠ-šá LÚGUD.DA. MEŠ SUḪUŠ. MEŠ GAR NU 'GI?'. [NA?]
 7' [...] 'x' lu AN.TA-nu lu KI.TA-nu lu 15 lu '150' [(x)]
 8' [...] 'GAR' ENIM-šá UGU DINGIR u LUGAL 'x'
-
- 9' [...] GAR DAM-sà TAG₄ 'x' [(x)]
 10' [...] GAR ÌR u GÉME TUK-ši NÍG.GA EN DU₁₁-šá TI-[qí?]
 11' [...] GAR ŠU.BLAŠ. 'ÀM'
 12' [...] 'DU₁₀!?(KUR)' GA ḫul-qu-ú TUK-'ši'
 13' [...] 'x' DIRI-ár [(x)]
 14' [...] 'x x ÁŠ? KUR'-át

Translation

- 1' [...]
 2' [...] unhappiness.
 3' [...] days(?) [...]
 4' [...] possession/profit(?) of her household [she will see?].
 5' [...] she will have a protective spirit.
 6' [...] her [...] are short: her fundamentals are not fixed.
 7' [...] whether above or below, right or left
 8' [...] is set: her word will be for a god or the king [...]
-
- 9' [...] is set: her husband will leave [her?].
 10' [...] is set: she will have (a) male and female slave; the possession of her opponent in court will be taken(?).

23 Böck 2000, 230–233.

- 11' [...] is set: (ditto).
 12' [...] she will have commercial loss(?).
 13' [...] she will increase.
 14' [...] she will achieve a wish(?).

2.3 *New Fragments of šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât*

K 5651+ (witness 4. A, *šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât*) is remarkable in several ways.²⁴ The first distinctive feature is its size, comprising eight columns (four on the obverse and four on the reverse). Nearly the whole obverse is broken and scattered into small fragments which can be only roughly placed. The reverse is better preserved and contains possibly around a half or two thirds of the reverse's whole content. On the other hand, witness B (*SpTU* 4 149) from Uruk must have differed to some degree in size, since it preserves the content from the reverse of A on both the obverse and the reverse. This suggests that witness C contained less content than the witnesses from Niniveh and perhaps also from Aššur.²⁵ Therefore, it may be reasonable to assume that A, and perhaps C as well, could have contained the content of both tablets in this subseries. The obverse might partly cover the content of the second tablet of this subseries of *Alamdimmû*, namely *šumma tirānû qaqqadiša imitta turrû* as it is mentioned in the *Alamdimmû* catalogue.²⁶ Especially the fragment 3.3.1. (K 8625) points in this direction, since its obverse is concerned with the signs of a woman's hair. If this assumption is correct, the tablet order of the Esagil-kīn-apli text catalogue of the subseries on women²⁷ is reversed with respect to the serial witnesses A and C. A possible reason might have been a secondary orientation of the body part sequences according to the order followed in the sections on men in the main series (*Alamdimmû* Tablets 2–11).²⁸

24 K 5651+K 6190+K 6212+K 6675+K 6808+K 8627+K 10511+K 12275+Rm 238+Sm 307(+K 8625, formerly listed as 6190+; cf. Böck 2000, 152, witness A.

25 Due to the fragmentary state of the two witnesses from Aššur, 4. C (*KAR* 206+466) and 4. D (*KAR* 472), it is uncertain whether they could have contained either both tablets of the women's section or just one like the Uruk witness. At least, D seems to point to the first possibility, since it covers fragmentary evidence for three columns of the tablet's reverse in a more or less equal distribution as witness 4. A.

26 See Finkel 1988, 152: 84.

27 The order established by the aforementioned catalogue (see Finkel 1988) runs as follows: 1. the head of a woman (until lower body parts), and 2. hairdress of a woman. This contradicts the order of the men's section (1.) on hair and (2.) the features of the head and lower body parts in the main series (*Alamdimmû* Tablets 2–11).

28 Since fragments from the obverse of A already show some features of the head (see 3.3.2–4), the sections on hair might not have covered the whole obverse.

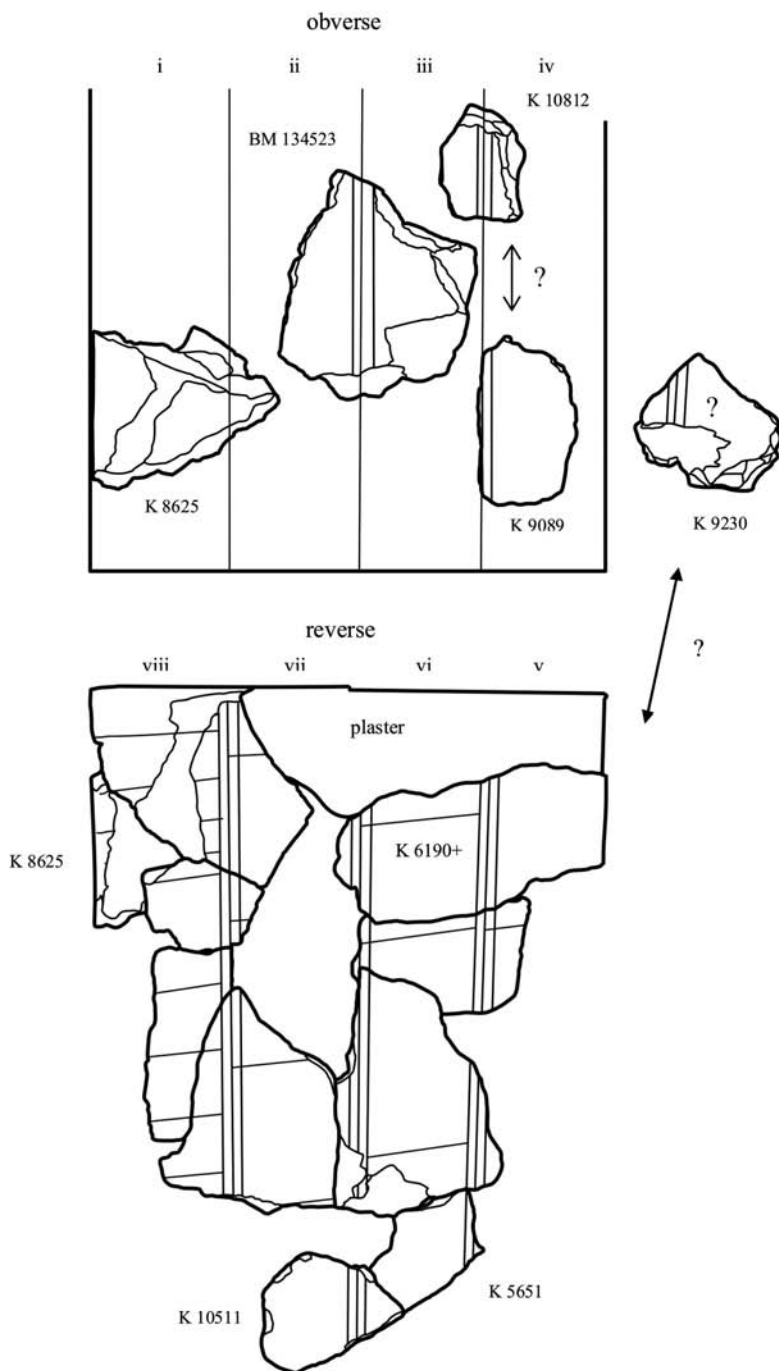


CHART 22.1 *Preliminary reconstruction of šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât*

K 8625 can be placed almost certainly in obv. col. i of 4. A, while K 108112 and K 9089 belong probably somewhere in col. iv. The fragment BM 134523 (*šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât* 1. A) should be positioned in col. ii–iii. It is still unclear whether K 9230 (2. A) belongs to the obverse or the reverse.²⁹

1 K 8625 (*šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât* i(?), viii 8–17)

The introductory marker MUNUS after the ruling in col. i(?) 5' and col. viii(?) 2' points to the assignment of this fragment to *šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât*. The SÍK-sà (*šārassa* “her hair”) in the presumed col. i shows that it is a part of the poorly preserved first half of this tablet, dealing with women hair. The fragment (of K 5651+) can be placed in col. viii 8 ff. (cf. the corresponding rulings after viii 8 and 12). Its obverse would therefore represent a passage shortly before the end of col. i, with approximately 7 lines missing.

Transliteration

i(?)

- 1' DIŠ 'x' [...]
- 2' DIŠ *raq-qat* 'x (x)' [...]
- 3' DIŠ *šáh-ḫi-^rra-at?*' [...]
- 4' DIŠ *si-pa-at* [...]
- 5' DIŠ MUNUS SÍK-sà SA₅-^rma?' [...]
- 6' DIŠ *ma-²-da-at ina* 'x' [...]
- 7' DIŠ *ap-par-^rri!?*(TUK)' [...]
- 8' DIŠ *ku-un-^rnu¹-[na-at?* ...]
- 9' DIŠ *ku-^rus?-sa?*'-[at? ...]
- 10' DIŠ 'zi/gi?' [...]
- 11' 'x' [...]

(?)

12' 'DIŠ x (x)' [...]

13' 'DIŠ x' [...]

viii(?)

1' 'DIŠ?' [...]

2' 'DIŠ MUNUS' [...]

3' DIŠ [...]

29 Cf. the similar relief of the break of the upper left corner of K 9230 and the lower right corner of K 5651.

- 4' DIŠ 'ki?' [...]
 5' DIŠ 'x' [...]

-
- 6' 'DIŠ x' [...]
 7' DIŠ [...]
 8' DIŠ 'x' [...]

-
- 9' DIŠ 'x' [...]
 10' 'x x' [...]
 11' DIŠ [...]
 12' DIŠ [...]
 13' 'x' [...]

Translation

i(?)

- 1' If [...]
 2' If it is fine [...]
 3' If it is porous [...]
 4' If it is yellowish/thin [...]
 5' If a woman, her hair is red/full and [...]
 6' If it is voluminous (lit. much) [...]
 7' If it is ragged [...]
 8' If it is very curled(?) [...]
 9' If it is bou[nd? ...]
 10' If [...]
 11' [...]

-
- 12' If [...]
 13' If [...]

viii(?)

- 1' If [...]

-
- 2' If a woman [...]
 3'–12' If [...]

2 K 10812 (*šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât obv.*)

Since the participles used in col. i' are feminine and col. i' 2' has a feminine pronominal suffix, this fragment belongs most likely to witness 4. A (K 5651+) obverse of *šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât*. If this interpretation is correct, the

section on cheeks should precede that on ears and chin given in the beginning of the reverse in col. v. It might be therefore possible to situate the fragment somewhere between column iii and iv, maybe just before the fragment 3.3 No. 3, concerning the cheekbones.

Transliteration

- i'
 1' [...] 'x x'
 2' [...] 'x' GAR-*nu-ši*
 3' [...] 'NU' TUK-*ši*
 4' [...] 'ra?' a la IGI
 5' [...] 'na'-a-a-*kāt*
 6' [...] 'DINGIR?' DAB-*bat*
 7' [... *mu-uš*]-'tam'-ri-*ša-at*
 8' [...] 'qa?'-a-a-*lat*
 9' [...]-'šá?' 'dan?'-*nu*
 10' [... *mu*]-'še'-zi-*qāt*
 11' [...] 'x x'
 ii'
 1' DIŠ 'Z[AG? ...]
 2' DIŠ GÙ[B ...]
 3' 'x' [...]
 4' DIŠ *ina*? 'x' [...]
 5' 'x' [...]
 6' DIŠ *ina* bi [...]
 7' KIMIN [...]
 8' DIŠ *bi-ni*-[*it*? ...]
 9' DIŠ *bi-ni*-'*it*?' [*lēti*(TE)? ...]
 10' [x (x)] 'x' [...]

Translation

- i'
 1' [...]
 2' [...] are set for her.
 3' [...] she will not have [...]
 4' [...] she will see/experience [...]
 5' [...] she is engaged in illicit intercourse.
 6' [...] the hand/anger?] of a god will grasp her.

- 7' [...] she is sickly.
 8' [...] she is attentive/silent(?).
 9' [...] (?)
 10' [...] she is grieved.
 11' [...]
 ii'
 1' If [...]
 2' If in [...]
 3' [...]
 4' If in [...]
 5' [...]
 6' If in [...]
 7' ditto [...]
 8' If (she has?) a pronounced [cheek? ...]
 9' If (she has?) a pronounced [cheek? ...]
 10' [...]

Commentary

i' 3': The sign *šī* (SI) for *ši* is unusual but confirmed several times for *rašū* especially in earlier periods, cf. *CAD* R s.v. *rašū* 195–204. A similar orthography occurs in K 6273: 5' (¹⁴UŠBAR₆-šá TUK-šī) and 7', which also might be connected to women omens. The fragment K 10511 (cf. 3.3.): 8' reads likewise (NU DU₁₀ ŠĀ) TUK-šī, see Böck 2000, 171.

i' 8': The stative *qayyalat* of the adjective *qayyalu*, “attentive, silent”, is not attested in the women's section in Böck 2000.

ii' 8'–9': The term *binīt lēti* is attested as a facial feature of women in the *Alamdimmû* excerpt K 105+: obv. 9 (*TBP* 25, see Böck 2000, 288 ff.) after an entry regarding the lips. Cf. also K 130:1 (*TBP* 23, see Böck 2000, 280 ff.) for men, which is otherwise situated before the entry of the lips. Böck interprets the term as “Wuchs auf seiner Wange”.

3 K 9089 (*šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât*)

The frequent use of the feminine pronoun -šá as well as the layout suggest that this fragment is a further witness of A (K 6808+) obverse. The fragment refers to the lips and the cheekbones. Assuming that the women's tablet roughly follows the same sequence of anatomical features of the main series concerning the anatomy of men (i.e. the main series sequence: “cheek” *lētu*, Tablet 6: 49'–57'; “cheek-bones(?)” *usukkā*, Tablet 7 (2. A); “chin” *suqtu*, Tablet 7 (2. A) 11 ff.; “face” *pānū*, Tablet 8), the text given in this passage might belong to the lower part of column iv of witness A.

Transliteration

- 1' 'É KU₄' [...]
 2' 'DIŠ' TUR.MEŠ 'É KU₄' [...]
 3' 'DIŠ' *im-ti-i* GE₆.MEŠ 'DIRI?' [...]
 4' *al-ma-nu-ta₅* [DU-*ak* ...]
 5' 'DIŠ' SA₅.MEŠ MIN *ina la* [*u₄-mi-šá* GAM?]
 6' 'DIŠ' BABBAR.MEŠ MIN {x (x)} 'x' [...]
 7' 'DIŠ' šá₁₅! *nàr-bu šá ana* IM.RI.'A' [...]
 8' *ma-la-a* (É) *aš-'bat?* [...]
 9' 'DIŠ' šá₁₅ MIN *ana* IM.RI.A šá *a-ḫi-ti?* 'KI'.[MIN?]
 10' 'DIŠ' šá₁₅ *nàr-bu* SA₅.MEŠ DIRI.MEŠ *ana* ŠEŠ-šá 'KI'.[MIN?]
 11' 'DIŠ' šá₁₅ MIN *ana* DUMU-šá 'KI'.[MIN?]
 12' 'DIŠ' šá₁₅ *nàr-bu* GE₆.MEŠ DIRI.MEŠ AD-šá 'KI'.[MIN?]
 13' 'DIŠ' šá₁₅ MIN AMA-'šá' [...]
 14' 'DIŠ' *u šap-ta-šá tur-ru-pa al-ma-nu-ta₅* 'DU'-[*ak*]
 15' 'DIŠ' *u šap-ta-šá la tur-ru-up* [...]
 16' 'DIŠ' *u šap-ta-šá* GE₆ *tuk-ku-pa* ŠU.BI.'AŠ'.[ÀM]
 17' 'DIŠ' *ú-suk-ka-šá tur-ru-pa* [...]

-
- 18' [x (x)] 'x x x x' [...]

Translation

- 1' The house she enters [...]
 2' If (they) are small: the house she enters [...]
 3' If (body part x) is full of black *imtu*-moles/features(?) [...]
 4' she (will become) a widow [...]
 5' If (body part x) is ditto red (moles): [she will die] before [her time?].
 6' If (body part x) is ditto white (moles) [...]
 7' If on the right they are soft: in/for her family [...]
 8' are full (of) [...]: (the house) (in which) she lives [...]
 9' If on the left ditto: in/for the family of the "groom" dit[to?].
 10' If on the right they are soft (and) full of red: for her brother [ditto].
 11' If on the left ditto: for her son [ditto].
 12' If on the right they are soft (and) full of black: her father [ditto].
 13' If on the left ditto: her mother [...]
 14' If (the body part x) and her lips are "coloured": she will become a widow.
 15' If (the body part x) and her lips are not "coloured" (sg.!) [...]
 16' If (the body part x) and her lips are speckled with black: ditto.
 17' If her cheekbones are "coloured" [...]

Commentary

3': The term *imṭû* is more often used in apodoses of physiognomic and terrestrial omens and refers usually to economic loss (from *maṭû*), but it appears here as a part of the protasis. In addition, *imṭû* describes a kind of chisel (see *AHw* 380 2), which may be another hint to the possible facial feature described here. One might also think of *imdu*, "stanchion, support", which could likewise refer to a part of the mouth or the cheek area. Another rather unlikely reading would be *im-ti₄*, which would refer to the "foam" of the mouth, i.e. a person's spittle, cf. *CAD* I–J 140 3. Witness B from Uruk (cf. Böck 2000, 154) reads in i 29–31 [...] x-i DIRI (...) / [...] 'di/ṭi?'-i GE₆.MEŠ DIRI (...) / [...] 'x MIN' SA₅.MEŠ DIRI, before a section on colourings on the face(?), cf. ll. 14'–16'.

14'–16': The U after DIŠ is odd. A construct state is not to be expected because of the reading *šap-ta-šá* which refers to the nominative dual of *šaptu*, "lip". The most reasonable solution would be that the first body part is not explicitly mentioned as is the case in the preceding lines as well, i.e. "if (body part x) and her lips (verb)". According to the information given in ll. 2'–13', the body part suggested here is plural and can be divided into a right and left side. Since it precedes the cheekbones (*usukkā*), one might think of a body region around the mouth or the cheek area.

15': The reading *tur-ru-up* may be a mistake for the expected form *tur-ru-pa*.

4 K 5651 (*šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât vi: 122–128, v*)³⁰
According to the duplicate text witness B (W.23286 = *SpTU* 4 149), no line is missing between K 5651 and witness A (formerly K 6190+). The fragment K 5651 joins the previously unplaced fragment K 10511, now to be situated at the end of col. vii.³¹

Transliteration

v

- 1' 'x' [...]
- 2' 10 'DIŠ' [...]
- 3' 'DIŠ' [...]
- 4' 'DIŠ' [...]
- 5' 'DIŠ' [...]

30 Böck 2000, 158–159.

31 Ibid., 170–171.

- 6' DIŠ [...]
 7' DIŠ [...]
 vi
 1' [...] 'x x x'
 2' [...] 'x (x)' ŠĀ ḪUL IGI
 3' [...] 'šá' LÚGUD.MEŠ-ma ŠU.SI.MEŠ? GÌR^{II}-šá GÍD!.MEŠ
 4' [... KU₄-ub ...] 'x' ÚKU
 5' [DIŠ ŠU.SI.MEŠ] 'ŠU^{II}-šá u GÌR^{II}-šá mit-ḫa-ra
 6' [i-šá]-'rù' DINGIR TUK-ši
 7' [DIŠ ŠU.SI]. 'MEŠ' ŠU^{II}-šá šu?-um-mu-ṭa kaš-šá-pat
 8' [KI.MIN ina-(an)]-'ziq' sa!?'-ab'-ba-sa-ta₅ DÛ-'uš?'
 9' [DIŠ ŠU.SI.MEŠ] 'ŠU^{II}-šá u GÌR^{II}-šá ku-lu?-'mu' [x x (x)]
 10' [šá-al]-'ṭá?'-tú ad 'x' [...]
 11' [DIŠ ŠU.SI.MEŠ ŠU^{II}-šá] 'x' [...]

Commentary

vi

8': The parallel B: ii 19' (l. 126) reads *sa-ab-sa-'at'*, "she is angry." Cf. also l. 10' which differs from the Late Babylonian parallel *SpTU* 4 149 too.

9': The reading *ku-lu-mu* for *kullumu*, "to show, reveal", is uncertain.

10': Or read [šá-al]-'ṭá?'-⟨(ud)⟩-at 'x' [...]. The parallel from Uruk reads *ša-al-la-ṭa-at*.

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Spiegel des Himmels: Synchronisation von Himmel und Erde in der babylonischen Leberschau, Iatromathematik und dem 20-Felder-Spiel

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Aus den Keilschrifttexten des 1. Jt. sind einige Beispiele von Modellen bekannt, in denen die babylonischen Gelehrten den Himmel bzw. Ereignisse und Zeichen am Himmel, mit solchen auf der Erde in Verbindung setzten.

Der bekannteste Text dieser Art ist sicher das sog. „Diviners Manual“.¹ In diesem wird explizit festgestellt, dass Himmel und Erde miteinander verbunden sind, und die ominösen Zeichen von Himmel und Erde ebenso zusammengehörig sind. Hierbei stand gewiss die Vorstellung im Hintergrund, dass es sich bei den Gestirnen um Abbilder der Götter handelt, wie sie z. B. im Schöpfungsmythos *Enūma eliš* zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde.² Dieses Konzept war dann sicherlich ein wichtiger, wenn nicht sogar der entscheidende Aspekt, beim Aufstieg der Astrologie zur bedeutendsten babylonischen Wissensform im mittleren und späten 1. Jahrtausend.³ Ein weiteres Element, welches schließlich eine geordnete Verbindung und Synchronisation verschiedener Bereiche von Himmel und Erde ermöglichte, war die Einführung des Zodiaks.⁴ Die Verknüpfung verschiedener Wissensgebiete mit der Astrologie bzw. dem Zodiak, auf der Basis gelehrter Spekulationen, führte nicht nur zur Entwicklung bspw. der astrologischen Medizin oder der zodiakalen Melothese,⁵ sondern auch

1 Zu diesem Handbuch s. Oppenheim 1974, 197–220; für ein neues Tafelfragment s. Jiménez 2014, 109–111 (s. dort p. 109, Anm. 20 für weiterführende Literatur zum „Diviner's Manual“ allgemein).

2 Ee 5: 1–2. Edition: Lambert 2013, 45–134; speziell zur babylonischen Kosmologie *ibid.*, 169–201. Für die Sterne als Abbilder der Götter s. Rochberg 2009, 41–91.

3 Zum Aufstieg der Astrologie s. einführend Maul 2013, 237–295.

4 Zum Entstehen des Zodiaks s. van der Waerden 1952–1953, 124–126; Brack-Bernsen und Hunger 1999, 280–292.

5 Zur Frage der Melothese in Babylonien s. Geller 2014, 77–93; für den so genannten Homo signorum oder Tierkreiszeichenmann ist inzwischen auch der babylonische Vorläufer gefunden worden (s. Wee 2015 zum „Zodiac Man“). Zu diesem weiter unten mehr.

zu einer astrologischen Ausdeutung der alten mesopotamischen Leberschau, deren Wurzeln bis in das 3. Jt. v. Chr. zurückreichen.⁶

Leberschau und Astrologie

Frühere Belege für die Verknüpfung der Hepatoskopie mit astrologischen Interpretationen liegen bereits aus neuassyrischer Zeit vor. Die 16. Tafel der Serie *Multābiltu* (Koch 2005), welche das letzte Kapitel der *Bārûtu*-Serie bildet, trägt als Titel „Wenn die Leber ein Spiegel des Himmels ist“ (*šumma amūtu maṭṭalāt šamē*).⁷ Außer diesem Incipit, welches nur durch einen Katalogeintrag und die Erwähnung in einer Assurbanipal-Inschrift überliefert ist,⁸ konnte bisher kein Text dieser Tafel zugeordnet werden.

Der bisher einzigartig gebliebene Hauptbeleg für die Verbindung der beiden Gebiete ist jedoch eine kleine Tafel aus dem hellenistischen Uruk (*SpTU* 4 159).⁹ Der Text wurde, wie aus dem Kolophon hervorgeht, von dem bekannten Beschwörer Iqīšâ aus der Ekur-zakir-Familie verfasst, welcher im späten 4. Jh. v. Chr. tätig war. Er stellt eine Beziehung zwischen Teilen der Schafsleber, einigen Gottheiten, den Monaten des schematischen Kalenders sowie ihren korrespondierenden Tierkreiszeichen her (wobei die neunte Leberregion, welche mit dem Monat Kislimu bzw. Sagittarius verbunden war, offenbar vergessen wurde).

Es ergeben sich folgende Gleichungen:

- 1) NA „der Standort“: Enlil – Nisannu – [Aries],
- 2) GÍR „der Pfad“: Šamaš – Ajjaru – Taurus,
- 3) KA DU₁₀.GA „der Gute Mund“: Nusku – Simānu – Orion,¹⁰
- 4) KAL „die Stärke“: Uraš – Du’ūzu – Cancer,
- 5) ME.NI „das Palasttor“: Belet ekalli – Abu – König des Palastes (Teil von Leo),

6 Zur Geschichte der Leberschau in Mesopotamien s. U. Koch 2015, 67–76.

7 U. Koch 2005, 27–32.

8 Ibid., 89; 29, Anm. 68. Interessanterweise wird in dieser Inschrift erwähnt, dass Assurbanipal diese Tafel mit den Gelehrten der Lekanomantie besprochen hat, d. h. den Experten für Ölomena.

9 S. zu diesem Text von Weiher 1993, 99–100; Reiner 1995, 78–79; U. Koch(-Westenholz) 2000, 24–25; U. Koch 2005, 29–31.

10 Orion (^{mu}SIPA.ZI.AN.NA) wird im babylonischen Zodiak oft als drittes Zeichen verwendet, teils auch zusammen mit Gemini.

- 6) SILIM „das Heil“: Adad – Ulūlu – Rabe,¹¹
- 7) ZÉ „die Gallenblase“: Anu – Tašrītu – Libra,
- 8) ŠU.SI „der Finger“: [...] – Araḥsamna – [Scorpius],
- ⟨9) ...[?]:¹² ...[?]:¹³ – Kislīmu – Sagittarius),
- 10) MÁŠ „der Zuwachs“: [...] – Ṭebētu – Bēlet balāṭi,¹⁴
- 11) DUN₄ „das Joch“: [...] – Šabātu – Aquarius,
- 12) ÍD BÀ „der Leberfluss“: [...] – Addaru – Pisces[?].¹⁵

Zusätzlich werden in einigen Fällen u. a. weitere Sternbilder, Planeten – die in dem zuvor erwähnten Tierkreiszeichen ihr *bīt niširti*¹⁶ erreichen – oder Erläuterungen zu der Region der Leber genannt.

Die Leberregionen in *SpTU* 4 159 entsprechen weitestgehend den zwölf wichtigsten Stationen der Leberschau.¹⁷ Diese Anzahl, identisch mit jener der Monate und Tierkreiszeichen, ermöglichte eine Synchronisation der beiden Divinationsformen Leberschau und Astrologie. Ein Vorläufer von Vorstellungen wie sie in *SpTU* 4 159 zum Ausdruck kommen, findet sich auch schon in einem *mukallimtu*-Kommentar aus der Bibliothek des Assurbanipal. In diesem heißt es:

ma-a KL.GUB *u* SILIM ZAG IGI.MEŠ SIG₅ *ma-a am-mi-ni* / *ma-a*
mulŠU.PA *ina* MÚ-šú IGI mulŠU.PA KUR-[*aḥ*]

-
- 11 Dieses Gestirn geht nach Mulapin 1: ii 45 am 10. Ulūlu heliakisch auf (vgl. Hunger und Pingree 1989, 42).
 - 12 Denkbar wären hier der *miḥiṣ pān* (*ummān*) *nakri* „Schlag gegen die Vorhut des feindlichen (Heeres)“ oder der *nīdi kussē* „Standort des Thrones“.
 - 13 Als Gottheiten kämen hier Pabilsag, der eponyme Gott des babylonischen Tierkreiszeichens mulPabilsag (= Sagittarius) oder Ninurta, welcher teils mit Pabilsag gleichgesetzt wurde, in Frage.
 - 14 mulGAŠ.AN.TIN = Bēlet balāṭi war ein Teil des babylonischen Gestirns Ziege (mulÜZ). Vgl. Gössmann 1950, 80: Nr. 68; Hunger und Pingree 1999, 275. Dieses Sternbild konnte auch als Bezeichnung für den „Kopf“ des zu erwartenden babylonischen Tierkreiszeichens mulSUḤUR.MÁŠ „Ziegenfisch“ = Capricornus dienen (Gössmann 1950, 60: Nr. 145 B).
 - 15 Die Lesung MUL[!].MEŠ „Sterne“ (von Weiher 1993, 99) erscheint hier unpassend. Vielleicht ist KUN[!].MEŠ („Schwänze“ = Pisces) zu lesen.
 - 16 Zu diesem astrologischen Konzept folgen unten weitere Ausführungen.
 - 17 1) der „Blick“/der „Standort“, 2) der „Pfad“, 3) der „Gute Mund“, 4) die „Stärke“, 5) das „Palasttor“, 6) das „Heil“, 7) die Bittere (= Gallenblase), 8) Pfad rechts der Gallenblase/Schlag gegen die Vorhut des feindlichen Heeres, 9) der „Standort des Thrones“, 10) der „Finger“, 11) das „Joch“, 12) der „Zuwachs“. Vgl. Maul 2013, 71–73. Eine Auflistung dieser Leberstationen findet sich z. B. in *CT* 20 44: i 52–54 (K 3945+). Vgl. U. Koch 2005, 114.

Warum ist es günstig, wenn (die Leberregionen) „Standort“ und „Heil“ nach rechts weisen? Weil das ŠU-PA-Gestirn bei seinem (heliakischen) Aufgang sichtbar wird. Das ŠU-PA-Gestirn geht auf.¹⁸

Der Zusammenhang dieses Kommentars mit der zodiakalen Leberschau aus Uruk besteht darin, dass das ŠU-PA-Gestirn, neben dem „Raben“ (^{mul}UGA), im sog. Astrolab B (auch „Zwölfmaldrei“ bzw. „Three stars each“) im Monat Ulūlu heliakisch aufgeht,¹⁹ also in genau dem Monat, den der Uruk-Text sowohl mit dem „Heil“ (SILIM) als auch mit dem „Raben“ verbindet.

Die babylonische Melothese

Ein weiterer Bereich der mit dem Himmel, in Form des Zodiaks, synchronisiert wurde, war der menschliche Körper. Dieses in der klassischen Antike als Melothese bekannte Konzept, welches in der astrologischen Medizin zur Anwendung kam, verbindet die Abschnitte des Tierkreises von Kopf bis Fuß mit bestimmten Regionen des Körpers, und ermöglicht so eine Ermittlung der astralen Krankheitsursachen sowie auch der anzuwendenden Therapie (Bouché-Leclercq 1899, 319–325; Gundel und Böker 1972, 579–582). Neben der zodiakalen Melothese existierte auch eine planetare Melothese, welche sich auf die inneren Organe bezog.²⁰ Wie von J.Z. Wee entdeckt wurde (Wee 2015),²¹ taucht eine Form der Melothese schon in dem Keilschrifttext BM 56605 auf.²²

18 U. Koch-(Westenholz) 2000, 137. ^{mul}ŠU-PA ist möglicherweise mit Bootes gleichzusetzen (s. Hunger und Pingree 1999, 276).

19 Vgl. Horowitz 2014, 40–41: iv 11. Ähnlich auch Mulapin, wo der 15. Ulūlu als der Tag des Aufgangs von ^{mul}ŠU-PA genannt wird (vgl. Hunger und Pingree 1989, 42: ii 46).

20 Neben der zodiakalen Variante existierte auch eine planetare Melothese. Für einen möglichen babylonischen Vorläufer dieser mit Planeten kombinierten Form s. Civil 1974, 336: 7, 20; Reiner 1993, 21–22; Reiner 1995, 59–60; Frazer 2016, CCP 4.2.B: 6, 20. Es handelt sich um einen medizinischen Kommentar in dem Jupiter mit der Milz und Mars mit der Niere verknüpft wird.

21 Die Verwendung der Bezeichnung „Zodiac Man“ durch Wee ist angreifbar, da es sich bei der Abfolge von Körperteilen nicht im eigentlichen Sinne um eine Darstellung des Homo signorum handelt, wie er z.B. aus mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Buchillustrationen bekannt ist. BM 56605 ist lediglich eine tabellarische Erläuterung des Konzepts der zodiakalen Melothese.

22 Editionen: Heeßel 2000, 112–130, 468–469 (Kopie), Tf. 1–2 (Foto); Geller 2014, 85–87 (nur Vs. ii 46–74).

Die spätbabylonische, zodiakale Melothesie in BM 56605: Rs. iv 1–2 bietet folgende Verbindungen:²³

- 1) Aries – SAG „Kopf“,
- 2) Taurus – ZI²⁴ „Kehle“ und GÚ „Nacken“,
- 3) Gemini – Á „Arm“ und MAŠ.SÌL „Schulter“,
- 4) Cancer – GABA/TI.MEŠ²⁵ „Brust“/„Brustkorb“,
- 5) Leo – *libbu* „Bauch“,²⁶
- 6) Virgo – GÚ[!].(MURGU)²⁷ „Rückgrat“ und MURUB₄ „Hüfte“,
- 7) Libra – GU.(DU)²⁸ „Gesäß“,
- 8) Scorpius – PEŠ₄ „weibliche Genitalien“,
- 9) Sagittarius – TUGUL „Oberschenkel“
- 10) Capricornus – *kimšu* „Knie“,
- 11) Aquarius – ÚR „Bein“,
- 12) Pisces – GÌR¹¹ „Füße“.

23 Meine Rekonstruktion weicht in einigen Punkten von der bei Wee 2015, 227 ab. S. dazu die folgenden Anmerkungen.

24 Bei Wee 2015, 227 findet sich nur 'x' als Lesung; *ibid.*, 229 wird 'ZI(?)' jedoch als eine Möglichkeit angegeben. Das von Wee nicht behandelte Duplikat U.183(+)184 bietet eindeutig ZI an dieser Stelle. Für diesen bisher unpublizierten Text s. meine Dissertation „Die astrologische Medizin der spätbabylonischen Zeit“ (Publikation in Vorbereitung).

25 Die spärlichen Zeichenreste könnten wie bei Wee 2015, 230 als GABA = *irtu* „Brust“ interpretiert werden, oder auch als TI.MEŠ = *šelānu* „Brustkorb“.

26 *libbu* kann freilich auch als „Herz“ oder „Inneres“ übersetzt werden. Da jedoch in der astrologischen Medizin eine Therapie in Form einer Einreibung mit einer bestimmten Sorte von Tierblut folgte, darf man eine äußere Körperregion annehmen.

27 Wee 2015, 230 interpretiert die beiden Zeichen GU₄ und MURUB₄ als zusammengehörig und deutet diese als Logogramm für die „Hüften“. Diese sonst nicht weiter belegte Schreibung findet sich auch auf der Vorderseite der Tafel (BM 56605: Vs. ii 63). Das Teilduplikat BM 35072+47755: Vs. ii 19 bietet jedoch an gleicher Stelle GÚ[!].MURGU[!]-šú „sein Rückgrat“. Da BM 56605 eine Anzahl von eigentümlichen Kurzschreibungen enthält und teils unorthographisch verfasst ist (vgl. Heeßel 2000, 125), ist die ältere Schreibung aus BM 35072+47755 vorzuziehen. GÚ und GU₄ ähneln sich darüber hinaus in der späten Schrift, was zu Verwechslungen führen konnte.

28 Wee (2015, 230–231) liest hier ḪAR (= *kabattu* „Innereien“) contra Heeßel (2000, 128), welcher GU transliteriert. Der letzte stehende Keil der bei Wee 2015, 228, Fig. 5 rekonstruiert wird, ist aber wohl nur ein Kratzer auf der Tafel. Es dürfte sich daher um eine Kurzschreibung für GU.DU = *qinnatu* „Gesäß“ handeln, was auch an dieser Stelle in der Melothesie zu erwarten ist (Innereien kämen zudem für die folgende Einreibung nicht in Frage).

Wee vermutet, da es sich vermutlich um einen sehr späten Text handelt (spätsелеukidisch oder parthisch, d.h. 2. oder 1. Jh.),²⁹ dass dieser unter Umständen ein Produkt hellenistischer Einflüsse ist und das Konzept der Melothese kein ursprünglich babylonisches.³⁰ Diese Feststellung erscheint jedoch recht unwahrscheinlich, da eine ziemlich ähnliche Abfolge von zwölf Körperteilen in Verbindung mit den Kalendermonaten (sog. kalendarische Melothese), diesem späteren Konzept in der babylonischen Medizin voranging.³¹ Die mit den Tierkreiszeichen verknüpfte Abfolge von Körperteilen in BM 56605, ist auf der Tafel Bestandteil einer Tabelle, welche die Abschnitte des Mikrozodiaks mit Tiernamen kombiniert. Die andere Seite der Tafel enthält einen der 29. Tafel des diagnostisch-prognostisch Handbuches SA.GIG ähnlichen Text, welcher ergänzt wurde durch einen Textabschnitt (Vs. ii 48–74), in dem einzelne Körperteile von verschiedenen Gestirnen berührt werden.³² Die dort gebotene Abfolge von Körperteilen weicht von denen innerhalb der Tabelle auf der Rückseite ein wenig ab.

Sowohl in der astrologischen Hepatoskopie als auch in der Melothese wurden also Zeichen des Himmels (Zodiak, Gestirne etc.) mit irdischen Zeichen (Regionen der Leber und menschliche Anatomie) synchronisiert, und somit die genaue Verbindung zwischen den himmlischen und irdischen Zeichen sichtbar gemacht. Im weitesten Sinne können diese beiden Beispiele daher als eine Umsetzung der im „Diviner’s Manual“ dargelegten Lehre von der Verbundenheit von Himmel und Erde aufgefasst werden.

Zudem konnten sowohl die mit den zodiakalen Zeichen verknüpften Lebermerkmale als auch die Körperteile in der Melothese mit UZU (*šīru*) bzw. UZU.MEŠ bezeichnet werden;³³ ein Terminus den man mit „Fleisch“,

29 Die sehr späte Datierung findet sich schon bei Heeßel 2000, 112–113.

30 Wee 2015, 233.

31 Es handelt sich um die von I.L. Finkel (2000, 212–217) als Text 55 und 56 publizierten Tafelfragmente aus einem Neubabylonischen Archiv in Sippar, welche um ca. 500 v. Chr. verfasst wurden.

S. dazu auch meine in Vorbereitung befindlichen Publikation „Late Babylonian astrological physiognomy and *melothesia*“.

32 Von einigen Varianten abgesehen, wird ein Großteil dieses Abschnitts durch BM 35072 + 47755: Vs. ii 5–23 (// BM 56605: Vs. ii 48–65) dupliziert. Vgl. Heeßel 2000, 124–125; Geller 2014, 85–86.

33 UZU ist neben GIŠ.ĤUR = *uṣurtu* „Zeichnung(en der Götter)“ eine Bezeichnung für die Leberregionen (U. Koch 2015, 79) Der Terminus UZU.MEŠ erscheint einige Male in dem astrologischen Text TU 14 (Vs. 11’–13’, 20’). In Z. 11’ ist die Rede von: 12 UZU.MEŠ ḪA.LA šá mál lúḪUN.GÁ, „Zwölf Körperteile des Anteils von Aries“. Der Begriff UZU.MEŠ wurde von A. Sachs (1952, 66, 68) in seiner Bearbeitung von TU 14 unübersetzt gelassen.

„Körperteil“ oder auch „Eingeweide-Omen“ übersetzen kann. Über den Zodiak war es somit auch möglich verschiedene Formen der Divination zu synchronisieren.

SAG, MURUB₄ und GÌR wurden darüber hinaus als Termini in astronomischen Texten verwendet, in der Bedeutung von Anfang, Mitte und Ende (Britton 2002, 35–36). Dies stellt eine weitere Parallele zur Melothese dar, wo ja SAG am Anfang steht, MURUB₄ in der Mitte und GÌR am Ende (s. o.).

Die astrologischen Spielregeln des 20-Felder-Spiels

Für das bekannteste Brettspiel im antiken Mesopotamien, das „20-Felder-Spiel“,³⁴ liegen nicht nur eine Anzahl an ausgegrabenen Spielbrettern vor,³⁵ sondern auch zwei Keilschrifttafeln, welche die Regeln des Spiels erläutern. Die maßgebliche Edition dieser Tafeln und Erklärung ihrer Regeln erfolgte durch einen Beitrag I.L. Finkels (2007). Ich werde mich daher auf das Nötige beschränken.³⁶ Hier soll, was die Spielregeltafeln betrifft, vor allem die bisher unbehandelte Verbindung zwischen den iatromathematischen Kalendertexten und dem „20-Felder-Spiel“ betrachtet werden, sowie die Planetensymbolik der Spielsteine und das in einem der Spielregeltexte dargestellte astrologische Konzept eines *bīt niširti* „Haus des Geheimnisses“.

Die Spielregeltexte (BM 33333B und *DLB*³⁷) beziehen sich auf eine Form des Brettspiels bzw. des Spielfeldes, welche im 2. und 1. Jt. existierte, und sich von

34 Auch bekannt unter dem Namen „Königliches Spiel von Ur“; wenngleich die hier behandelte spB Variante dieses Brettspiels, sich von der früheren Spielvariante aus dem 3. Jt., auf welche sich dieser Name bezieht, unterscheidet. Namengebend waren die auf dem Königlichen Friedhof von Ur gefundenen Spielbretter, welche in die Zeit von ca. 2550–2400 v. Chr. datieren. Das Spiel war weit über die Grenzen Südmesopotamiens hinaus verbreitet, weswegen der Name „Kgl. Spiel von Ur“ leicht irreführend ist.

35 Funde von Spielbrettern, neben den bekannten Exemplaren aus Ur, stammen nicht nur aus Babylonien, sondern u. a. auch aus Schahr-e Suchte/Ostiran (mittleres 3. Jt.), Dhola-vira/Indien (ca. 2600 v. Chr.), Mari/Syrien (19.–18. Jh. v. Chr.). Für einen Überblick über das Spiel und die Funde s. Becker 2007, speziell zum ägyptischen 20-Felder-Spiel s. Pusch 2007.

36 Für das Spiel selbst sei, neben dem erwähnten Beitrag Finkels, auch auf die in demselben Artikel angekündigte Publikation aller archäologischen und philologischen Belege zur Entwicklung und Geschichte des „20-Felder-Spiels“ verwiesen (Finkel 2007, 17, Anm. 3).

37 BM 33333B wurde zuerst durch E.F. Weidner publiziert (1956, 175–183), in derselben Ausgabe des Journals erfolgte auch die Publikation von *DLB* durch J. Bottéro (1956, 17–25,

der ursprünglichen des 3. Jt. unterschied.³⁸ In der späteren Version konnte so nicht nur die Gesamtzahl der Spielfelder (20 = Zahl der Sonne), sondern auch der mittlere Lauf mit seinen zwölf Feldern (= zwölf Tierkreiszeichen) astrologisch interpretiert werden. Die spätseleukidische BM-Tafel (176/177 v. Chr.) scheint zudem eine Variante der Spielregeln zu erklären, welche auf Basis astrologischer Spekulationen überarbeitet wurden. Zur *DLB*-Tafel sei nur erwähnt, dass diese keine astrologischen Inhalte bietet, und bei den folgenden Betrachtungen daher außer Acht gelassen wird.

Die Vorderseite von BM 33333B enthält ein Diagramm aus zwölf Rechtecken, welche von diagonalen Linien so durchzogen sind, dass jedes Rechteck in eine zentrale Raute, und jeweils drei Dreiecke ober- und unterhalb, eingeteilt ist. In den zwölf Rauten finden sich die Namen der Tierkreiszeichen, interessanterweise mit dem zwölften beginnend. Es ergibt sich folgende Anordnung:

- XII. [AŠ.IK]U „Feld“
- I. [ḪUN.G]Á „Mietling“
- II. MÚL.MÚL „die Sterne“
- III. MAŠ.MAŠ „Zwillinge“
- IV. múlALLA „Krebs“
- V. UR.A „Löwe“
- VI. ABSIN „Saatfurche“
- VII. múlRÍN „Waage“
- VIII. GÍR.TAB „Skorpion“
- IX. PA.BIL.SAG „Pabilsag“
- X. múlMÁŠ „Ziegenfisch“
- XI. múlGU „der Große“

Die dreieckigen Felder enthalten ebenfalls Schriftzeichen, die im Uhrzeigersinn gelesen, einige begleitende Sprüche ergeben; welche in manchen Fällen

30–35). Das Kürzel *DLB* steht für die Privatsammlung des Grafen Aymar de Liedekerke-Beaufort. Die Tafel selbst wurde im 1. Weltkrieg zerstört, es existieren nur noch Fotografien. Dass sich beide Tafeln auf die Regeln eines Spiels beziehen, wurde zuerst von B. Landsberger festgestellt (1960, 122–123, 127–129). Für die ausführliche Forschungsgeschichte beider Tafeln und weitere Hintergründe s. Finkel 2007, 16.

Informationen und Abbildungen der Spielregeltafel BM 33333B finden sich auch online: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=796973&partId=1 (abgerufen am 14. März 2016).

38 Vgl. Finkel 2007, 17–18, Fig. 3.2 für die beiden unterschiedlichen Spielformen.

auch einen klaren Bezug zum jeweiligen Tierkreiszeichen herstellen (z. B. „Leo: Du wirst stark wie ein Löwe sein.“ BM 33333B: Vs. vi³⁹). Auf der Rückseite der Tafel finden sich dann die eigentlichen Spielregeln.⁴⁰ Zuerst werden die fünf Spielsteine genannt, welche die Namen von Vögeln tragen:⁴¹

Rs. i 1–6

1 U ₄ .GAL ^{mušen} NU KÁR.KÁR	1 <i>ugallu</i> -Vogel: strahlende Figur
2 UGA ^{mušen} NU KÁR.KÁR	2 Rabe: strahlende Figur
3 [DAR.LUGAL ^{mu}] ^{šen} NU KÁR.KÁR	3 [Hahn]: strahlende Figur
4 [TI ₈ ^{muš}] ^{en} NU KÁR.KÁR	4 [Adler]: strahlende Figur
5 [SIM] ^{mušen} ʾMUŠEN ^ʔ NU [Š]E.BI.DA	5 [Schwalbe]: ... ^ʔ Figur
6 5 <i>pa-as-su nap-ru-šu-tu</i>	6 Fünf fliegende Spielsteine

Die ersten vier Vögel werden als NU KÁR.KÁR „strahlende Figur(en)“ bezeichnet, die „Schwalbe“ als NU ŠE.BI.DA. Die genauen akkadischen Lesungen sind unbekannt (Finkel 2007, 20). Der letztere Begriff wird von I.L. Finkel mit „lazy figure“ übersetzt (abgeleitet von ŠE.BI.DA = *egû* „müde, nachlässig“),⁴² das zweite MUŠEN vor dieser Angabe wird dabei durch << >> emendiert.⁴³

Bis auf den ansonsten nicht weiter bekannten *ugallu*-Vogel (von I.L. Finkel als „Storm-bird“ übersetzt), sind die anderen in der Keilschriftliteratur gut belegt. Nach den Spielsteinen werden die Knöchel eines Ochsen und eines Widders erwähnt; so genannte Astragale, welche als Spielwürfel dienen:

Rs. i 7–8

7 ZI.IN.GI GU ₄ ZI.IN.GI UDU.NÍTA	7 Ein Rinderastragal, ein Widderastragal
8 2 <i>a-bi-ik pa-as-su</i>	8 Zwei, welche die Spielsteine bewegen

Die Zeilen Rs. i 9–ii 32 enthalten u. a. die Angaben für die sich aus den Würfeln ergebenden Züge:

39 Finkel 2007, 18.

40 Ibid., 19–20 (Übersetzung), 28–29 (Transliteration).

41 Die in eckige Klammern gesetzten Vögel lassen sich mithilfe des folgenden Textes rekonstruieren.

42 Finkel 2007, 20. Vgl. dazu auch seine weiteren Ausführungen auf S. 29.

43 Ibid., 29.

Bei einer 2 zieht die „Schwalbe“ auf den „Kopf einer Rosette“/zur ersten Rosette,⁴⁴
 bei einer 5 zieht der „*ugallu*-Vogel“ zum „fünften Haus“,⁴⁵
 bei einer 6 zieht der „Rabe“ zum „sechsten Haus“,
 bei einer 7 zieht der „Hahn“ zum „siebten Haus“,
 bei einer 10 zieht der „Adler“ zum „zehnten Haus“.

Nach diesen Angaben folgt nur noch das Kolophon (Rs. ii 33–40).

Interpretiert man die Vogelnamen der Spielsteine astrologisch, könnte man einige mit verschiedenen gleichnamigen Sternbildern der Babylonier in Verbindung setzen (Rabe, Hahn, Adler, Schwalbe). Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre es, die fünf Spielsteine, als die fünf mit bloßem Auge sichtbaren Planeten aufzufassen (Finkel 2007, 23). Die letztere Möglichkeit wird von I.L. Finkel favorisiert, wobei eine genaue Identifikation der „Vögel“ mit einzelnen Planeten ausbleibt, da das Bezugsschema nicht direkt aus dem Text hervorgeht.

Das 20-Felder-Spiel und die Kalendertexte

Die gleiche Gruppe von Vögeln spielte jedoch nicht nur eine Rolle in der oben zusammengefassten Version der Spielregeln des 20-Felder-Spiels, sondern auch, wie bereits kurz erwähnt, in einer Gruppe der so genannten Kalendertexte.

Ein Kalendertext enthält Informationen für die jeweils dreißig Tage eines schematischen Monats, begleitet vom so genannten Kalendertextschema, welches eine Ekliptikposition und ein Datum enthält, welches entweder durch vier Zahlen ausgedrückt wird, oder durch zwei Logogramme für den Monat und das Zeichen, sowie zwei Zahlen für Grad und Tag (Brack-Bernsen und Steele 2004, 98–102).

Zwei Typen von Kalendertexten lassen sich klassifizieren: hemerologische und iatromathematische.

Die hemerologischen Kalendertexte stehen in direktem Bezug zu den Mikrozodiaktafeln, von denen einige bekannt sind für ihre Gestirndarstellungen

44 Diese aus der Reihe fallende Angabe kann verschieden interpretiert werden. Auf dem Spielfeld sind fünf Felder mit Rosetten markiert. Die „Schwalbe“ kann entweder auf die erste oder auf irgendeine der Rosetten gesetzt werden. Vgl. Finkel 2007, 20. Zum möglichen Grund für diese Abweichung s. u.

45 É = *bītu* „Haus“ ist der Begriff für ein Spielfeld.

(Weidner 1967).⁴⁶ Sie enthalten medizinisch-magische, rituelle und kultische Anweisungen, sowie Speisetabus und Verhaltensvorschriften. Inhaltlich weisen sie zahlreiche Übereinstimmungen mit der hemerologischen Literatur auf (Jiménez und Adalı 2015, 186), sind jedoch bisher nicht in Editionen dieser Textgattung behandelt worden (Labat 1939; Livingstone 2013).

Der iatromathematische Kalendertexttyp, der für die weiteren Betrachtungen von Interesse ist, unterscheidet sich – was das Kalendertextschema betrifft – vom hemerologischen Typ dadurch, dass der Monat und das Tierkreiszeichen nicht durch Zahlen ausgedrückt, sondern mit ihren entsprechenden Logogrammen geschrieben sind. Die jedem Tag zugeordnete Information besteht zudem ausschließlich aus der Nennung tierischer Substanzen, welche für eine Salbung zu verwenden sind. Die inhaltliche Anordnung der iatromathematischen Kalendertexte mit Animalia ist stets folgende:

Monat	Tag	Tierkreiszeichen	Grad	Zu verwendende Substanzen, welche mit dem Tierkreiszeichen korrespondieren.
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Um den Aufbau dieser Gruppe der Kalendertexte kurz darzustellen, folgen hier die ersten zehn von dreißig Tagen des Textes für den vierten Monat Du’ūzu (*SpTU* 3 104⁴⁷) in Umschrift und Übersetzung:⁴⁸

ŠU	1	BAR	7	MÚD U[DU.NÍTA Ì].UDU UDUNÍTA u SÍG ^{hi.a} UDUNÍTA ŠÉŠ
MIN	2	SUḪUR	14	MÚD ÛZ Ì.UDU ÛZ u SÍG ÛZ ŠÉŠ
MIN	3	RÍN	21	<i>qí-líp</i> GÍR.TAB ⁴⁹ ŠÉŠ
MIN	4	ŠU	28	MÚD <i>al-lut-tú</i> u Ì.UDU <i>al-lut-tú</i> MIN

46 Für Bearbeitungen von zwei Kalendertexten des hemerologischen Typs s. Weidner 1967, 41–48. Eine Edition der Mikrozodiaktafeln findet sich bei Monroe 2016.

47 Vgl. von Weiher 1988, 198–200.

48 Für die Logogramme der Tierkreiszeichen und ihre Bedeutungen s. die Anmerkungen zu den jeweiligen Übersetzungen.

49 In der Erstpublikation durch von Weiher (s. o.) findet sich hier (und an allen anderen mit Libra oder Scorpius verbundenen Tagen) die Umschrift *KI.KAL-tim*. Diese wenig Sinn ergebende Lesung ist vielfach übernommen und u. a. mit einer Interpretation als „Leerfeld“ verbunden worden (*KI.KAL* = *terīqtu* „freies Feld“). Die Zeichen auf der Kopie von

MIN	5	MÚL.MÚL	5	MÚD GU ₄ <i>lu</i> Ì.GIŠ GU ₄ <i>lu</i> SÍG GU ₄ MIN
MIN	6	GU	12	SAG.DU TI ₈ ^{mušen} PA MIN <i>u</i> MÚD MIN MIN
MIN	7	GÍR	19	<i>qí-líp</i> GÍR.TAB MIN
MIN	8	URA	26	MÚD UR.MAḪ Ì.LUDU UR.MAḪ <i>lu</i> SÍG UR.MAḪ MIN
MIN	9	SIPA	3	SAG.DU DAR ^{mušen} MÚD MIN <i>u</i> PA MIN MIN
MIN	10	AŠ.IKU	10	SAG.DU TU ^{mušen} MÚD MIN SAG.DU SIM ^{mušen} <i>u</i> MÚD MIN MIN
(...)				
Du'ūzu	1	Aries ⁵⁰	7°	Widderblut, Widderfett und Widderhaar. Du salbst.
Ditto	2	Capricornus	14°	Ziegenblut, Ziegenfett und Ziegenhaar. Du salbst.
Ditto	3	Libra	21°	Skorpionexuvie. ⁵¹ Du salbst.
Ditto	4	Cancer ⁵²	28°	Krebsblut und Krebsfett. Ditto.
Ditto	5	Taurus ⁵³	5°	Rinderblut oder Rinderfett oder Rinderhaar. Ditto.
Ditto	6	Aquarius	12°	Adlerkopf, Adlerflügel und Adlerblut. Ditto.
Ditto	7	Scorpius	19°	Skorpionexuvie. Ditto.
Ditto	8	Leo	26°	Löwenblut, Löwenfett oder Löwenhaar. Ditto.
Ditto	9	Gemini ⁵⁴	3°	Frankolinkopf, Frankolinblut und Frankolinflügel. Ditto.

Weihers sind jedoch korrekt, und eindeutig als *qí-líp* GÍR.TAB „Skorpionexuvie“ zu lesen (vgl. von Weiher 1988, 319–320). DIM und die Zeichenfolge GÍR.TAB sind sich in der spB Schrift sehr ähnlich, was hier zu einer Verwechslung führte.

- 50 Namen von Tierkreiszeichen konnten in der spB Astrologie auch mit den Namen der korrespondierenden Monate geschrieben werden (und umgekehrt). Das Logogramm BAR, für den ersten Monat Nisannu, meint daher hier das erste Tierkreiszeichen, also Aries.
- 51 In Verbindung mit dem Tierkreiszeichen Libra wird keine spezifische Substanz, sondern ebenfalls Skorpionexuvie verwendet. Das Sternbild Waage war ursprünglich Teil des Sternbilds Skorpion (Scheren des Skorpions), was der Grund für die zweifache Verwendung des Skorpions gewesen sein dürfte. Vgl. Mulapin 1: ii 12 (Hunger und Pingree 1989, 33), wo die „Scheren des Skorpions“ (wörtl. „Horn des Skorpions“) als Synonym für die Waage genannt wird.
- 52 Wie schon bei Aries in Z. 1, ist auch Cancer mit dem Logogramm ŠU, für den korrespondierenden Monat Du'ūzu geschrieben.
- 53 MÚL.MÚL „die Sterne“ (akk. *zappu* „Haarbüschel“) meint eigentlich die Plejaden, welche jedoch oft als zweites Tierkreiszeichen, gleichwertig mit Taurus, erscheinen. Die zu verwendenden, vom Rind stammenden Substanzen, weisen dann auch wieder auf Taurus. Auf der Vorderseite der Spielregeltafel finden sich in der Raute für das zweite Tierkreiszeichen ebenfalls „die Sterne“ (MÚL.MÚL), die nach Finkel 2007, 27 „either Pleiades or Taurus“ sind.
- 54 SIPA(.ZIAN.NA) „(aufrechter) Hirte (des Himmels)“ ist eigentlich Orion. Ähnlich wie bei

Ditto 10 Pisces⁵⁵ 10° Taubenkopf, Taubenblut, Schwalbenkopf und
Schwalbenblut. Ditto.

(...)

Das Kalendertextschema springt an jedem Tag 277° im Tierkreis (9 Zeichen + 7°). Die einzelnen Zeichen und die mit ihnen korrespondierenden Substanzen befinden sich deshalb nicht in der zodiakalen Reihenfolge. Ordnet man sie dem Tierkreis nach an, ergibt sich folgende Liste von Tieren:

- I. UDU.NÍTA = *immeru* „Widder“
- II. GU₄ = *alpu* „Rind“
- III. DAR^{mušen} = *ittidû/tarru* „Frankolin-Hahn“⁵⁶
- IV. *allutu* „Krebs“
- V. UR.MAḤ = *něšu* „Löwe“
- VI. *āribu* „Rabe“⁵⁷
- VII. GÍR.TAB = *zuqaqīpu* „Skorpion“
- VIII. GÍR.TAB = *zuqaqīpu* „Skorpion“
- IX. *Anzû* „Anzû-Vogel“
- X. ÛZ = *enzu* „Ziege“
- XI. TI₈^{mušen} = *erû* „Adler“
- XII. TU^{mušen} = *summatu* „Tauben“ und SIM^{mušen} = *sinuntu* „Schwalbe“

Die Tiere symbolisieren die Abschnitte des Zodiaks, oder stehen für ein benachbartes Sternbild, wenn der Name des betreffenden Tierkreiszeichens nicht

den Plejaden und Taurus, ist Orion, zusammen mit Gemini, das mögliche dritte Tierkreiszeichen.

55 AŠ.IKU (akk. *ikû*) „das Feld“ ist oft das zwölfte Tierkreiszeichen des babylonischen Zodiaks, anstelle des zu erwartenden Pisces (KUN.MEŠ = akk. *zibbātu* „die Schwänze“). Auf den Mikrozodiaktafeln wird AŠ.IKU durchgängig als zwölftes Zeichen verwendet (z.B. Weidner 1967, Tf. 5–6: 5, Kol. viii).

56 Schon E. Reiner (1995, 116, Anm. 526) wies darauf hin, dass der DAR^{mušen} der Kalendertexte mit dem Sternbild ^{mul}DARLUGAL^{mušen} = *tarlugallu* „Hahn“ (Lepus) in Verbindung zu bringen ist. Möglicherweise kommt auch die Lesung als *tarru*-Vogel in Frage. Vgl. Urria 18: 317–318 (MSL 8/2, 147) wo *tarru* die zuerst angegebene Lesung ist. In Urgud C 1: 32–33 (MSL 8/2, 172) wird der *tarru*-Vogel zudem noch als *kakabānu* „Sternenförmiger“ beschrieben. Der Begriff *tarru* erscheint nach CAD T 241a nur in lexikalischen Texten. Zum Hahn in Mesopotamien s. auch Ehrenberg 2002, 53–62.

57 Neben dem Raben erscheint in der Regel noch, als einzige nicht-tierische Substanz, *šigūšu*-Mehl.

für zu verwendende Animalia herhalten konnte (Reiner 1995, 117). So wird im Falle des sechsten Tierkreiszeichens Virgo (VI.), auf das benachbarte Sternbild Corvus, also den Raben ausgewichen; dessen Blut, Schwingen und Kopf dann in der Astro-Medizin der Kalendertexte zu verwenden sind. Ebenso verhält es sich mit den Sternbildern Lepus (babylonisch ^{mul}DAR.LUGAL^{mušen} „Hahn“) für Gemini (III.) und Aquila (Adler) für Aquarius (XI.). Das Tierkreiszeichen Aries (I.), babylonisch ^{mul}lúHUN.GÁ = *agru* „Mietarbeiter“, konnte in der Spätzeit auch mit HUN und LU abgekürzt werden; letzteres steht mit der Lesung UDU für ein „Schaf“ bzw. UDU.NÍTA „Widder“ (Ungnad 1941–1944, 256, Anm. 37). Libra (VII.) teilt sich seine Animalia mit dem folgenden Tierkreiszeichen Scorpius (VIII.). Capricornus (X.) war der ^{mul}SUḪUR.MÁŠ = *suḫurmāšu* „Ziegenfisch“, was zur Auswahl der Ziege führte. Das zwölfte Tierkreiszeichen, in den Kalendertexten eher ^{mul}AŠ.IKU „das Feld“,⁵⁸ als ^{mul}KUN.MEŠ „die Schwänze“ (=Pisces), ist dem babylonischen Sternbild ^{mul}SIM „Schwalbe“⁵⁹ benachbart.

Fünf der Tierkreiszeichen sind mit Vögeln verbunden. Diese entsprechen zudem fast genau den Vogelnamen tragenden fünf „fliegenden Spielsteinen“, welche in den Regeln des 20-Felder-Spiels erwähnt werden, wie folgende Gegenüberstellung der Vögel, zusammen mit der sie bewegenden Würfelzahl bzw. der Zahl ihres korrespondierenden Tierkreiszeichens, ergibt:

„20-Felder-Spiel“		Kalendertexte	
2 (= 12) ⁶⁰	SIM ^{mušen}	XII.	TU ^{mušen} und SIM ^{mušen}
5	U ₄ .GAL ^{mušen}	IX.	<i>Anzû</i>
6	UGA ^{mušen}	VI.	<i>āribu</i> (= UGA ^{mušen})
7	DAR.LUGAL ^{mušen}	III.	DAR ^{mušen}
10	TI ₈ ^{mušen}	XI.	TI ₈ ^{mušen}

Fast jeder Vogel der Kalendertexte findet sein Gegenstück in den Spielregeln, unterschiedlich sind nur die Zahlen bzw. Tierkreiszeichen, die ihnen zugeordnet sind. Lediglich die zusätzliche *summatu*-Tauben (TU^{mušen}) ist beim zwölften Tierkreiszeichen ausgelassen worden.

58 α, β, γ Pegasi und α Andromedae (Hunger und Pingree 1999, 272).

59 ε, ζ, θ Pegasi, α Equulei und der westliche Teil von Pisces (Hunger und Pingree 1999, 276).

60 Die 2 ist an dieser Stelle als 12 zu deuten, wie weiter unten ersichtlich wird. Die Abfolge der Tierkreiszeichen auf der Spielregeltafel beginnt ebenfalls mit dem zwölften Tierkreiszeichen AŠ.IKU „das Feld“ (s. o.).

Der bisher nicht zu identifizierende und auch nicht weiter belegte U₄.GAL^{mušen} bzw. *ugallu*-Vogel (Finkel 2007, 23: „Storm-bird“),⁶¹ hat als Gegentück den mythischen Anzû-Vogel. Die Bezeichnung des Anzû als „Sturmvo-gel“ wäre – jedenfalls für das 1. Jt. – eine durchaus treffende Bezeichnung.⁶² U₄.GAL, akk. *ugallu* ist eigentlich ein Sturmdämon, mit dem Kopf eines Löwen, einem Menschenkörper und Vogelklauen.⁶³ Da der *ugallu*-Vogel dem Tierkreiszeichen Leo, der Anzû in den Kalendertexten aber Sagittarius (bab. ^{mul} PA.BIL.SAG) zugeordnet ist, scheint dieses Mischwesen Elemente beider Zeichen zusammenzufassen: der Löwenkopf symbolisiert so möglicherweise Leo, die Vogelklauen sind eine Anspielung auf Anzû, der ja u.a. im gleichnamigen Anzû-Epos von Ninurta besiegt wird,⁶⁴ einem Gott mit dem Pabilsag in der altbabylonischen Zeit synkretisiert wurde.⁶⁵ Die Ikonographie des Anzû selbst ist in manchen Fällen auch die eines löwenköpfigen Adlers.⁶⁶ *Ugallu*-Vogel kann daher, mindestens im Kontext der hier besprochenen Texte, als eine späte Bezeichnung für Anzû aufgefasst werden.⁶⁷

Das Spielfeld als *bīt niširti* („Haus des Geheimnisses“) und die Identifizierung der Planetenvögel

Unterschiedlich in den iatromathematischen Kalendertexten und den astrologischen Spielregeln sind jedoch die den „Vögeln“ zugeordneten Zahlen. Die in den Regeln für die fünf Vogelspielsteine genannten Wurfzahlen, mit denen ein entsprechendes Feld zu erreichen ist, entsprechen jedoch den Hypsomata, also den Exaltationspunkten der fünf Planeten in bestimmten Tierkreiszeichen. Akkadisch wird ein solcher Punkt innerhalb des Zodiaks dann als *bīt*

61 Landsberger (1960, 122) übersetzte mit „Geistervogel“. In Anm. 39 dazu: „*ugallu* oder *pirigallu* zu lesen.“

62 Zur Wandlung der Figur des Anzû ab der altbabylonischen Zeit s. Landsberger 1961, 1–2, 8–13; Wiggermann 1992, 152; Veldhuis 2004, 30. Zum Anzû-Vogel allgemein Hruška 1975.

63 Vgl. CAD U–W 26–27 und ausführlich Wiggermann 1992, 169 ff.

64 Zu diesem Mythos s. z. B. Annus 2001.

65 Richter 2004, 117; Krebernik 2003–2005, 162.

66 Braun-Holzinger 1987–1990, 96. Nach Landsberger (1961, 4) hatte Anzû jedoch das Gesicht einer Fledermaus. Er verweist dabei auf Urgud B 4: 258 und D: 330 (*MSL* 8/2, 168, 176). Auch Plinius d. Ä., der offensichtlich Bezug auf die iatromathematischen Kalendertexte nimmt, spricht von Fledermausflügeln in Verbindung mit Sagittarius (*NH* XXX 95–97). Zu Plinius und den Kalendertexten s. Rumor 2015, 87–91.

67 S. u. für eine mögliche Deutung dieser sonst nicht weiter belegten Bezeichnung, durch eine Gleichsetzung mit dem Planeten Jupiter.

niširti „Haus des Geheimnisses“ (auch *ašar niširti* „Ort des Geheimnisses“⁶⁸) bezeichnet. Das griechische Konzept eines Hypsoma und das eines babylonischen *bīt niširti* sind nicht völlig deckungsgleich,⁶⁹ doch werden diese Begriffe in der Literatur oft synonym verwendet. Folgende Tabelle zeigt die Zuordnung, und die somit nun mögliche Identifizierung des Planeten, der durch einen „fliegenden Spielstein“ symbolisiert wird:

„Vogel“	Zahl	<i>bīt niširti</i> (Zahl des Tierkreiszeichens)	Planet
SIM ^{mušen}	2 (= 12)	XII	Venus
U ₄ .GAL ^{mušen}	5	IV (V [?]) ⁷⁰	Jupiter ⁷¹
UGA ^{mušen}	6	VI	Merkur
DAR.LUGAL ^{mušen}	7	VII	Saturn
TI ₈ ^{mušen}	10	X	Mars

68 Bei *ašar niširti* scheint es sich um den älteren Begriff zu handeln (vgl. Oelsner apud J. Koch 2000–2001, 63, Anm. 59), welcher in der seleukidischen Zeit durch *bīt niširti* ersetzt wurde. Dem letzteren wird im Folgenden hier auch der Vorzug gegeben.

69 Die beiden Konzepte – Hypsoma und *ašar/bīt niširti* – unterscheiden sich dahingehend voneinander, dass ein Hypsoma, verbunden mit einer bestimmten Längengradangabe, der Punkt eines stärkeren planetaren Einflusses ist; wohingegen das „Haus des Geheimnisses“ für ein günstiges Omen steht. Vgl. dazu Rochberg 1998, 48–49; Rochberg 2010, 153–154. Nach J. Koch 2000–2001, 46–71 sind die babylonischen „Hypsomata“ nicht mit ganzen Tierkreiszeichen gleichzusetzen. Entscheidend war nach Koch vor allem der Planetenstillstand. Das Konzept des *ašar/bīt niširti* war schon vor der Einführung des Zodiaks bekannt. Zum *bīt niširti* in der bab. Astrologie s. Rochberg 1998, 46–50; Rochberg 2010, 147–155; Hunger und Pingree 1999, 28–29; für die griech. Astrologie s. Bouché-Leclercq 1899, 192–199.

70 S. u. für eine Erläuterung der möglichen Gleichsetzung des „Hauses“ von Jupiter mit Leo anstatt Cancer.

71 Dadurch, dass Jupiter durch den *ugallu*-Vogel symbolisiert wird, bietet sich ein interessanter Einblick in den möglichen spekulativen Hintergrund, der die Auswahl dieser seltenen Bezeichnung für den Anzû-Vogel bestimmte. Neben SAG.ME.GAR ist die am häufigsten für Jupiter erscheinende Bezeichnung MUL BABBAR „heller Stern (bzw. Planet)“. Die Zeichenfolge für den *ugallu*-Vogel, U₄.GAL, könnte man auch als „großer Heller“ (BABBAR.GAL) lesen, was gut zum Namen des hellen Planeten passen würde. Ein anderer, u. a. für Jupiter belegter ähnlicher Name, ist MUL.GAL „großer Stern“ (Brown 2000, 59). Dazu ist für das 3. Jt. aus einigen Gudea-Inschriften die Bezeichnung „Weißer Anzû“ (d^{an}zu^{mušen}-babbar) bekannt, als ein Beiname des Ningirsu-Tempels Eninnu („Haus 50“). Vgl. Landsberger 1961, 19; Hruška 1975, 65–67.

Ein Spielfeld, welches mit einem der „Vögel“ bzw. Planeten erreicht werden kann, wird als „Haus“ (É = *bītu*) bezeichnet (s. o.), ebenso wie die Exaltationspunkte der Planeten am Himmel („Haus des Geheimnisses“).⁷²

Warum die 2 als eine 12 zu interpretieren ist (s. o. Tabelle), bedarf einer Erläuterung:

1) die Schwalbe (SIM^{mušen}) ist schon in den iatromathematischen Kalendertexten mit dem zwölften Tierkreiszeichen verbunden, 2) der auf der Vorderseite der Tafel BM 33333B dargestellte Tierkreis beginnt ebenfalls mit dem zwölften Zeichen, 3) einen Wert höher als 10 zu würfeln, war mit den Astragalen nicht möglich.⁷³ Die erwähnten Spielzüge sind zudem von an Omina erinnernde Verheißungen begleitet: im Falle der „Schwalbe“ wird die Liebe einer Frau versprochen, wenn der Spielstein beim nächsten Zug auf einem der fünf Rosettenfelder landet.⁷⁴ Dies kann man als Hinweis auf die Ištar, in ihrer Funktion als Liebesgöttin sehen, da ja die Venus, babylonisch Dilbat – und dieser Planet hat sein *bīt niširti* im zwölften Zeichen –, mit eben dieser Göttin gleichgesetzt wurde.

Ein zusätzlicher Beleg für die Gleichung der Venus mit der Schwalbe findet sich bereits in einem medizinischen Kommentar aus achämenidischer Zeit:

SAG.DU [...] šá^{mul}SIM.MAḤ : ^d*dil-bat* : SIM : s[*i-nu-un-tu*]

Kopf [...] des Sternbilds „Schwalbe“ : Venus : SIM : Schwalbe

SpTU 1 47: Vs. 18–19

Doch warum wurde das zwölfte Tierkreiszeichen überhaupt an den Anfang verlegt? Höchstwahrscheinlich, um die Planeten in Einklang mit der feststehenden babylonischen Planetenreihenfolge zu bringen. In der seleukidischen Zeit hatte sich für diese Himmelskörper die folgende Anordnung etabliert: Jupiter, Venus, Merkur, Saturn, Mars.

72 Entscheidend für ein *bīt niširti* war nach J. Koch (2000–2001, 69) der Stillstand bzw. stationäre Aufenthalt eines Planeten. Dieser astronomische Hintergrund könnte die Verknüpfung von Spielfeld und Himmel inspiriert haben (Stillstand des Planeten = Stillstand der Spielfigur).

73 Vgl. Finkel 2007, 22.

74 BM 33333B: Rs. i 11. Vgl. Finkel 2007, 20.

Jupiter und Venus galten dabei in der babylonischen Astrologie als positiv, Merkur als ambivalent, Saturn und Mars als negativ.⁷⁵ Auch wenn die Venus in der Abfolge der Spielregeln an erster, und nicht an zweiter Stelle steht, so sind doch immerhin die beiden Planeten mit positivem Einfluss als Paar am Beginn versammelt. Dies kann als Versuch gewertet werden den Zodiak, die Reihenfolge der Planeten und ihr jeweiliges *bīt niširti* wenigstens zum Teil in Einklang zu bringen.⁷⁶

Eine weitere Schwierigkeit stellt das Auftauchen der Zahl Fünf dar, denn das *bīt niširti* des Planeten Jupiter ist eigentlich das vierte Tierkreiszeichen Cancer. Es liegen jedoch auch andere Fälle vor, in denen dieses mit dem fünften Zeichen Leo assoziiert wurde. Das bekannteste Beispiel ist die Gestirndarstellung auf der Mikrozodiaktafel für Leo (VAT 7847+), einem der „Hypsomata-Bilder“ (Weidner 1967, 10), wo links neben dem Löwen der Planet Jupiter erscheint. Da das *bīt niširti* des Planeten Jupiter zwischen Cancer und Leo liegt,⁷⁷ was gut zur Darstellungsform der Mikrozodiaktafel passt, wurde es möglicherweise mit beiden Zodiakzeichen assoziiert. Die Lage dieses „Hauses“ und Gestirndarstellungen wie auf VAT 7847+ haben vielleicht die Verknüpfung von Jupiter mit dem fünften Zeichen inspiriert.

Ein weiterer Beleg für diese etwas abweichende Verknüpfung ist der astralmythologische Text BM 55466+,⁷⁸ welcher die Sonne und Jupiter als die „Herren des Geheimnisses von Akkad“ (Vs. 26) bezeichnet.⁷⁹ Sehr wahrscheinlich spielten die Triplizitäten eine Rolle bei dieser Zuordnung. Die Exaltationspunkte der beiden Gestirne Sonne und Jupiter befanden sich eigentlich in Aries und Cancer. Der Zodiak wurde jedoch von den Babyloniern in vier Triplizitäten eingeteilt, jede bestehend aus drei Tierkreiszeichen, die jeweils 120° voneinander entfernt waren. Diese vier Gruppen wurden wiederum mit den vier Weltregionen (Akkad, Elam, Amurru, Subartu) assoziiert (Rochberg 2004, 109). Die erste Triplizität (Aries/Leo/Sagittarius), die mit der Region Akkad verbunden war, enthält jedoch nur das „Haus“ der Sonne. Eine Verschiebung Jupiters von Cancer zu Leo macht es aber möglich, dass der hellste Planet, das Gestirn Marduks, auch der „Herr des Geheimnisses von Akkad“ ist; was ja auch die

75 Zur Planetenabfolge und den Planeteneinflüssen s. Rochberg 2010, 135–142.

76 Vielleicht ist dies auch der Grund, warum alle Planetenspielsteine als „strahlende Figur(en)“, nur die Venus-Schwalbe als „müde/nachlässige Figur“ (Rs. i 5) – wenn man der Interpretation von I.L. Finkel folgt – bezeichnet wurde.

77 Hunger und Pingree 1999, 28.

78 Für diesen Text s. King 1902, I 208–215, II App. III Pl. LXVII–LXXII; Landsberger 1923; Reynolds 1994; J. Koch 2004; J. Koch 2006.

79 Reynolds 1994, 20–21; J. Koch 2004, 107; J. Koch 2006, 123.

Funktion des babylonischen Hauptgottes war. Möglicherweise ist dies ein weiterer Grund, warum Leo der Vorzug gegeben wurde.

Die einzigen beiden Gestirne, deren „Haus des Geheimnisses“ nicht auszumachen ist in den Spielregeln, sind Sonne und Mond, deren Exaltationspunkte sich in Aries und Taurus befanden. Die Astragale, die als Würfel dienten, stammten jedoch von einem Widder und einem Ochsen (s.o.), und symbolisierten somit wohl Sonne und Mond. Die beiden größten „Himmelskörper“ steuerten somit auch im Spiel das Geschick.

Insgesamt erscheinen die Spielregeln und ihre astrologischen Bezüge recht künstlich, und sind als ein typisches Produkt gelehrter astrologischer Spekulation im 1. Jt. v. Chr. anzusehen.⁸⁰ Die ältere *DLB*-Tafel kam ohne astrologische Symbolik aus und gab als Namen für das Spiel noch „Hunderudel“ an (Finkel 2007, 19); was die Planeten symbolisierenden Vogelspielsteine als eine spätere Erfindung erscheinen lässt. I.L. Finkel verweist auch noch auf eine Parallele aus Ägypten, einen griechischen Papyrus aus Oxyrhynchos, der Reste eines Kommentars zu enthalten scheint, welcher sich auf ein Brettspiel bezieht.⁸¹ Die Spielfiguren werden darin als „Hunde“ bezeichnet, die dreißig Felder des Spielbretts mit den dreißig Tagen eines Monats assoziiert und einige Felder heißen ebenfalls „Häuser“. Dazu wird ein komplettes Buch über diese Thematik erwähnt. Im Anschluss an die fragmentarisch erhaltenen astrologischen Spielregeln folgt die Beschreibung einer Wasseruhr.⁸²

Auch das Auftauchen von Vögeln als Planetensymbole⁸³ entspricht nicht der ursprünglichen mesopotamischen Auffassung von diesen Himmelskörpern. Die eigentliche Bezeichnung für einen Planeten im Akkadischen ist *bibbu* (^{mul}UDU.IDIM),⁸⁴ eine Art Schaf (UDU = *immeru*, „Schaf“), oft als „Wildschaf“ interpretiert; letztere Übersetzung ist jedoch inzwischen verschiedentlich angezweifelt worden (Reiner 1995, 7; Hunger 2003–2005, 589 § 2).

Doch wie lässt sich die unterschiedliche Zuordnung der Vogelnamen erklären, die in den Kalendertexten auf andere Tierkreiszeichen Bezug nehmen,

80 Vgl. auch die Ausführungen bei Finkel 2007, 26.

81 Finkel 2007, 26. Der Papyrus ist publiziert bei Pieper 1931, 29–31.

82 Vgl. Pieper 1931, 29.

83 Zu Vögeln und ihrer Symbolik in der mesopotamischen Literatur im Allgemeinen s. Black 1996; Veldhuis 2004, 209–305. Die Identifikationsversuche sumerisch-akkadischer Bezeichnungen mit modernen Vogelnamen bei Salonen 1973 gelten als unzuverlässig und überholt (Veldhuis 2004, 211). Verbindungen von Vögeln mit bestimmten Gottheiten finden sich bspw. im sog. „Birdcall Text“ (Lambert 1970).

84 Wozu in seltenen Fällen auch Sonne und Mond zählten, z. B. in der „Great Star List“ 241–244. Vgl. U. Koch-(Westenholz) 1995, 200–201: 241–244.

als die Planetenspielsteine bzw. ihre *bīt niṣirti* symbolisieren? In der babylonischen Astrologie/Astronomie bestand die Möglichkeit, die Namen einiger Sternbilder als Decknamen für bestimmte Planeten zu verwenden (für eine Auflistung aller möglichen Planetenbezeichnungen s. Brown 2000, 55–74). Die Venus wird durch die Schwalbe (SIM^{mušen}) symbolisiert, das Sternbild Schwalbe (^{mul}SIM.MAḪ) liegt neben dem zwölften Tierkreiszeichen ^{mul}AŠ.IKU, und letzteres konnte wiederum als Bezeichnung für die Venus dienen.⁸⁵ Das Sternbild Rabe (^{mul}UGA^{mušen}), benachbart der Virgo, ist eine mögliche Bezeichnung für Merkur,⁸⁶ der in diesem Zeichen sein *bīt niṣirti* hat. Saturn, der sein „Haus des Geheimnisses“ in Libra (^{mul}ZI.BA.AN.NA) hat, kann auch mit dem Namen dieses Zeichens ausgedrückt werden,⁸⁷ ebenso aber mit der Bezeichnung für Orion: ^{mul}SIPA.ZI.AN.NA.⁸⁸ Möglicherweise spielte hierbei auch die Ähnlichkeit der beiden Gestirnnamen eine Rolle. So konnte das dem Orion benachbarte babylonische Sternbild Hahn (^{mul}DAR.LUGAL) mit beiden Zeichen, Orion bzw. Gemini und auch Libra, verbunden werden: In den Kalendertexten wurde der verwandte Vogel DAR^{mušen} dem dritten Tierkreiszeichen, und in den Spielregeln dem *bīt niṣirti* des Saturn, dem siebten Zeichen Libra zugeordnet.⁸⁹ Das den Tierkreiszeichen Capricornus und Aquarius benachbarte Sternbild Adler (^{mul}TI_g^{mušen}) kann auch als Name für Mars herhalten,⁹⁰ dessen „Haus“ ja in dem ersten der beiden Zeichen liegt. Zu der Verbindung des Jupiter symbolisierenden *ugallu*- bzw. Anzû-Vogels, sowohl mit Leo als auch mit Sagittarius,⁹¹ wurden oben schon einige Vermutungen geäußert (Aries/Leo/Sagittarius = 1. Triplizität: 1/5/9, Leo = *bīt niṣirti*-Variante für Jupiter (?), Sagittarius = Pabilsag = Ninurta: Bezwinger des Anzû).

85 Brown 2000, 59.

86 Ibid., 61.

87 Ibid., 61.

88 Gössmann 1950, 131.

89 Hier sei auch kurz auf die in einer Version des „Birdcall Textes“ erscheinende Verbindung des Frankolins mit Orion verwiesen: „Frankolin (*ittidû*^{mušen}), der Vogel des (Gottes) Kaka. (Sein Ruf ist): Sipazianna (Orion) wurde verwüstet [...]“ Vgl. Lambert 1970, 115 (KAR 125: 16). Der Frankolin wurde syllabisch geschrieben, möglich wäre jedoch auch das Logogramm DAR^{mušen} gewesen. Der Hahn (DAR.LUGAL^{mušen}) findet sich im „Birdcall Text“ direkt in der vorangehenden Zeile (KAR 125: 15).

90 Gössmann 1950, 2.

91 Bei Brown 2000, 62 wird das Anzû-Gestirn (^{mul}IM.DUGUD^{mušen}) nur als ein Deckname für Mars gelistet, und nicht für Jupiter. Die Zuordnungen sind nicht überall und zu jeder Zeit identisch gewesen, auch konnte der Name eines Sternbildes für verschiedene Planeten benutzt werden.

Spielsteine in den Kalendertexten

Es wird also ersichtlich, dass meist das mit dem Vogel in den Kalendertexten korrespondierende Tierkreiszeichen, oder das namengebende benachbarte Sternbild, auch ein Deckname für den entsprechenden Planeten sein kann.

Ein weiterer Hinweis auf den Zusammenhang von Kalendertexten und „20-Felder-Spiel“ findet sich in dem bisher unpublizierten medizinischen Text BM 50508.⁹² Die Tafel ist Teil der „Sippar Collection“, stammt der Registratur nach aus Borsippa,⁹³ und ist wohl in die seleukidische Zeit zu datieren.⁹⁴ Der Text bzw. der in ihm enthaltene Kalendertexttyp (die Textvertreter aus Uruk sind über ihr Iqīšâ-Kolophon klar in das späte 4. Jh. einzuordnen), ist somit älter als die spätsелеukidische Spielregeltafel BM 33333B (176/177 v. Chr.). Neben einem augenheilkundlichen Rezept, medizinischen Beschwörungen an Šamaš und weiteren Rezepten, welche u. a. Vogelblut als *materia medica* enthalten, findet sich auf der Tafel der Abschnitt eines iatromathematischen Kalendertextes (s. o.) für die ersten sieben Tage des Monats Nisannu.⁹⁵ Neben einigen Varianten, die hier nicht von Bedeutung sind,⁹⁶ findet sich als Angabe für den fünften Tag folgendes:

[BAR 5 GU.LA 5 S]AG.DUTi₈^{mušen} Ī.GIŠ MIN 'PA MIN' ù ZA.NA MUNU₄ MIN (= ŠÉŠ)

[Nisannu 5 Aquarius 5°:] Adler[k]opf, Adlerfett, Adlerschwinge und ein Spielstein aus Malz. Ditto (= Du selbst).

BM 50508: Vs. 12'

92 Die Publikation dieses Textes erfolgt in M. Schreiber „Die astrologische Medizin der spätbabylonischen Zeit“ (Publikation in Vorbereitung).

93 Leichty 1986, xxxvii; aber vgl. auch Reade in Leichty 1986, xxxii zu den Schwierigkeiten bzgl. der Ermittlung des genauen Herkunftsortes.

94 Terminus post quem ist die Einführung des Zodiaks bzw. des Kalendertextschemas; also um das Jahr 400 bzw. das frühe und mittlere 4. Jh.

95 Beim siebten Tag ist die Tafel abgebrochen. Wie viele Tage insgesamt auf der Tafel enthalten waren, lässt sich daher nicht mehr feststellen.

96 An einigen Tagen finden sich zusätzlich zu den mit den Tierkreiszeichen korrespondierenden Animalia, die von einem anderen Tier stammenden Substanzen. Die Gründe hierfür sind noch nicht vollständig geklärt.

Wie nach dem oben vorgestellten Schema zu erwarten, wird das Tierkreiszeichen Aquarius (GULA) mit dem Adler (das benachbarte Sternbild Aquila) verknüpft. Zusätzlich wird dann noch ein „Spielstein aus Malz“ genannt, ein meines Wissens singulär in einem Kalendertext erscheinendes Objekt. Spielsteine tauchen jedoch in der mesopotamischen Magie und Medizin auch an anderen Stellen auf (s. die Belege *CAD P s.v. passu* und Landsberger 1960, 117–129), ihre Verwendung in der spätbabylonischen Iatromathematik setzt daher nur bereits bestehende Traditionen fort. Die Grundlage des Erscheinens in dem obigen Kalendertext ist möglicherweise jedoch auch bedingt durch das doppelte Auftreten der Zahl 5 (5. Nisannu/5° Aquarius); was ja auch die Anzahl der Planeten bzw. Spielsteine im „20-Felder-Spiel“ sowie der mit Vögeln verbundenen Tierkreiszeichen ist. Das Kalendertextschema am vorigen und folgenden Tag bietet unterschiedliche Zahlenwerte (4. Nisannu/28° Aries und 6. Nisannu/12° Scorpius). Numerologische Spekulationen waren ein fester Bestandteil der babylonischen Astrologie und Gelehrtenkultur (z.B. Dodekate-moria- und Kalendertextschema, „Number-Syllabaries“, durch Zahlen ausgedrückte Omina etc.).⁹⁷

Abschließend ist festzustellen, dass das späte Entstehungsdatum sowie die Bezüge von BM 33333B zu den Kalendertexten es wahrscheinlich machen, dass die Abfassung dieses Textes durch die iatromathematischen Kalendertexte beeinflusst wurde.⁹⁸ Er stellt einen weiteren Versuch dar, den Himmel und die Erde, diesmal in Form eines Spielbretts, seiner Figuren und Astragal-Würfel, miteinander in Beziehung zu setzen. Über Zahlen und die Namen einiger Tiere, welche mit Gestirnen geglichen wurden, gelingt es das Spielbrett und die auf ihm stattfindenden Bewegungen zu einem Spiegel des Himmels zu machen. Passend zu dem Objekt, könnte man es daher auch als einen spielerischen Ausdruck der Gedankenwelt der spätbabylonischen Gelehrten betrachten.

97 Dodekate-moria-/Kalendertextschema: Brack-Bernsen und Steele 2004; Number-Syllabaries: z.B. Pearce 2005 (mit älterer Literatur); Zahlen-Omina: Gadd 1967; Hunger 1969.

98 Freilich muss auch hinzugefügt werden, dass beide Texte sich in ihrer Funktion unterscheiden. Die Parallele liegt in der gemeinsamen Gedankenwelt, welcher sie entsprungen sind. Die Frage inwieweit Spielbretter auch divinatorischen Zwecken dienten, ist in diesem Artikel ausgeklammert worden. S. dazu Meyer 1982, 53–79; Becker 2007, 13–14. Von I.L. Finkel wird diese Interpretation eher abgelehnt (vgl. Finkel 2007, 25–26).

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Elpetu-Rush, Inanna and the Flood: A Tale of Human Ingratitude

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In a recent article, Klaus Wagonsonner provides a new edition of BM 120011,¹ a Sumerian myth that has defied interpretation but that involves a plant that the original editor, Samuel Noah Kramer, identified as *elpetu*-rush. Wagonsonner, however, argues that it is instead a reference to *šumuttu*, although the text itself remains “arduous to interpret”.²

I have no particular quarrel with and will, with a few exceptions, be citing in what follows from Wagonsonner’s translation, but I shall argue that the text is anything but difficult when it is appreciated that it is, in fact, an etiological myth that explains the habitat and properties, even the popular name for a plant, and that plant is, as Kramer suggested, *elpetu*-rush, probably identical with Arabic *berdi*, “cattail rush” a plant that still grows in abundance in modern Iraq.³

Strictly speaking, *berdi* corresponds to rushes of the *Typha* sp.⁴ However, Arabic usage tends to be rather flexible; *berdi* can be a generic for all rushes, and even the young shoots of reeds and sedges.⁵ According to Boulos, *berdi* may also refer to a type of grass more usually known in Arabic as *halfa*.⁶ The latter is a probable cognate to *elpetu* and is listed in Townsend’s and Guest’s *Flora of Iraq* as a generic name for a group of similar grasses including *Imperata* sp.⁷ As far as habitat and social uses are concerned, *halfa* grasses and *berdi* rushes are very similar. Where the difference lies is in the 1–3 m height and red/brown head of the cattail that,⁸ as we shall see, is specifically referenced in

1 Wagonsonner 2009.

2 Wagonsonner 2009, 360–362.

3 I owe this suggestion to McGuire Gibson.

4 Boulos 1983, 172; Streck 2009, 183.

5 Ochsenschlager 1992, 54.

6 Boulos 1983, 94.

7 Townsend and Guest 1968, 532–536.

8 Rechinger 1964, 5.

Uruanna. In spring, this head is covered with yellow pollen that used to be used by Baghdadi Jews to manufacture sweets for Purim.

In the course of our argument, it will be necessary to engage with the Sumerian myth, even to retranslate a Sumerian proverb, as well as to discuss two plants of which we know much from Uruanna. As both Sumerian and Uruanna are of interest to Mark, it struck me that this text which, I would argue, lies at the interface between these interests would be the perfect thing to offer in his honor. I hope he enjoys reading it as much as I enjoyed writing it!

Let us begin with the Sumerian proverb, one in which *elpetu-rush* is unproblematically the referent, and which reads as follows:

únumun₂-bi gⁱèn-bar sumun₂-bi
niġ izi sàg-ge niġ an-ta è-dè⁹

If you assume that this is perfectly rendered “original” Sumerian, the proverb comes out, in Bendt Alster’s translation:

These reeds, these old rushes,
when set on fire, they come down from the sky.¹⁰

This does not, on the surface of it, make a great deal of sense—rushes or reeds do not come down from the sky, whether set on fire or not. However, even in the Old Babylonian period, a great deal of what looks like real Sumerian is actually “academic” which is at best Sumerian being rendered by an Akkado-phone scribe.

Let us try to apply this insight to see if better sense cannot be made from our proverb. An interesting difference between Akkadian and Sumerian comes in the way in which particles marking temporal or causative connection between clauses work syntactically. In Sumerian, the connective particle attaches to the second clause, so that the setting on fire is what causes the coming down from the sky as in Alster’s translation. In Akkadian, by contrast, the connective particle connects to the first clause. Assuming that the author of this proverb was an Akkado-phone scribe who has engaged in a bit of (probably unconscious) code switching yields an alternative translation of what is now a riddle rather than a proverb:

9 Wagensonner 2009, 361.

10 Alster 1997, 281 (Sp. 26 D: 11).

In reference to *elpetu*-rush or old (dried) reeds—
 What is it that comes down from the sky in such a way as to set (them)
 on fire?

As anybody who has witnessed a wildfire will know, the answer to this riddle is “lightning”, and this is the key to understanding what is going on in our Sumerian myth, to which we now turn. What has confused everyone who has dealt with the myth up to this point, and with good reason, is that the narrative does not, to put it mildly, tell its story in chronological order. So we start with a flood, which is the “then” of the narrative and the birth of the plant (obv. 2–15), and fast forward to the “now” when our plant is causing serious trouble due to its imperviousness to being cut and bundled (obv. 16–25). There follows a very mysterious section (obv. 26–34), which deals with the relationship of the plant with Inanna and involves a raven being set on it, about which more presently. In the next section, we are definitely back to the “then” and the Flood and find Dumuzi planting our plant—described as a plant growing along the canals and river banks (obv. 35–44). In the last section we are back to the “now” and find Dumuzi and a procession begging Inanna to make the plant so that it can be cut and bundled (rev. 3–12), a request which Inanna grants by issuing her divine word that essentially destroys the poor rush and makes it easy to cut, thus solving the problem (rev. 13–18).¹¹

Even without full understanding of the Sumerian myth, we may essentially exclude *šumuttu* from consideration at this point. Our plant, which is a plant (Ú), springs up spontaneously after floods, grows along river and canal banks, has a propensity for catching on fire and can, in the historical present, be easily cut. Moreover, it has some, as yet to be explained, intimate connection with Inanna/Ištar.

None of these criteria apply to *šumuttu*. Whether or not it is to be identified as a “beet”, it is not a plant (Ú) but a vegetable (SAR). It does not spring up spontaneously in ditches and along canal and river banks; instead it has to be cultivated in gardens.¹² It is deep red in color,¹³ but we have no reason to suppose either that it tended to catch on fire or that it was particularly easy to harvest. Last, but by no means least, its connections with the divine world are not to Inanna/Ištar but to Enlil:

¹¹ For the text, see Wagensonner 2009, 362–373.

¹² *CT* 51 176: iii 9’.

¹³ *KADP* 2: vi 20.

“Enlil’s blood” is *šumuttu*-vegetable.¹⁴

By contrast, everything we know about *elpetu* fits our myth perfectly. The briefest survey of references in the *CAD* reveals that it is a plant (Ú) that was weeded out of low lying ground and from along canals and river banks for various uses including construction (presumably as temper for the clay).¹⁵ In modern Iraq, *halfa* is known for its propensity to grow up along river banks and wherever there is well-watered soil. It comes up green and fresh in spring, but dries out quickly in the summer sun. Inter alia, it is used to make screens to shield winter vegetables from the wind.¹⁶

The same may be said for cattails, whose stems are noticeably less stiff than those of reeds¹⁷—*elpetu* was proverbial for being easy to pluck—as in the expression “torn out like an *elpetu*-rush”. As we know from our Sumerian proverb, it burned literally like wild fire.¹⁸ Last, but by no means least, Uruanna references a specific connection of the plant (or more precisely, family of similar plants sharing a common Sumerogram) with the goddess Ištar:

iptu and *elpetu*-rush are equivalent to “bed” of Ištar.¹⁹

Returning to our myth, we are more or less ready to set the story in chronological order. Episode 1 may be recognized in obv. 2–15, since it gives us the origin story of our plant and is thus obviously the first chronologically. Episode 2, marked as early in the story by a section break, will have been the planting of our plant in its current habitat along canals and river banks (obv. 35–44). Leaving aside the problematic obv. 25–34 for the moment, we arrive at the plant becoming for some mysterious reason impervious to cutting (obv. 16–24) and finally the resolution of this problem in favor of a proverbially easy uprooting in rev. 3–18.

But what are we to do with obv. 25–34? Key to notice here is that the flood which appears to be the occasion of the birth of our plant in Episode 1 (obv. 2–15) is no ordinary flood but The Flood of Sumerian mythology:

14 *CT* 51 176: iii 21' (restored from iii 15').

15 *CAD* E 108–109.

16 Townsend and Guest 1968, 534.

17 Postgate 1980, 105–106.

18 *Berdi* was once commonly used along with flint to make fire (McGuire Gibson cited in Postgate 1980, 111).

19 *KADP* 6: ii 33' // *CT* 37 29–32: i 42'.

When the rain had said: "I will rain."
 When it had said: "I will rain against the brickwork."
 When the flood had said: "I will devastate (everything)."²⁰

obv. 7–9

In this version, Heaven and Earth have intercourse and give first birth to our plant (obv. 10–13) that still, in historical times, grows up in low lying areas after a flood (obv. 27). Thus far we have simply answered the question: "Why does *elpetu*-rush grow up in this way?" Answer: "Because Heaven and Earth first gave birth to it after the Flood."

In Episode 2 (obv. 35–44), we have Dumuzi attempting to confront the Flood:

When the rain had rained down, when the brickwork had been
 destroyed,
 when the "flaming potsherds" (i.e., lightning and hail) had rained,
 Dumuzi confronted (it.)
 The rain had rained; the brickwork had been demolished.
 The cattlepen had been destroyed; the sheepfold had been uprooted.
 In the river, a terrible flood had been left behind;
 in the marshes, a terrible aura had been left behind.²¹

obv. 35–41

Dumuzi's solution to this problem is to plant our plant in great quantity along the shores of the Tigris and Euphrates (obv. 42–44). This section answers the question: "Why does *elpetu*-rush favor river and canal banks?" Answer: "Because Dumuzi planted it there after the Flood." But why did Heaven and Earth and Dumuzi do either of these things? Because, as is explained already in Episode 1 (obv. 2–15):

Its fecund reeds carried fire.²²

obv. 14

Floods in Mesopotamia come in the Spring. The rushes growing up in the still water left behind by the flood and along the river banks soon dry in the sun, ready to be ignited by the "flaming sherds" (obv. 3, 36) as described in our

²⁰ Wagensonner 2009, 362, 366.

²¹ Wagensonner 2009, 364, 366.

²² Wagensonner 2009, 362, 366.

Sumerian proverb. The fires, which are spectacular,²³ burn off the marshes, producing heat and allowing the sun to dry up the standing water and it is for this reason, I would argue, that the plant was (allegedly) created in the first place and by Inanna whose indirect hand may be seen in the lovemaking and kissing of Heaven and Earth as well as in the actions of her lover Dumuzi in planting the rushes along the river banks.

This realization, in turn, places obv. 25–34, in which the plant catches fire and burns up everything in its path, as Episode 3. This is not, contrary to what one might suspect, a misdeed by the plant but what modern farmers call a controlled burn, a practice which can be used to manage *halfa*.²⁴

(Saying): “I will set fire, I will set fire”, he pushes forward;
to the foundation of Eanna, he directs the fire.

There he stopped, and spread his hands.²⁵

obv. 28–30

A modern colloquial retelling of the tale would have the plant say at this point: “Ta Da”, meaning by his hand gesture: “Here you are; as you can see, I have done what you wanted me to do.” Inanna is pleased, so pleased that in following episodes she has to be strongly persuaded to discipline her creation. So why does she respond to *elpetu-rush*’s cries of “I will set fire” by taking hold of a crow and placing it on his top (obv. 31–34)?

Episode 3 (obv. 25–34) unravels the mystery of why *elpetu-rush* burns so readily. Answer: “Inanna used it to dry up the waters after the Great Flood.” The drying up of the flood waters is not an issue covered by the preserved sections of the Flood narrative as we have it from ancient Mesopotamia. However, a version of the flood story is preserved as part of the Gilgamesh Epic. This reveals that Atrahasis, like Noah, sent out birds to determine whether it was safe to leave the ark and we also learn that the third and final bird—the one that did not come back—was a crow.²⁶ In our version of the story, it is Inanna who solves the problem of the flood waters as a sign of which she has the crow alight on the *elpetu-rush*, never to return to Atrahasis.

We are now ready for Episode 4 (obv. 16–24) in which the plant becomes a problem, as indeed it can be even today. Wildfires are great for drying up floods,

23 Personal communication, McGuire Gibson.

24 Townsend and Guest 1968, 536.

25 Wagensonner 2009, 362, 366.

26 Gilg. 11: 148–156 (George 2003, 712–713).

but they can be terribly destructive, which is why you have to harvest the rush before it burns. In our story, the plant is outraged by the ingratitude represented by this behavior on the part of humans:

Since the (first) day, Umma had abandoned it;
 Since the (first) day, Abba had abandoned it;
 Since the (first) year, the chief lamenter had abandoned it;
 Since the Flood, mankind had abandoned it.²⁷

obv. 16–18

It took its revenge in the simplest possible way—by refusing to let itself be pulled up (obv. 19–24). At this point, we are no longer talking of a controlled burn but a potential natural disaster (rev. 3–6). Inanna, the plant's indirect creator and patroness has, therefore, to be persuaded by the human community to sacrifice her favorite. Episode 5 (rev. 3–12) describes a delegation that brings gifts to Inanna and begs her cooperation in harvesting the grass. Arguments by various professionals who use the *elpetu*-rush in their work and need to be able to pull it up for that purpose: the fuller (rev. 7), the carpenter (rev. 8), the potter (rev. 10) have no effect. Neither does the sheep proffered by the Shepherd (doubtless her lover Dumuzi) in rev. 10–11, although its plumpness will have owed not a little to grazing on the tender green shoots that come up after a fire in the marshes.²⁸ What finally loosens Inanna's tongue and gets her to use it against her erstwhile favorite in Episode 6 (rev. 13–18), is the prospect of being offered the *elpetu*-rush itself at its harvest time (rev. 12).

As for why this should be so enticing to Ištar, we need to return to Uruanna:

iptu and *elpetu*-rush are equivalent to “bed” of Ištar²⁹

In short, Dumuzi is offering Ištar a bed for their lovemaking. Quite apart from the fact that *berdi* has pithy stems that make limp and squashy mats ideal for sitting or other activities,³⁰ Uruanna describes *elpetu*-rush as having a “red” head,³¹ that is, the long “hot-dog” shaped head of a cattail. It is hard to imagine

²⁷ Wagensonner 2009, 362, 366.

²⁸ Townsend and Guest 1968, 375.

²⁹ *KADP* 6: ii 33'.

³⁰ Postgate 1980, 105–106.

³¹ *KADP* 6: ii 28'–29'; *CT* 37 29–32: i 43'–44'.

a plant more appropriate to this context—or more obvious in its referent. We need not wonder long why Inanna would have found this particular argument so persuasive.

In any, case, Episode 6 (rev. 13–18) finds Inanna crying out against the *elpetu*-rush and smashing it. This answers the final question anybody would care to ask, namely why it is so easily pulled out.

To sum up what we have discovered so far. The text consists of six episodes which, if arranged in chronological order, would be: Episode 1 (obv. 2–15), Episode 2 (obv. 35–44), Episode 3 (obv. 25–34), Episode 4 (obv. 16–24), Episode 5 (rev. 3–12) and Episode 6 (rev. 13–18). These are, however, presented as Episode 1 (obv. 2–15), Episode 4 (obv. 16–24), Episode 3 (obv. 25–34), Episode 2 (obv. 35–44), Episode 5 (rev. 3–12) and Episode 6 (rev. 13–18). The ordering of episodes in this Sumerian myth is, then curiously free-flowing.

One might almost imagine this text as a dialogue between a teacher and a student or, more precisely, the teacher's part of the dialogue only as follows. Student: "Why does *elpetu*-rush grow up in low lying areas after a flood?" Answer: "Because Heaven and Earth first gave birth to it after the Flood." Student: "If it was so important, why is it so easy to pull it up?" Answer: "I'm getting to that, but for the moment you should understand that it was once impossible because the plant felt that people were ungrateful." Student: "Ungrateful for what?" Answer: "It dried up the waters of the Flood so people could repopulate the earth." Student: "Why does *elpetu*-rush favor river and canal banks?" Answer: "Because Dumuzi planted it there after the Flood." Student: "Wait, a bit—you said it was once impossible to cut it, so what gives and, by the way—why do people call it the Bed of Ištar?" Answer: "It is called the Bed of Ištar because Dumuzi makes a bed of it every year for their lovemaking. And as for how it got to be so easily pulled up, Inanna was so pleased with Dumuzi's use of it for her bed that she smashed the *elpetu*-rush and made it come up with so little effort."

The most obvious explanation for this misordering is that we are close to the point of composition. However, similarly disordered passages appear in carefully crafted and final version context in the Hebrew Bible, where they have been dubbed "afterthought relative constructions".³² It has been suggested that this non-sequential progression is a way of foregrounding important parts of the narrative.³³ This would work admirably in our text since the focus of the text is on the crisis caused by the plant's refusal to be cut due to anger over human ingratitude. To put the episodes in which the plant's point of view is

32 Stackert 2010, 160, 173.

33 Stackert 2010, 160, 172, 174.

presented out of order in the narrative certainly does serve to foreground them, if like the Hebrew examples Stackert cites, also introducing more than a little “interpretive ambiguity”.³⁴

In sum, the Sumerian myth contained in BM 120011 is an etiological myth that answers a number of questions about a particular plant—*elpetu-rush* (not *šumuttu*). It also sheds light on the Flood narrative, providing episodes from what would appear to be a variant version that nonetheless preserves an otherwise lost part of the main myth. Finally, it may shed some rare light on the composition of texts within the tradition.

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34 Stackert 2010, 160.

BAM 7 44: Suppositories for Rectal and Gastro-Intestinal Diseases

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In his book on cuneiform medical texts dealing with the diseases of the renal and rectal regions Professor Geller, to whom this contribution is presented, published the small fragment *AMT* 58/9 (K 13901)+*AMT* 81/9 (K 10567) (henceforth *BAM* 7 44).¹ At the time it was clear that this join had originally been the corner piece of a tablet written in Babylonian script. Although only a few signs were legible in the remaining nine lines, this was enough to establish the fact that *BAM* 7 44 deals with the making of “acorn”-shaped suppositories (*allānu*) used to heal the severe rectal disease called DÚR.GIG (lit. “diseased anus”).

Since the fragment was published, new joins have been identified, and a substantially larger portion of the tablet has been retrieved.² In addition to *AMT* 58/9 and *AMT* 81/9, the tablet now includes another fragment from the *AMT* corpus, *AMT* 62/5 (K 16461), as well as the hitherto unpublished pieces K 8678³ and K 19344.

* I am very much indebted to Ulrike Steinert for her kind permission to publish here a preliminary edition of the suppository recipes from *BAM* 7 44 and its joins. Note that the edition of the whole tablet, including new hand-copies, will appear in her forthcoming monograph on women's diseases, to be published in the series *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen* (Steinert forthcoming). In addition, Dr Steinert provided me with her transliteration of the text, as well as with useful comments on some difficult readings. For correcting my English I would like to thank Gabriella Juhász. Needless to say, I alone bear responsibility for all remaining errors.

For the abbreviations used in this paper, see the list in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*.

- 1 The join *AMT* 58/9+*AMT* 81/9 was found by Thompson (1929, 85). After it was published, *BAM* 7 has been reviewed by Buisson (2006), Scurlock (2008; 2009), Böck (2008) and partly by Panayotov (2014, with many references to the miscorrections in Böck's review). None of the reviewers have added any new pieces of information to *BAM* 7 44.
- 2 The new joins to *BAM* 7 44 were found by Fincke (2006–).
- 3 For an unpublished copy of this fragment see Geers n.d., 21.

What follows is a preliminary edition of the suppository recipes preserved on the obverse side of *BAM* 7 44 and its joins. This is preceded by an introduction which addresses questions about the content of this tablet. Subsequently, the suppository recipes of *BAM* 7 44+ will be discussed and compared with other recipes from the corpus of rectal and gastro-intestinal disease texts. It will be argued that *BAM* 7 44+ is a short collection of drugs, rather than the usual prescription known from therapeutic texts, and therefore, it generically relates to similar collections such as *BAM* 430 and *BAM* 431.

A Collection of Recipes for Rectal, Gastro-Intestinal and Gynaecological Diseases

The exemplar put together from the above-mentioned fragments is a long, one-column tablet with writing running across both edges. In its present state, it has five sections on its obverse side and another six on its reverse, separated from each other by horizontal rulings. The topic of the text written on the two sides is not the same, however. While the obverse side of the tablet deals with rectal and gastro-intestinal diseases, the reverse is concerned with gynaecological problems. Therefore, *BAM* 7 44+ seems to be unique in that it is the only exemplar known so far which contains gynaecological prescriptions together with non-gynaecological material.⁴ The exact reason for writing rectal, gastro-intestinal and gynaecological recipes on the same tablet eludes us, although it might have had something to do with the similarities of treatments. In order to heal the patient, all of these drugs had to be channelled to the diseased part through a body opening situated on the lower part of the body, and one of the most effective ways of doing so was to insert them as suppositories. Besides the obverse side of *BAM* 7 44+, suppositories made of a piece of wool with the necessary drugs wrapped in it appear to be mentioned among the gynaecological recipes recorded on the reverse side of the same tablet.⁵

Not only were the treatments for rectal, gastro-intestinal and gynaecological diseases partly similar, but so were some of their symptoms. As suggested by two incipits cited below as Example 1 and 2, the bleeding anus must have

4 Another example for mixed content may be the tablet *BAM* 248, where the recipes dealing with childbirth are followed by recipes for babies. Here, however, there is an obvious connection between the two topics (U. Steinert, personal communication).

5 As Example 1 illustrates, this type of suppositories is also known from the corpus of anus disease texts. For the gynaecological recipes occurring on the reverse side of *BAM* 7 44+ see Steinert 2014a and Steinert 2014b.

been one of the most characteristic symptoms, which could have been easily described in gynaecological terms. In connection with the patient passing blood from his anus, both incipits refer to a woman who is described by Example 1 as the one “haemorrhaging” (*ša naḥšātē*). On the other hand, Example 2 remarks that the patient with the same medical condition appears “as if he were menstruating (lit. struck by a weapon) like a woman” (*kīma sinništi kakki mahiṣ*). In addition to the obvious empirical experience leading to the comparisons between bleeding anus and gynaecological haemorrhage, these two incipits might also reveal the underlying concept of Mesopotamian medicine which was discussed by Steinert (2013) in relation to the term “locked fluids” (*mê turru / mê turrat*). She argued on the basis of healing incantations sharing the same metaphoric imagery that in Mesopotamia the motion of nourishments and gynaecological fluids within the body was imagined to take place through a “natural route” leading from the mouth or the womb downwards.⁶ The anus, the urethra and the vagina were thus perceived as the last station on the route, which was metaphorically connected with rivers and canals. Digestive or gynaecological diseases appeared when too much or too little fluid (blood, vaginal discharges of any kind, excrement etc.) has left the body through this station. The term “locked fluid” (*mê turru / mê turrat*) relates to the latter case, when no fluid at all would leave the woman’s body.⁷ As Steinert pointed out, there is no incantation that would discuss this medical condition, so that the metaphorical imagery in connection with the relevant diseases can only be inferred from its opposite, that is, from the abnormal flow of body fluids. Here, one finds that the same metaphors were applied to describe gynaecological and digestive flux. Images like the ones related to a fermenting vessel without a working stopper, a waterskin with a weak knot and a canal or dike that cannot hold back water, occur in healing incantations recited against diarrhoea and belly (*karšu*) disease, as well as against the constant bleeding of women.⁸

6 This does not mean, however, that in Mesopotamia there was no terminology applied for the digestive system or for the reproductive system of women. For the digestive system, in particular, see Stol 2006, while a short discussion of the words for womb can be found in Steinert and Paoletti 2016, 513–514.

7 Steinert 2013, 14.

8 The incantations cited by Steinert (2013, 11–13) are *SpTU* 4 129: i 20’–22’ against gynaecological haemorrhage, and BM 98584+BM 98589+*AMT* 45/5 (K 5416a): iii 4–28 against diarrhoea. In addition, the author noted that “the image of the waterskin was applied both to the womb, the belly (*karšu*) and the bleeding nose” (Steinert 2013, 13 with n. 33).

As far as the evacuation of bodily fluids is concerned, the relatedness of renal and gastro-intestinal disorders on the one hand and women's diseases on the other seems to have stemmed from the fact that they were explained by the same underlying disease concept. The anus, the urethra and the vagina were perceived as the bottom end or last station of a "natural route", where food and gynaecological fluids left the body. This concept may have been the result of similarities between the symptoms that occurred if either the gastro-intestinal and rectal region or the female reproductive system became ill. In both cases any kind of fluid could be stopped from leaving the body (e.g., "locked fluid", constipation), or it could also flow out excessively without any natural blockage (e.g., bleeding anus, gynaecological haemorrhage, diarrhoea). In addition, the concept may have been reinforced by the fact that the treatments for fighting diseases from these different realms of medicine were partly similar.

Turning back to *BAM* 7 44+ now, it has already been noted that the two sides of this tablet discuss rectal and gastro-intestinal (obverse), as well as gynaecological (reverse) problems, and that in both cases suppositories are mentioned as the necessary tool to overcome diseases. Naturally, the tablet's dealing with diseases belonging to these areas of medicine can be interpreted as *ad hoc* (e.g., an excerpt made by the medical professional to have the necessary recipes on one tablet). In view of the probable underlying disease concept, reinforced by the similarities between treatments, it might be suggested that the similarity of rectal, gastro-intestinal and gynaecological medicines played a role in making the collection of recipes that appear on *BAM* 7 44+.

Transliteration and Translation

K 8678+BAM 7 44 (= AMT 81/9 [K 10567]+AMT 58/9 [K 13901])+AMT 62/5 (K 16461)+K 19344

- 1') [.....] 'NUMUN Ú' [.....]
 2') [..... *saḥ-l*]e-e as-'né-e' [.....]
 3') [..... GAB]A.LÀL Ú 'NAM'.TI.'LA'
 4') [.....] 'PAP x' [x] '3' Ú.MEŠ *al-la-nu* 'DÚR.GIG'

-
- 5') [(x x x) 'SUMUN]. 'DAR²¹ GABA.LÀ[L^š]imGÚR.GÚR^{šim}LI
 6') [(x x x)]^{na4}*ga-bu*-u' 'x' 'NAGA.SI Ú NAM.TI.LA
 7') [(x x x)] 'x' DUḤ KAŠ PAP₁₀ 'Ú'.[ME]Š 'al'-l[*a*]-'nu' DÚR.GIG
-

- 8') [(x x x) n] *i-nu-ú* Ú NAM.TI. 'LA' 'x' [x x x] *dan-nu-ti*
 9') [(x x x)] 'Ĭ.GIŠ' Ĭ.UDU GABA.LÀL PAP 6 'al'-[*la-n*]u DÚR.GIG

-
- 10') [x GÍ]N *hi-li* šimBULUH₁ GÍN šimHAB 'x' [.....]
 11') [4-*u*]t GABA.LÀL₄ ZÚ.LUM.MA₄ ŠIM [.....]
 12') 'x x' NAGA.SI 4-*ut* Ú BABBAR 4-*ut* U₅.AR[GAB^{mušen}]
 13') [x] *gi-re-e* šimGIG₄ gišEREN.SUMUN [.....]
 14') 4 *ú*KUR.KUR 2 'gi'-*re-e* Ú HUR.SAG.G[Á x] 'Ú' [.....]
 15') 2 *gi-re-e* *qut-ra-nu* 5-*aš* LAG BABBAR 'ú?'*pi-i*[*n-ze-er*]
 16') '2' *gi-re-e* šimMUG 2 *gi-re-*'e' *saḥ-l*[*e-e*]
 17') [..... BULU]H₂ Ú NAM.TIL.A 'x x x' Ú.HĬ.A? ta? [.....]
 18') [..... PAP x] '2' Ú.MEŠ NAGAR DIŠ MURUB₄-*šú*' IM G[IG]

-
- 19') [.....] 'Ĭ.UDU' Ĭ GÍN GABA.LÀ[L] 1/2 GÍN *as-né-*[*e*]
 20') [.....] 'x' Ĭ GÍN [IL]LU 'šim' BULUH₁ [.....]
 21') [.....] 'x' [x x] 'x' [.....]

- 1') [.....] seed of the plant [.....]
 2') [.....] the plant *saḥlû*, the Dilmun-date [.....]
 3') [.....] wax, the "Life plant",
 4') [.....] a total of 3+ drugs: an "acorn"-shaped suppository for "diseased anus".

-
- 5') [(x x x)] beetroot?, wax, the plant *kukru*, juniper,
 6') [(x x x)] alum, 'x' of "horned" alkali, the "Life plant",
 7') [(x x x)] ... beer; a total of ten drugs: an "acorn"-shaped suppository for "diseased anus".

-
- 8') [(x x x)] the plant *nīnû*, the "Life plant", strong [...],
 9') [(x x x)] oil, tallow, wax; a total of six (drugs): an "acorn"-shaped suppository for "diseased anus".

-
- 10') [x] shekel of resin from the aromatic *baluḥḥu*, one shekel of the *tūru* aromatic [.....]
 11') [one-four]th (of a shekel) of wax, one-fourth (of a shekel) of date, one-fourth (of a shekel) of the aromatic [.....]
 12') 'x x' of "horned" alkali, one-fourth (of a shekel) of the "White plant", one-fourth (of a shekel) of "bat guano", [.....]
 13') [x] *girû* of the aromatic *kanaktu*, one-fourth (of a shekel) of the *šupuḥru* cedar, [.....]

- 14') one-fourth (of a shekel) of the plant *atā'īšu*, one-twelfth (of a shekel) of the "Mountain plant", [.....]
- 15') one-twelfth (of a shekel) of the *incense-plant*, one-fifth (of a shekel) of a *white lump (of salt)*, the plant *pinzer*? [.....]
- 16') one-twelfth (of a shekel) of the aromatic *ballukku*, one-twelfth (of a shekel) of the plant *sahlû* [.....]
- 17') [..... the aromatic *balu*]*hhu*?, the "Life plant" 'x x x' drugs? you? [.....]
- 18') [..... a total of] '2+' drugs: an "acorn"-shaped suppository if his groin *suffers from "wind"*.
-
- 19') [.....] tallow, one shekel of wax, half a shekel of the Dilmun-date [.....]
- 20') [.....] 'x' one shekel of resin from the aromatic *balu**hhu* [.....]
- 21') [.....] 'x' [x x] 'x' [.....]

Commentary

l. 6'. The remains of the sign before *NAGA.SI might point to NUMUN, "seed". Note, however, that the seed of "horned" alkali is rarely mentioned in therapeutic texts.⁹

l. 7'. The sign before DUḪ is broken off almost completely. There is only one legible wedge which is in a vertical position, and would thus contradict the reading [Á]B.DUḪ (*kammantu*). According to Steinert (forthcoming), it is also possible to interpret DUḪ as a Sumerogram for the Akkadian word *tuhḫū*, "bran, draff", and to translate this Sumerogram together with the following word as "bran of beer" (*tuhḫū šikari*). As the author notes, this term is not attested in medical texts, however. As for the fragmentary wedge before DUḪ, it might also be the remnant of the drug name [ŠE.SA].⁺A⁺ (*laptu*) or [ŠE.NÁ].⁺A⁺ (*šunû*).

l. 8'. In therapeutic texts, different alcoholic beverages like beer (*BAM* 106: 9'; *BAM* 240: 6'; *BAM* 523: iv 9', 25') and wine (*BAM* 7 2 [*AMT* 59/1]: i 42; *BAM* 7 8 [*AMT* 66/7]: 6, 8; *AMT* 66/1: 5) are designated as "strong".

l. 9'. Instead of 'l.GIŠ⁺, the remnants of the signs at the beginning of this line might also point to [*sah-l*]*é*-⁺e⁺ (*sahlû*).

⁹ See *CAD* Q 133–134; *CAD* U–W 48–50.

l. 13'. *Girû*, “carat”, is a post-Old Babylonian unit of weight measurement that “enjoyed a long history as the 24th part of the shekel.”¹⁰ In *BAM* 7 44+: 14'–16' the mass of the drugs “Mountain plant”, *incense-plant*, *balukku* and *sahlû* is consistently defined as two *girû*, which thus equals one-twelfth of a shekel.

l. 14'. The plant name is usually written $\dot{\text{U}}\text{HUR.SAG}^{(\text{sar})}$ (Akk. *azupîru*). However, the term appearing here looks rather like a genitive construction with the word $\dot{\text{U}}$ (“plant”) as head and HUR.SAG.GÁ , that is, *ḥursaḡ=ak* (“mountain”=genitive postposition), as modifier. For this reason, the translation “Mountain plant” is preferred over *azupîru* (“saffron”). Note, furthermore, that one of the most common plant names occurring in this text is $\dot{\text{U}}\text{NAM.TI.LA}$ (“Life plant”), which is also a genitive construction (lit. “plant of life”).

l. 15'. The interpretation of this line is purely tentative. The name of the first mentioned *materia medica* is the unattested form *qut-ra-nu*, which might relate either to the word *qutrînu* / *qutrênu* (“censer, incense”) or to the plant *qutru* / *qutrātu*. In both cases it is difficult to explain why the word has the ending *-ānu*.¹¹ The name of the second drug mentioned in this line poses further difficulties. The assumed translation “one fifth (of a shekel) of a white lump (of salt)” is based on the frequent occurrence of salt as an ingredient of rectal suppositories. Note, however, that the expression “white lump” is not attested in therapeutic texts. A different suggestion has been made by Steinert (forthcoming), who tentatively read it as 5-*aš rit-tú* $\text{rú}^?$ *pi-i[n-ze-er]*, “one fifth of a handful of *pinzer*-plant”, while drawing attention to a Middle Assyrian passage,¹² where *rittu* is used in the meaning “handful”.

l. 17'. The last signs of this line are difficult to understand, since they cannot be read as another drug name but rather as the plural noun $\dot{\text{U}}\text{.ḪI.A}$ (“plants”), and the verbal prefix of the second person *ta-*. This would suggest that l. 17' contains the usual summary of the listed plants (“a total of X drugs”), which is followed by the first instruction how the medicine is to be prepared (“you pound / mix / sieve”, etc.). However, this assumption is not consistent with the next line, where the drugs are summarized in the same way as in the preceding sections of *BAM* 7 44+.

l. 18'. Although the remnants of the sign at the end of this line would suggest the reading $\text{DIŠ MURUB}_4\text{-}^{\text{r}}\text{šú}^{\text{'}}\text{ IM G[IG]}$, “if his groin suffers from ‘wind,’” it must be noted that “wind”, i.e. flatus, does not seem to be mentioned together with the groin in other therapeutic texts.¹³

10 Powell 1987–1990, 512.

11 Steinert (forthcoming) suggests the translation “similar to *qutru*”.

12 VAT 9542: obv. 5 (Ebeling 1951, 20–21); see also *CAD* R 386.

13 See *CAD* Š/2 138.

Suppositories for Rectal and Gastro-Intestinal Diseases

There are five sections on the obverse side of *BAM* 7 44+; four of them refer to the method of application of the listed drugs. In each case “acorn”-shaped suppositories are mentioned,¹⁴ which were used to overcome the severe rectal disease DÚR.GIG, as well as another medical condition that is not known from any other medical texts. Nevertheless, the form in which this latter medical condition is presented recalls the incipits occurring in therapeutic texts: “if his groin *suffers from ‘wind’*.” As Example 4 below illustrates, “wind” is an expression well known from the corpus of rectal disease texts, where it is used together with the word for “anus” (Sum. DÚR, Akk. *šuburru*) to describe flatulence. Example 4 is further important because its structure is comparable to that of *BAM* 7 44+, the only exception being the short instruction for application at the very end to insert the suppository into the patient’s anus. Similarly, the two passages cited below as Examples 3a and 3b can be understood as two almost identical lists of drugs which conclude with the well-known summary and a reference to the method of application (“these six drugs (for) a strong suppository” / “seven drugs (for) a suppository”). However, unlike *BAM* 7 44+, Example 3a and 3b do not mention any disease name after the summary but instead they are both introduced with the incipit “if ditto” (DIŠ KIMIN), which relates to a lengthy description of symptoms cited below as Example 5.

Another important source is Example 9, a Late Babylonian medical text reminiscent of *BAM* 7 44+ because it starts by listing the necessary drugs and concludes with a short reference to the method of their application, as well as to the relevant medical condition. Out of the three recipes preserved in this text, the second one deals with “a suppository to improve anus disease” (*allānu ša muruṣ šuburri ṭubbi*), while the other two recipes are concerned with a lotion for “diseased anus” and probably with another suppository for lice and a skin disease called *rišūtu*. In each recipe, Example 9 also provides some instructions concerning the preparation of the medicine: first, equal amounts of the drugs for a rectal suppository were to be pounded, and then they had to be mixed with honey.

14 The Akkadian term is *allānu*. According to Böck (2009, 124), the texts seem to distinguish between suppositories of three different sizes and shapes. Beside the “acorn” size, there are suppositories of the size of a “finger” (Sum. U or ŠU.SI, Akk. *ubānu*) and the size of a pill. The latter type of suppositories is described with the Akkadian verb *kapātu* (“to roll [into a pill]”). Note, furthermore, that the drugs could also be wrapped in a piece of wool which was then inserted into the anus (see Example 1).

Being it either a short reference to a long list of symptoms (“ditto”) or some instructions about the preparation and application of medicine, the examples discussed so far always add some more information about the suppositories than the text *BAM 7 44+*. In fact, it is striking how little information is given in this text which contains only the list of necessary drugs, their summary and a short remark about the disease name, as well as a brief reference to the method of application. The paucity of information is even more noticeable when *BAM 7 44+* is compared with the most common type of suppository recipes from the corpus of renal and gastro-intestinal disease texts. These recipes, as shown by Example 5 and 6, are always introduced with an incipit where symptoms and diseases are mentioned. This is followed by a description of how the suppository is to be prepared.¹⁵ Thus, the preparation of suppositories consisted of two steps. First, the drugs listed after the incipit had to be reduced to powder (*sâku* or *ḥašālu*), and sometimes they also had to be sieved (*napû*). Then, the recipes define the so-called carrier mass,¹⁶ which was usually tallow or suet (*lipû*), but sometimes also wax (*iškuru*), honey (*dišpu*) or the resin of the aromatic *baluḥḥu*. There is a rare reference to heating up the carrier mass (*bašālu*), although a short instruction to mix it with the crushed drugs (*balālu*) is much more common in the texts. The passage about the preparation of suppositories usually ends with the remark, “you make a suppository” (*allāna teppuṣ*). This is sometimes followed by another instruction, according to which the suppository is to be sprinkled (*salāḥu*) with another liquid (e.g., *šaman šurmēni*, “cypress oil”), serving as a lubricant. The recipes conclude with the instruction for application, namely, “you insert it into his anus” (*ana šuburrišu tašakkan*), while the prognosis “and he (i.e., the patient) will recover” (*inēš* or *iballuṭ*) is occasionally added at the end.

The information that could be transmitted in a suppository recipe is summarized in the chart below. There are a lot of variations, however, so that this chart is not exhaustive. Nor is it intended to give an overview of all the different recipe structures which can be found in the corpus of renal and gastro-intestinal disease texts.

15 For the preparation of suppositories see also Böck 2009, 124–127.

16 Böck 2009, 124.

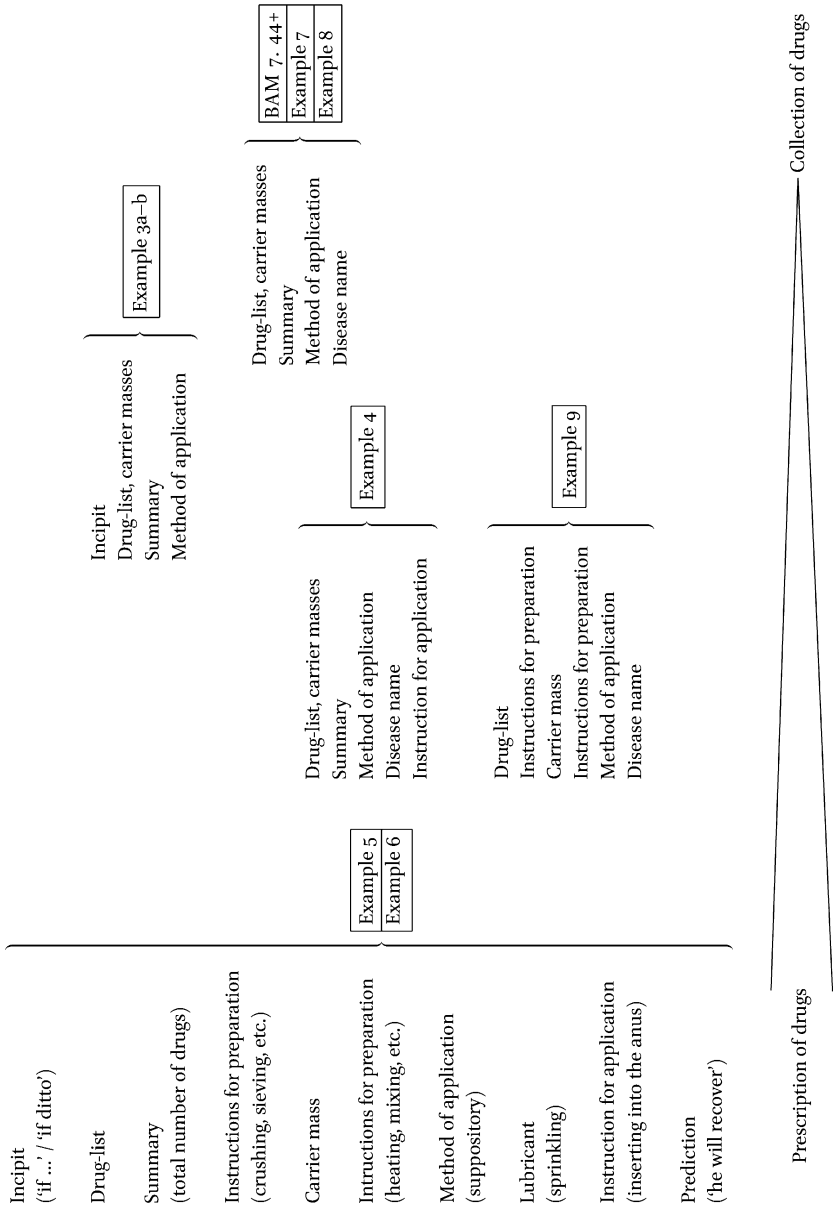


CHART 25.1 The structure of some suppository recipes

As shown in the chart, *BAM* 7 44+ and Example 3a–b contain the least information about the preparation and application of suppositories. No instructions or predictions are included, and even the enumeration of drugs and carrier masses does not seem to follow any apparent order. They rather look like “drafts” of a more elaborate recipe that not only includes the most necessary information (names of drugs and diseases, method of application), but also some other details of lesser importance (e.g., mixing of drugs and carrier masses or the obvious remark about the suppository being inserted into the anus). As for the succession of units of different content within *BAM* 7 44+ and Example 3a–b, it can be observed that Example 3a–b follows the structure of the more elaborate recipes by giving an incipit with a reference to the lengthy symptom description in the section which precedes it in the text. On the other hand, *BAM* 7 44+ is different in that it mentions the disease name at the very end of each recipe.

The suppository recipes preserved on the obverse side of *BAM* 7 44+ are not like the elaborate prescriptions discussed above, but they look rather like short lists of ingredients being used against rectal and gastro-intestinal diseases. In fact, as far as structure and content are concerned, the nearest parallels to these recipes can be found in two closely related texts, *BAM* 430 and *BAM* 431, which were connected by Köcher (*BAM* [vol. 5], xi) to a series called “Tablet of Plants” (DUB Ú.ĤI.A) in the Exorcist’s Manual.¹⁷ Both *BAM* 430 and *BAM* 431 start by enumerating 94 soaked drugs which have to be crushed with a pestle, ground in a stone mortar and put at night in front of the constellation Lira in a *pursitu* vessel.¹⁸ This passage is followed by an incantation to Gula,¹⁹ after which further lists of drugs are recorded in the texts. First, witchcraft is dealt with,²⁰ and then the lists are arranged by body-part and disease name. Unlike at the beginning, *BAM* 430 and *BAM* 431 do not provide instructions about the preparation of medicines at this point, nor do they attach incantations to the

17 *KAR* 44: rev. 3. See Jean 2006, 62–82; Geller 2000, 242–254; Bácskay and Simkó 2012.

18 *BAM* 430: ii’ 1’–iii’ 45’, *BAM* 431: ii’ 1’–iii’ 46. Very similar passages can be found in *BAM* 7 9: i 3–38 (*AMT* 82/1+[*BAM* 7, pls. 4–5]: i 1’–13’ // *AMT* 58/3+[*BAM* 7, pls. 6–8]: i 1–32) and *BAM* 7 11: 9’–38’ (K 6493+[*BAM* 7, pls. 11–12]: obv. 9’–rev. 11), where the enumerated materials are respectively defined as “90 drugs soaked for stricture” and “93 drugs soaked for stricture”.

19 *BAM* 430: iii’ 46’–47’, *BAM* 431: iii’ 47–52. The same incantation is also known from *BAM* 7 9: i 39–41 (*AMT* 82/1+[*BAM* 7, pls. 4–5]: i 14’–16’). For an edition of the incantation see Böck 2014, 88–90.

20 *BAM* 430: iv’ 7’–31’, *BAM* 431: iv’ 2–26. For the edition of the passages see Abusch and Schwemer 2011, 230–231, 242.

enumeration of drugs. Although no rectal suppository occurs in these texts, the disease DÚR.GIG is dealt with in two consecutive passages mentioning potion (*mašqītu*) and poultice (*naṣmattu*) as methods of application. As can be seen from these passages cited below as Example 7 and 8, the lists following the Gula incantation in *BAM* 430 and *BAM* 431 have the same structure as the text on the obverse side of *BAM* 7 44+. Thus, they seem to belong generically to the same group of medical texts which by enumerating the necessary ingredients and defining the disease as well as the method of application provide the framework for more elaborate prescriptions of drugs such as Example 5 and 6.

Examples²¹

Example 1: *BAM* 7 35: 19–24 (*BAM* 99: 19–24 // *BAM* 100: 2'–9' // *BAM* 161: vi 1–6)²²

*šumma amēlu dāma ina šuburrīšu kīma sinništi ša naḥšātē ittanaddia
taḥṣṣū-ma
muruṣ šuburri ul irašši terdīt irrē maruṣ aban suluppī
ina tabarri talammi šamna tapaššaš tasallaḥ ana šuburrīšu tašakkan
gabû kalû nuḥurtu tasâk ina šikari išatti
šumuttu tasâk ina šikari išatti urnê tasâk ina šikari išatti
ina mê kaṣûti irtanaḥḥaṣ*

If a man constantly passes blood from his anus like a haemorrhaging woman, you examined him,²³ and he has no anus disease (but) suffers from diarrhoea (lit. 'overflow' of intestines), you wrap date-stone in red wool, smear (and) sprinkle (it with) oil, (and) insert (it) into his anus. You pound alum, yellow *kalû* mineral (and) the plant *nuḥurtu*, (and) he drinks (them) in beer. You pound beetroot, (and) he drinks (it) in beer. You pound the plant *urnû*, (and) he drinks (it) in beer. He keeps bathing in cold water.

21 Note that the recipes known from more than one manuscript are given here in normalized transcription. The variants between manuscripts are always indicated in the footnotes.

22 The same incipit occurs in *BAM* 7 35: 42–51 (*BAM* 99: 42–51 // *AMT* 43/1+ [*BAM* 7, pls. 15–18]: iii 14'–19'), where the treatment is partly different.

23 For the identification of this verb as *ḥiātu* see Böck 2008, 333.

Example 2: BAM 7 35: 27–29 (BAM 99: 27–29 // BAM 152: iii 8–10)

*šumma amēlu ina šuburrišu dāma utabbaka kīma sinništi kakki maḥiṣ
ana bulluṭišu
zēr dadāni muḥḥi purādi ištēniš tasāk ina karāni bašli
iṣtanattī-ma iballuṭ*

If a man passes blood from his anus (as if) he were menstruating (lit. “struck by a weapon”) like a woman. In order to heal him, you pound together the seed of the plant *dadānu* (and) the skull of a carp,²⁴ he keeps drinking (them) in boiled wine,²⁵ and he will recover.

Example 3a: BAM 7 22: 5–6 (AMT 43/1+ [BAM 7, pls. 15–18]: i 5–6)

[DIŠ KIMI]N ṽU₅.ARGAB^{mušen} úKUR.RA ILLU šimBULUḤ
ZÚ.LUM.MA.DILMUN^{ki}
[an-daḥ-š]um MUN 6 Ú.ḪI.A an-nu-tim alla-nu šam-ru

If ditto,²⁶ “bat guano”, the plant *nīnû*, resin of the aromatic *baluḥḥu*, the Dilmun-date, the plant *andaḥšum*, salt, these six drugs (for) a strong²⁷ suppository.

Example 3b: BAM 7 34: 76–77 (BAM 168: 76–77)

DIŠ KIMIN U₅.ARGAB^{mušen} úKUR.RA ILLU šimBULUḤ Ú BABBAR
ZÚ.LUM.MA ^{mun}eme-sal-lim Ì.UDU GUD 7 Ú.MEŠ alla-nu

If ditto,²⁸ “bat guano”, the plant *nīnû*, resin of the aromatic *baluḥḥu*, the “White plant”, the date, the *emesallu* salt, the tallow of an ox; seven drugs (for) a suppository.

²⁴ Cf. Böck 2008, 342 and CAD P 516.

²⁵ In BAM 152: iii 10 the remark “on an empty stomach” (*balu patān*) is added at the end of the prescription.

²⁶ The KIMIN (“ditto”) sign of this recipe refers to the incipit cited here as Example 5.

²⁷ See Geller 2005, 136, n. 2; CAD Š/1 332.

²⁸ The KIMIN (“ditto”) sign of this recipe refers to the incipit cited here as Example 5.

Example 4: *BAM 7 21: 8–9 (BAM 95: obv. 8–9 // BAM 168: 78–81 // BAM 54: 18–19)*

asnû uḥūlu qarnānu lipi kalīt immeri kukru burāšu ṣumlalû ḥīl baluḥḥi ḥīl abukkati 8 ṣammû allānu latku ša šāra nakāsi ana šuburrīšu tašakkan

Dilmun-date, “horned” alkali,²⁹ suet from a sheep’s kidney, the plant *kukru*, juniper, the plant *ṣumlalû*, resin of the aromatic *baluḥḥu* (and) sap of the plant *abukkati*; 8 drugs (for) a tested suppository, which is to stop “wind”. You insert (it) into his anus.³⁰

Example 5: *BAM 7 22: 1–4 (AMT 43/1+[BAM 7, pls. 15–18]: i 1–4 // BAM 168: 70–75 // BAM 95: obv. 16–18 // BAM 108: obv. 15–20)*

šumma amēlu ina lā simānīšu qablāšu itanakkalāšu kimšāšu izaqqatāšu burkāšu ikaššašāšu amēlu šū ina mešḥerūtīšu muruṣ šuburri maruṣ ana bulluṭīšu nīnû burāšu kanaktu kukru ṣammi balāṭi malmališ tasāk ina lipi taballal allāna teppuṣ šaman šurmēni tasallaḥ ana šuburrīšu tašakkan-ma inēš

If a man, at the wrong moment his groin hurts him, his shins sting him³¹ (and) his knees (make) him gnash (his teeth in pain), that man suffers from the disease of the anus in his youth.³² In order to heal him, you pound in equal amounts the plant *nīnû*, juniper, the plant *kanaktu*, the plant *kukru* (and) the “Life plant”.³³ You mix (them) in tallow, (and) make a suppository. You sprinkle (it) with cypress oil, insert (it) into his anus, and he will recover.

29 *BAM 168: 78* adds the instruction “you dry out” (*turrar*).

30 The endnote “tested remedy” (*bulṭu latku*) occurs in *BAM 168: 81*. On the other hand, the word for suppository (*allānu*) is written in this manuscript without the verbal adjective *latku* (“tested”).

31 Instead of *kimšāšu izaqqatāšu* (“his shins sting him”), *BAM 95: obv. 16* reads here *kimšāšu ikaššašāšu* (“his shins [make] him gnash [his teeth in pain]”), and it also includes another instruction not known from the other manuscripts of the recipe: *šēpāšu ita[rraš?]* (“he stretches? out his legs”). On the other hand, the description of the symptom referring to the patient’s knees is missing from *BAM 95*.

32 A further symptom description, *pēnētēšu itannaḥ* (“he keeps feeling weakness [in] his thighs”), occurs in *BAM 168: 71* and *BAM 108: obv. 16–17*.

33 *BAM 168: 73–74* adds cumin (*kamūnu*) and the plant *kasû* to the standard list of drugs known from the other manuscripts of the recipe.

Example 6: *BAM 7 21: 29–33 (BAM 95: 29–33)*

- 29) DIŠ NA MÚD *ina* DÚR-šú *ú-tab-ba-ka* NA BI *qer-bé-ni* DÚR GIG *ana*
[TI]-šú^{šim}GÚR.GÚR^{giš}LI NAGA.SI^úKUR.KUR^úKUR.RA
30) *saḥ-lé-e* ILLU^{šim}BULUḤ 7 Ú.MEŠ *an-nu-ti* DIŠ-niš SÚD *ina* Ì.UDU
ÉLLAG UDU.NÍTA ḪI.ḪI *alla-nu* DÛ-uš *ana* DÚR-šú GAR-*an-ma* TI
31) ^úKUR.RA Ú BABBAR *saḥ-lu-u* NAGA.SI GIBIL.MEŠ^{na4}*ga-bi-i*
^úNU.LUḤ.ḪA^{šim}GÚR.GÚR^{šim}LI
32) ^{šim}GAM.M[A] 'ILLU^{šim}BULUḤ^{šim}ŠEŠ^{šim}ḪAB MUN¹³ 'Ú.MEŠ ŠEŠ
DIŠ-niš GAZ SIM *ina* Ì.UDU ÉLLAG UDU.NÍTA
33) [G]ABA.LÀL ILLU^{šim}BULUḤ ḪI.ḪI *ina* IZI ŠEG₆-šal *alla-nu* [D]Û-uš
ana DÚR-šú GAR-*an-ma* TI *alla-[nu lat-ku(?)]*

29–30 If a man passes blood from his anus, that man suffers internally in the rectum. In order to heal him, the plant *kukru*, juniper, “horned” alkali, the plant *atā’išu*, the plant *nīnû*, the plant *saḥlû* (and) resin from the aromatic *baluḥḥu*—these seven drugs you crush together, mix (them) with the suet from a sheep’s kidney (and) make a suppository. You insert (it) into his anus, and he will recover.

31–33 The plant *nīnû*, the “White plant”, the plant *saḥlû*, fresh “horned” alkali, alum, the plant *nuḥurtu*, the plant *kukru*, juniper, the plant *šumlalû*, resin from the aromatic *baluḥḥu*, myrrh, the aromatic *ṭūru*, and salt—these 13 drugs you crush (and) sieve together. You mix (them) with the suet from a sheep’s kidney, wax and the resin from the aromatic *baluḥḥu*. You heat (them) over fire, make a suppository. You insert (it) into his anus, and he will recover. Tested? suppository.

Example 7: *BAM 7 39 (BAM 431: v’ 7’–10’ // BAM 430: v’ 13’–16’)*

zēr ḥaluppi lišān kalbi
taramuš kamkadu
ḥašû kurkanû
6 mašqūt muruṣ šuburri

Seed of the *ḥaluppu* tree, the “Dog’s tongue” plant, the plant *taramuš*, the plant *kamkadu*, thyme, the plant *kurkanû*; (a total of) six (drugs): potion for “diseased anus”.

Example 8: *BAM* 7 40 (*BAM* 430: v' 1'–8' // *BAM* 431: v' 1'–2')

[.....] ᵀᵀᵀ
 [.....] ᵀᵀᵀ
 [.....] *zēr lišān kalbi*
 [.....] *qēm² nuḥurti*
 [.....] *ḥašû*
 [šibburat]um ḥaḥinnu
 [šammu] pešû kirbān eqli
 26 šammû našmatti muruṣ šuburri

[...] seed of the “Dog’s tongue” plant, [...] flour² from the plant *nuḥurtu*,
 [...] thyme, the plant *šibburratum*, the plant *ḥaḥinnu*, the “White plant”,
 the “Clod of earth” plant; (a total of) 26 plants: poultice for “diseased
 anus”.

Example 9: *BAM* 7 52 (BM 42576+)³⁴

- 1) 2 NINDA GÚR.GÚR 1 NINDA [L]I
- 2) [1 GÍ]N^{šim}GIG ᵀᵀᵀ GÍN *ka-mu-nu*
- 3) ᵀᵀᵀ G[ÍN] ᵀᵀᵀ¹ *a¹-zu-pi-ri* 1/2 GÍN *ḥa-ᵀᵀᵀ¹še-e¹*
- 4) 1 ᵀᵀᵀ¹ *uḥ-ḥu-lu* 1 GÍN *si-i-ḥu*
- 5) 1 ᵀᵀᵀ¹ *ár-gan-nu*
- 6) 1 [G]ÍN *ba-ri-ra-tum*
- 7) 1 [GÍN] *ir-ru-ú u* 1 *tara-muṣ*
- 8) ᵀᵀᵀ¹ *ina¹* [x SÌLA KA]Š ŠE.BAR ŠEG₆-šal
- 9) ᵀᵀᵀ¹ *[di-i a-na]* ᵀᵀᵀ^{1/2} SÌLA GUR-re
- 10) [*mar-ḥa-ṣ*]u šá DÚR.GIG
- 11) [.....] ^{šim}LI
- 12) [.....] *ka-mu-nu*
- 13) ᵀᵀᵀ x ᵀᵀᵀ *si-im-bi-ri*
- 14) ᵀᵀᵀ BABBAR ÚKUŠ¹.ḤAB¹
- 15) *má[l-m]a-liš ᵀᵀᵀ¹sa-qu*
- 16) *ina ᵀᵀᵀ¹LÀL¹ ḤI.ḤI ᵀᵀᵀ¹alla¹-nu šá*
- 17) ᵀᵀᵀ¹DÚR¹.GIG ᵀᵀᵀ¹DÙG.GA¹
- 18) 1/2 ᵀᵀᵀ¹ *ka-mu-nu* 4-ut *ak-tam*

34 The first edition of the text is Finkel 2000, 159–160.

- 19) [1 GÍ]N *mur-ri 4-ut*^{sim}ḪAB
 20) [*i-n*]a¹² KAŠ SUMUN ḪI.ḪI
 21) *all*[*a*]-*nu šá* 'UḪ' *u ri-šu-tú*

¹⁻¹⁰ One-fifth (of a litre)³⁵ of the plant *kukru*, one-tenth (of a litre) of juniper, one shekel of the aromatic *kanaktu*, one shekel of cumin, one shekel of saffron, half a shekel of thyme, one shekel of alkali, one shekel of *sīhu*, one shekel of conifer, one shekel of the plant *barīrātum*, one shekel of the plant *errû* and one (shekel) of the plant *taramuš* you boil in [x] litres of barley beer until it is reduced to half a litre. Lotion for “diseased anus”.

¹¹⁻¹⁷ [...], juniper, [...], cumin, [...], the aromatic *sibbirru*, the “White plant”, the plant *errû* you pound in equal amounts, (and) mix (them) in honey. A suppository, which is to improve “anus disease”.

¹⁸⁻²¹ Half a shekel of cumin, one-fourth (of a shekel) of the plant *aktam*, one shekel of myrrh, one-fourth (of a shekel) of the aromatic *ṭūru* you mix in old beer. A suppository(?)³⁶ for lice and *rišûtu*.

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35 The unit of capacity measurements that occurs together with the first two drugs in this recipe is called NINDA (Akk. *akalu*). In the Neo- and Late Babylonian era one NINDA was equal to one-tenth of a litre (SĪLA); see Powell 1987–1990, 498.

36 The first three signs in this line are very similar to the last three signs occurring in l. 16; see the hand-copy of the text in Finkel 2000, 160. For this reason the same reading (*allanu šá*, “suppository for”) can be suggested. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the use of suppository against lice and the skin disease called *rišûtu* is surprising.

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A Time to Extract and a Time to Compile: The Therapeutic Compendium Tablet BM 78963

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... atque hanc sine tempora circum
inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros.

VERGIL, Eclogue VIII, 11b–12



Introduction

It is a genuine pleasure for us to contribute to Mark's *Liber amicorum* this essay as a token of gratitude for his having been a great friend and source of encouragement for us both over the years, those shared with him as the spirited helmsman aboard the BabMed Enterprise in particular. We hope that our joint *Festgabe* will speak to one or two of the many themes that Mark has investigated throughout his long and fruitful career, reaping a harvest from seeds he characteristically has always shown himself unstintingly liberal with strewing.

The Tablet BM 78963

The tablet entered the British Museum under accession number Bu. 89-4-26, 258 and therefore belongs to the group of unprovenanced tablets purchased by Budge in Baghdad on his third mission to Mesopotamia in 1889.¹ It measures

¹ See Leichty, Finkelstein and Walker 1988, xviii–xix.

13 cm in length, 7.2 cm in width, and is 2.3 cm thick, with no damage at the points of measurement, and was baked on 9 December 1976 by the late Cyril Batemen, who was Senior Conservator in the Dept. of Western Asiatic Antiquities before his retirement.² The eighth volume of *The Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* (CBT 8; Leichty, Finkelstein and Walker 1988, xix) states, fairly enough, that item numbers 234–482 in the Bu. 89-4-26 accession, including our tablet, No. 258, were “Babylonian tablets originally registered ...; the recorded provenance of all these is simply ‘Babylonia.’” In correspondence with the first author, C. Walker added that: “From the general appearance of the tablet I guess that it fits into the time frame Nabopolassar to Xerxes, rather than later than Xerxes; that is the principal division that I recognise from my work on sealed tablets.” Nabopolassar reigned from 626–605 BCE and Xerxes I from 486–465 BCE, so this would put our tablet squarely in the sixth or fifth centuries BCE. Walker’s statement is also broadly in line with Reade’s summary in CBT 8 that “only a very small proportion of the later Babylonian tablets in these ‘Sippar’ collections are datable after the reign of Artaxerxes (probably Artaxerxes I [viz. 465–424 BCE]).” (Leichty, Finkelstein and Walker 1988, xii).

The colophon would seem to retain enough information to locate the inscription of our tablet in time and space, but we have been unable, so far, to locate any of the individuals mentioned in broader prosopographies. The copyist was a certain Nabû-ušallim, son of Bēl-danni, son of Kidin-..., who copied our exemplar from an old writing board from the city of Borsippa.³ The colophon concludes with a generic statement “He who honors Nabû and Gula shall not take it away by theft or force”, expressing the hope of the tablet’s owner that he would not be prey to tablet thieves, as well as a final line that is largely broken away. The mention of Gula, the goddess of healing, does not tell us anything about the origin of the copy: Gula is invoked because it is a tablet concerned with medicine, and even generic reference to Nabû need not necessarily point to Borsippa or Babylon, since he was often invoked as the patron of scribes in other cities, too. However, if we can take Hunger’s *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (1968) as somewhat representative, the occurrence of

2 This information was kindly provided by C. Walker, who also checked the exact measurements of the tablet. The photos of BM 78963 are published here by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

3 In his survey of Neo-Babylonian administrative and legal documents, Jursa mentions two small groups of tablets in which a Nabû-ušallim figures centrally (Jursa 2005, 90–91 and 101), but these materials have not yet been published and there is no reason, so far, to suspect that our Nabû-ušallim is represented therein.

Nabû in the formula *pāliḥ* <deity name> ... *lā itabbašū* (“he who honors <deity name> ... shall not take it away”) strongly favors a derivation from Borsippa, since the six colophons that place Nabû in such a formula all derive from Borsippa or claim a *Vorlage* originating from there just as our text does in line 87. Within the materials assembled by Hunger, none of the occurrences of this formula from a city other than Borsippa include a reference to Nabû. Given the overall time-frame of our text and Assurbanipal’s famous demand that the scholars of Borsippa provide him with copies of technical literature on writing boards (see Frame and George [2005] and Fincke [2005] for an overview of this chain of events), it is tempting to suggest that our text is a copy of one of the writing boards prepared in response to Assurbanipal’s demand, yet there are several reasons for not doing so. Primarily, the only partial duplication of passages found in the Nineveh corpus and the internal heterogeneity of our text do not support any direct process of textual derivation, but we should also be wary of overly Assyro- or Nineveh-centric approaches to Babylonian medicine as a whole. Instead, the relatively few clues that we have about the provenance of the tablet (part of accession number Bu. 89-4-26) suggest general similarities to small groups of medical tablets found in British Museum accession numbers such as 81-2-4 and 81-7-1.⁴

Orthographic and Linguistic Characteristics

Even if parts of the text clearly derive from older textual units (and therefore retain older orthographies), the overall texture of the tablet, in terms of its orthographic and linguistic peculiarities, shows the earliest stages of Aramaic influence, including the loss or irregular use of case-endings. In some few passages, case-marking elements drop out entirely: *an-nit*, “this”, combined with *maš-qut*, “potion”, in the phrase *maš-qut an-nit* (line 18) as well as four other occurrences of *maš-qut* (lines 52*, 75, 78, 83) and two occurrences of *mun-ziq* (lines 30 and 34) drop the final case-marking vowel, although *mun-zī-qu* also occurs in line 25, where we would expect an accusative rather than a

4 Finkel’s study of 81-7-1 is a good model, but only one text is duplicated in accession numbers Bu. 89-4-26 and 81-7-1, viz. BM 79244 (Finkel 2000, 149). The range of medical texts found in 81-2-4 much more closely approximates the situation in Bu. 89-4-26: accession number 81-2-4 includes *AMT* tablets (*AMT* 30/1, *AMT* 30/13 and *AMT* 77/7), fragments joined to K numbered *BAM* tablets, viz. *BAM* 444, 547 and 579 as well as pharmacological tablets (*KADP* 14) just as Bu. 89-4-26 includes *AMT* tablets (*AMT* 1/5 and *AMT* 39/8), fragments joined to K numbered *BAM* tablets (*BAM* 510 and 580) and pharmacology tablets (*KADP* 8).

nominative case. Drug names as well as attributive adjectives are almost always in the nominative case, which acts as a default case-marking in our text, even in contexts where we would expect something else such as *ana a-mur-ri-qa-nu* (line 16), where we expect the genitive case, as well as *su-alu* GIG (lines 25, 44, 45) and *ši-i-qu* GIG (line 55), where we expect the disease names to be in the accusative case.⁵ In contrast, where we would expect disease names to be in the nominative case, as the subject of *šabātu*, “to seize”, they occur several times in the accusative: *ši-qá* DAB-*su* (lines 50 and 52), *um-ma* DAB.DAB-*su* (line 66), *li-i-ba* DAB-*su* (line 83); one wonders if some of these are vestiges of an older textual layer that had the verb in the stative. The clearest examples of the use of the nominative case as a default case-marking, however, are the several examples in which a noun in the nominative case follows a preposition (*ana a-mur-ri-qa-nu* [line 16] and *ina ma-suk-tu* [line 34]) or occurs as the *nomen rectum* in a construct chain (*ī^{giš}lam-mu* [line 13], KA *kar-šú* [lines 19, 56 and 59], and *nap-ḫar mur-šu* [line 75]).

Because different parts of the text stem from different sources, it hardly comes as a surprise that orthographies differ for the same linguistic form in discrete subsections within the text. As we will see later on, these sections happen to be the units of the text that are evaluated and commented on, so it is clear that the editor of the text was aware of these orthographic inconsistencies and the divergent sources that they indicate. The following are the primary orthographic contrasts found in our text:

<i>šumma:</i>	<i>šum-ma</i>	(lines 7, 20, 22, 36, 66, sections 2a, 4–5, 7, 16a)
	DİŠ	(lines 25, 40, 50, 81, sections 6a, 8a, 12a, 19b)
<i>lā/balu patān:</i>	NU <i>pa-tan</i>	(lines 44, 51, 80, sections 9, 12a, 19a)
	<i>la pa-tan</i>	(lines 31, 81, sections 6a, 19b)
	<i>ba-lu pa-tan</i>	(lines 49, 57, sections 11, 15a)
<i>ḫašê:</i>	MUR.MEŠ	(lines 25, 43, sections 6a, 8b)
	<i>ḫa-še-e</i>	(lines 36, 40, sections 7–8a)
<i>tābu:</i>	DU ₁₀ .GA	(lines 27, 30, 31, 33, 37, 39, sections 6a–7)
	<i>ta-a-bi</i>	(line 24, section 5)
<i>šammē annūtu:</i>	<i>šam-me an-nu-tú</i>	(line 8, section 2a)
	Ú ŠEŠ.MEŠ	(line 29, section 6a)
	Ú ŠEŠ.ME	(line 61, section 15c)

5 The exceptions to this generalization are as follows: *ī.GIŠ ḫal-ša* (passim), *bu-uṭ-na-na* (line 28) and *ūzi-ba-a* (line 53).

(cont.)

	Ú.MEŠ <i>an-nu-tú</i>	(line 74, section 17)
	Ú.ĦLA ŠEŠ.MEŠ	(line 83, section 20)
šun'u:	úšu-un- ^u u	(line 56, section 15a)
	úšu-un- ^{hu} u	(lines 23, 42, sections 5, 8b)
šammi balāṭi:	Ú.NAM.DIN	(lines 36, 59, 61, 68, 70, sections 7, 15b–16c)
	Ú.NAM.TILA	(lines 41, 73, sections 8a, 17)
⟨prognosis⟩	<i>ina-eš</i>	(lines 52, 53, sections 12b–13)
	DIN	(lines 75, 77, sections 17–18)
	DIN- <i>uṭ</i>	(line 80, section 19a)

Apart from a few inconsistencies of spelling within a section, such as the two occurrences of *bit-qu* in section 17 (lines 73–75) as opposed to one occurrence of *bit-qa* in the same section, the orthography within any given section is usually consistent. This points to the complex editorial history of the text and we must assume that individual sections were first committed to writing at different points in time. Certain orthographies are reminiscent of Old Babylonian sources such as the phrase 15 ŠE Ú NAM.TILA in line 41, which like the Neo- and Late Babylonian form 2 *gi-re-e* Ú NAM.DIN in line 68, means 1/12 of a shekel of the “plant of life”. In spite of these occasional artefacts from earlier times, several orthographies, measurements and turns of phrase found in our text first appear in the Neo-Babylonian or Late Babylonian periods, such as the mention of the *mušiptu* cloth in line 38 or units of measurement like the term *ḥummušu* for 1/5 of a shekel in line 58; these lexemes give us a clear terminus post quem for certain sections in the text (as well as the editorial work on the text as a whole).

There are numerous other unusual features of our text, some of which appear to be unique, while others point to some limited continuities between our text and the nearly contemporary or somewhat later Late Babylonian medical tablets in the 81-7-1 archive. Various idioms for means of ingesting or administering drugs are found, for the first time, in this text, including the idiom *šalšātu išatti*, “he drinks it in portions of one-third each,” or perhaps “in three draughts”, always said of emetics (lines 3, 6, 10, 12, 13, 15), the frequent use of the verb *nušsupu*, “to suck (on a lozenge), to lick up”, as a favorite method of ingesting medicaments in this text (lines 13, 21, 22, 24, 37, 43, 46, 51, 54), and the first known occurrence, in a non-lexical context, of the logogram GIGURU₃ (KA×LAG) (line 72) for *alātu*, “to swallow”. One new term represents an extension or elaboration of a practice known from elsewhere in the therapeutic corpus: in line 38 the practitioner is advised to seize the patient’s tongue with

a piece of *mušîpête* cloth, a practice known elsewhere from the well-known instruction EME-šú DAB-*bat*, “you seize his tongue,” before administering a drug (provided the verb is not to be read *tušašbat*). Numerous other terms are first attested in our text: *burrû*, “to fast”, prior to drinking a potion (lines 64 and 78), a new lexeme *hu’u*, a type of cough (lines 52*, 55), *qiltu*, “a lye-plant”, written “NAGA.TIR (line 48), the use of the noun *hâtu* for “doses” (line 49), the verbs *kamâsu*, “to collect” (line 49) and *laqātu*, “to glean” (line 57), as expressions for the removal of disease, a set of drugs labeled *tarihu ša šammē ša šarri* (line 31), and the label *maltaktu* perhaps for an “experimental” treatment (lines 16 and 86).⁶ Finally, two peculiarities are, in fact, also known from the Late Babylonian medical archive, registered under accession number 81-7-1 in the British Museum and published by Finkel (2000): special precautions for treatment during summer- or wintertime (lines 17, 47, 78) and the remark *ana pî šaṭir*, “written at dictation”, written *ana KA GUB* (lines 64 and 80). The expressions *šum-ma KÚM.MEŠ* ..., “during summertime”, in line 17 and *šum-ma EN.TE.NA* ..., “during wintertime”, in line 47 are paralleled by a single line in the the 81-7-1 materials, namely BM 42298: obv. 8: *šum-ma EN.TE ina KAŠ SUMUN šum-ma KÚM.MEŠ ina GA tara-bak* ... (Finkel 2000, 180; no translation given). While the statement that a text is *ana pî šaṭir*, “written according to dictation”, is usually written *a-na KA SAR-ṭir*_{2/4} in the 81-7-1 materials, here in our text it is somewhat arcanelly written *ana KA GUB* in lines 64 and 80.

This use of the Sumerogram GUB to write Akk. *šaṭāru*, “to write”, is a particularly learned writing in the first millennium, which is, up to now, only attested in a handful of colophons. This usage originates, as it happens, in the *locus classicus* for the origin of writing (and dictation) in Mesopotamia, viz. the etiological episode in the Sumerian epic *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*: 503–506, subsequently parodied and extended in the *Sumerian Sargon Legend*, 3N-T 296: obv. 55, where the Sumerian phrase **im.ma gub.bu** is explicitly glossed as *tu-up-pa iš-ṭù-ur-šu*, viz. the Sumerian verbal root equated with Akk. *šaṭāru*, “to write”.⁷ For the use of DU, viz. GUB, as a writing for *šaṭāru* CAD cites the phrase **im.ma gub.bu** from these two heroic tales as well as a line from the late balag-composition ⁴*Utu.gin₇, è.ta*, now re-edited in Maul’s edition of the duplicate MMA 86.11.182 (Maul 2005, 28), but the more important reference for first-millennium use is von Soden’s citation, in *AHW* sub *šaṭāru*, of Igi.du₈.a = *tāmartu* (Landsberger and Gurney 1958, 81), lines 11–14:

6 See Steinert’s (2015) recent study of the label *latku* in the medical corpus, especially p. 105, where she translates *maltak(t)u* as “test”. In contrast to *latku* for a “tested” remedy, the term *maltaktu* has not previously been attested in the therapeutic corpus.

7 Cooper and Heimpel 1983, 76–77: 55 and the commentary thereto.

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 11. | (igi.kár) è | = (ba-ru-u) šá <i>ṭup-pi</i> | “to inspect (of a clay tablet)” |
| 12. | gub.ba | = šá-ṭa-a-ru | “to write” |
| 13. | gu.sum | = mi-ḫi-il-ti | “cuneiform wedge” |
| 14. | nam.dub.sar | = <i>ṭup-sar-ru-tum</i> | “scribalism” |

Here we see the equation couched in between the usual term, in colophons, for inspecting a tablet for errors, viz. *barû*, and the terms for “cuneiform (wedge)” and “scribalism” itself. Little wonder that GUB is used to write a form of *šaṭāru* seven times in Hunger’s collection of colophons (*BAK* Nos. 115, 127–128, 141, 412, 424 and 514), always in juxtaposition to a form of *barû*. Of these seven colophons, four (Nos. 127–128, 141 and 412) occur in tablets that stem from Borsippa or explicitly state that they have a *Vorlage* from Borsippa, so like the occurrence of Nabû in the *pāliḫ* formula mentioned earlier, the use of GUB for *šaṭāru* appears to be a telltale characteristic of colophons from Borsippa.⁸

The Contents of BM 78963

BM 78963 presents us with a compilation of extracts, in part, particularly at the beginning of the tablet, drawn from the sub-corpus of treatments for digestive and intestinal disorders (traditionally known as SUALU, although STOMACH has been adopted at the BabMed Project, so we will use it here as well). Later on the text turns to diseases of the esophagus and lungs, two distinct forms of the *suālu*-disease, respiratory illnesses like *šīqu* and *uq(q)u* and concludes with a rather involved case history (a combination of strangury, kidney and anus ailments, combined with two types of fever), a man vomiting up blood in his mouth, and finally treatments for *ḫīp libbi* and *ḫūš ḫīp libbi*. Scurlock (2014, 469–479) has categorized it under the heading “Sick Lungs”, but we disagree with her suggestion that respiratory pathology provides the underlying principle of organization for the compilation. In fact, like other extract tablets, the recipes amassed in BM 78963, to the degree that they can be identified in standardized therapeutic compendia, stem from both the subseries for digestive and intestinal illnesses (*BAM* 574–579) as well as the relatively poorly reconstructed subseries for respiratory illnesses (roughly *BAM* 547–550, 554–556, 564 and 567 as well as a number of *AMT* tablets).

8 SAR is only rarely used in the colophons from Borsippa collected in Hunger 1968 (Nos. 132, 135, 138 and 138a) and most of the orthographies for *šaṭāru* in the Borsippa colophons are syllabically written. Last but not least, Borsippa provenance gains support from the fact that the only other instance of GUL = *ikalli* is found in a colophon from that city (line 90).

The new edition of the Assyrian Medical Catalog, which the BabMed team has produced in the last few years and will appear under the editorship of Ulrike Steinert, describes these two sections (respiratory illnesses and illnesses of the gastrointestinal tract) of the therapeutic corpus as follows:

VII BRONCHIA

- (1) [DIŠ NA (*na-piš*) KIR₄-šú DUGUD :] (2) DIŠ NA GABA-*su* GIG-*at*
- (3) [DIŠ NA GABA-*su* SAG ŠÀ-šú] *u* MAŠ.SÌLA.MEŠ-šú GU₇.MEŠ-^ršú¹
- (4) [DIŠ NA KÚM-*em ú-ga-na-aḥ*]: (5) DIŠ NA *su-a-lam* GIG
- (6) [DIŠ NA *su-a-lam ḥa-ḥa*] *u* *ki-^ršir-te^r* (MUR.MEŠ) GIG
- (7) [NÍGIN 6 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA KIR₄-šú DUGUD EN DIŠ NA G]I.GÍD
MUR.MEŠ *ši-i-qi* ù LÚ.TUR *su-alu* GIG
- (7) Total: six tablets from ‘if someone’s nose is swollen’ to ‘if someone’s windpipe suffers from *šīqu*’ and ‘if a child suffers from *suālu*.’

VIII STOMACH

- (1) [DIŠ NA *su-a-lam* GIG *ana ki-is* ŠÀ GUR-š]ú : (2) DIŠ NA ŠÀ-šú ^rGIG¹
- (3) [DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú GU₇-šú : (4) DIŠ NA UD.DA KUR-*t*] *d* :
- (5) DIŠ NA ŠÀ-šú KÚM DAB-*it*
- (6) [NÍGIN 5 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA *su-a-lam* GIG *ana ki-is* Š]À GUR-šú EN
TU₁₅ *iš-biṭ-su-^rma¹*
- (6) Total: five tablets from ‘If someone suffers from *suālu* (and) it turns into *kīs libbi^r*’ to ‘If wind strikes someone.’

We have omitted here the set of citations that follow the summary statement “Total: five tablets from ‘If someone suffers from *suālu* ...’”. If there is any general orientation of the BM 78963 compendium, it begins with a group of extracts from the end of the gastrointestinal series STOMACH, viz. *BAM* 579, which corresponds to the fifth tablet of the second subseries above ((5) DIŠ NA ŠÀ-šú KÚM DAB-*it*) and moves backwards through these two sub-series. It is noteworthy, however, that certain recipes in BM 78963 do not seem to fit into these two sub-series and must have been extracted from elsewhere in the therapeutic tradition. In part, the conflation of these two sub-series results from the popular name of the sub-series concerned with the illnesses of the digestive tract, namely SUALU, which is an abbreviation of the incipit for the sub-series, viz. DIŠ NA *su-a-lam* GIG *ana ki-is* ŠÀ GUR-šú, “If someone

suffers from *suālu*-disease (and then) it turns into *kīs libbi*-disease.” This abbreviated title for the sub-series concerned with illnesses of the gastrointestinal tract (*BAM* 574–579) is hopelessly misleading and we suggest that it be abandoned.

There are various indications in BM 78963 to suggest that it was not simply of academic or intellectual interest, but rather was oriented to practical use in real-world therapeutic procedures. This practical orientation is particularly visible in (i) its use of exact measurements for the ingredients in its recipes, (ii) elaborate descriptions of the processes of ingestion (including taking a medicine in several doses, sucking on lozenges and the like), and (iii) a series of global comments interspersed throughout the text that speak to the origin, domain of use or effectiveness of individual recipes. These features stand in direct opposition to the bulk of therapeutic recipes found in the library editions stemming from Assurbanipal’s Library. The library editions normally make use of schematic numerical quantities in their recipes, viz. long sequences of ingredients in which the amount of each ingredient is arbitrarily listed as, say, “one shekel”, and this may reflect a division of labour between the oral and written transmission of the recipes: the set of ingredients was probably transmitted in both written and memorized form, while the specific details of posology would have been taught as part of the on-the-job training of a would-be “physician” (Sum. *a.zu* = Akk. *asû*). What we find in BM 78963 is quite different: specific quantities, which were not normally transmitted in written form, appear here as integral parts of the text. Finkel, in his edition of the 81-7-1 materials, has emphasized the distinctive nature of “practical” texts such as these as follows:

The *asûtu* tablets here [viz. the 81-7-1 tablets] are noteworthy in giving consistent measurements of the drugs prescribed. It is a well-known characteristic of Mesopotamian medical literature that recipes do not as a rule specify quantities

...

As a working theory it may be postulated that detailed drug measurements are rather more common in Late Babylonian than Late Assyrian medical collections ... Of course, it could be argued that it is precisely when instructing apprentice doctors that measurements would be discussed and recorded, and thus the unusual exactitude that seems to be manifested in this particular archive might be simply a function of the schoolroom.

This inclusion of practical elements that were not normally part of the written tradition is also documented here for methods of ingestion as well as global or evaluative comments. We must imagine that particular methods of introducing medicaments into the body of a patient—beyond the relatively simple set of methods described in the library editions, viz. ingestion, enema, bandage and the like—were also normally taught through demonstration rather than textual description, yet BM 78963 includes these practical details.

One way of characterizing this contrast between library versions of recipes that systematically omit exact measures, methods of administration and evaluative statements and an extract tablet like BM 78963 that includes these practicalities is to speak of the library versions as “infrastructural compendia”. An infrastructural compendium can be distinguished from other forms of compendia by its exclusion of any and all elements that might lead it to be rejected by certain practitioners. In other words, an infrastructural compendium states a minimalist set of agenda that can be elaborated and extended through oral comment and demonstration in actual contexts of use. This allows the infrastructural compendium to serve as a “common ground” for competing factions or divergent practices. These library compendia are infrastructural in the precise sense of the term now being used in anthropological investigations of a wide range of infrastructures:

Infrastructures are built networks that facilitate the flow of goods, people, or ideas and allow for their exchange over space. As physical forms they shape the nature of a network, the speed and direction of its movement, its temporalities, and its vulnerabilities to breakdown.

LARKIN 2013, 328, apud JOHNSON 2015, 5

If the therapeutic compendia are understood to be infrastructural in this sense, then it actually explains a number of their peculiarities, including their anonymity, lack of perspectival disagreement and, not least, general lack of practical specificity. When, however, as in BM 78963, a physician wished to elaborate, in written form, on these practicalities, or indeed, to state his own opinion as to the effectiveness of a given recipe, this was systematically blocked within the context of the library copies. In some sense, then, the series of global comments about the use and effectiveness of the recipes and procedures extracted in BM 78963 represents a written instantiation of a running oral commentary on the recipes collected here. Although the meaning of some of these global comments remains unclear, a quick summary of them in translation gives a fairly good picture of the concerns and interests of BM 78963:

- 10 viz. three drugs for inducing vomiting of ...
- 16 viz. it is good for *amurriqānu*-jaundice, an experimental remedy
- 19 viz. for the esophagus
- 31 viz. a jar of drugs for the king's use
- 49 viz. a recipe for getting *suālu* under control
- 52* viz. a potion to stop *hu'u*-cough; oral lore [*šūt pî*]
- 53 viz. oral lore [*šūt pî*]
- 56 viz. four drugs for an esophagus afflicted with *tugarû*
- 59 viz. six drugs for the esophagus
- 64 viz. against ...; *ana* KA GUB, "written at dictation"
- 72 viz. ... from the hand of the *ummānu*
- 75 viz. a potion meant for all illnesses that is good against all illnesses
- 78 viz. a wintertime potion that he should drink while not fasting

Even taking into account intricacies of interpretation and translation, this series of comments speaks to both the practical use of individual recipes, their timing within the seasonal year, and their origin, as well as their effectiveness against particular diseases.

Lastly, before we proceed to our edition of the tablet, BM 78963 offers invaluable evidence for a paratextual code that was used for marking textual anomalies, namely the use of KÚR (= Akk. *nakāru*, "to be(come) different, strange, disfigured") as an indication of a possible textual corruption or ambiguity. The sign KÚR, which consists of two oblique wedges that cross in the form of an "X", was part of a small set of horizontal, vertical and oblique wedges that were used in certain contexts to mark para- or meta-textual features. The most common of these is the use of DIŠ to mark the beginning of a new entry in a lexical list or technical compendium; this usage is normalized into a conventional reading of DIŠ as equivalent to Akk. *šumma*, "if", but in origin it is simply the numeral "1" used to mark each entry, so that a total can be drawn up at the end of the tablet. The same orthographic form that we are reading here as KÚR, namely two oblique wedges in the form of an "X", typically read as PAP, is also used for the total at the end of a section or tablet, normally equated with the Akkadian term *napharu*. Although there are other uses of PAP/KÚR in the third millennium BCE,⁹ the earliest precursor to the specific paratextual notation

9 See the numerous examples in *OSP* 1, both preceding and following individual entries, a notation that was fairly widespread in the ED IIIb, Ur III and Old Akkadian periods. On PAP following entries in Ur III labour accounts, see Englund 1990, 103, n. 328 ("die Zeichen [bedeuten], daß der Schreiber beim ersten Rechnungsdurchgang die damit erfaßte Getreidemenge in eine Zwischensumme einbezogen hatte").

in our text, viz. PAP/KÚR written *on the left edge* as a paratextual marker for individual lines, is apparently first attested in a few Ur III administrative texts like *AAICAB* 1/2, pl. 97, 1935–558 (= P248633) and *OrSP* 6, 60, Wengler 50 (= P124833), and perhaps *BPOA* 1 549 (= P339206, no image available). These three tablets have very little in common and it is likely that the KÚR sign on the left margin is an *ad hoc* paratextual device in each case. If we turn to the temporal and generic parameters of BM 78963, however, the use of KÚR on the left margin emerges as a regular part of editorial practice in the first millennium BCE.

The specific use of KÚR on the left edge, particularly in the first millennium BCE, seems to mark scribal errors or uncertainties in the adjoining text. Borger (2010, 264) cites several discussions of this practice, from Lambert (1982, 216, marking an erroneous *ú-da-ad* for *ú-ad-da*, although Lambert collects several other examples), to Civil's discussion of "teacher's marks" in *MSL* 14 (Civil 1979, 6–7). Maul offers a nice summary of these discussions of KÚR in his *Zukunftsbewältigung* volume (Maul 1994, 440 and n. 13); more recently, Daniel Schwemer references this practice in his edition of BM 38599 in terms of "corruptions in the text which were highlighted by the scribe himself by means of error marks (KÚR) on the edge of the tablet."¹⁰ The same practice is occasionally found elsewhere in the Babylonian therapeutic tradition, as, for example, in *BAM* 193: i 7', where it highlights a line in a recipe against fever, and in MS 4575, a collection of extracts for hernia and related illnesses of the groin in boys, the same notation is used to indicate that something is amiss in line 10.¹¹ Up to now, the earliest mention of this particular usage of KÚR in the secondary literature seems to be in van Dijk's edition of a late Old Babylonian catalog of Classical Sumerian letters (W 17259):

Ein zweiter Vermerk, der, soweit ich sehe, in sonstigen Katalogen nicht vorkommt, macht grössere Schwierigkeit: Vs. Z. 13 und Rs. Z. 27 und 28 steht auf dem Rand das Zeichen k ú r oder p a p. Dieser Vermerk ist in den vorsargonischen Wirtschaftstexten gut bekannt und wurde von A. Falkenstein als "Abhaken" gedeutet. Das kommt aber hier nicht in Frage. Auch kann es nicht für späteres b a r = *ahû*, etwa "nicht kanonisch", stehen; denn da die drei Texte nur in einer Rezension bekannt sind, kann es sich hier nicht um eine zweite oder abweichende Rezension handeln. Die drei Texte sind anderswo ohne jeglichen Vermerk überliefert. Es wäre möglich,

¹⁰ Schwemer 2015, 211. Schwemer discusses their possible significance on pp. 225–226.

¹¹ The line in *BAM* 193 is transliterated in Abusch and Schwemer 2011, 228; for MS 4575 see George 2017, 167–168 and Pl. CXLVI (No. 75).

dass die Tafeln zerstört aufgefunden und als solche im Inventar verzeichnet wurden; das müsste dann allerdings sumerisch *k ú r-a sein.¹²

Van Dijk goes on, in his commentary on the individual lines, to reiterate the possibility that the KÚR notation indicates that the text in question was damaged in some way. It appears, therefore, that like so many other editorial and compendium-related techniques, the use of KÚR in the left margin probably originates at the end of the Old Babylonian period and becomes standardized in the Middle Babylonian period. Marginal KÚR occurs no less than eight times in BM 78963; these lines will be highlighted and discussed in the commentary.

Edition

Obverse

§ 1a¹³

- 1 [DIŠ NA] ʿšī-ri-iḫ-ti ŠÀ TUKU-ma ŠÀ-šú KÚM ú-kal mi-na-ʿtu-ʿ-[šú
DUB.MEŠ-ka GABA-su i-ka-sa-su]
- 2 NA BI UD.DA ḫa-miṭ ana DIN-šú ½ GÍN ʾak-tam 4-ut ILLU LI.[DUR x x
x x x x]
- 3 [ina] 2 NINDA KAŠ NAG-ma ina EGIR-šú šal-šá-a-tú NAG-ma BURU₈
is-sal-ʿla-ʿ-[aʿ la ta-na-kud DIN-uṭ]

(1) [šumma amēlu] širiḫti libbi
iraššima libbašu umma ukāl
minâtū[šu tabkâ irāssu ikas-
sassu] (2) amēlu šū šēta ḫamiṭ

(1) If a man has inflamed innards, his belly is
feverish, his limbs [are flaccid and his chest
causes him a gnawing pain], (2) that man
is burning with šētu-fever. In order to cure

12 van Dijk 1989, 443. As van Dijk emphasizes, the PAP at the very end of several third millennium legal records in Edzard 1968 is not related to the pattern under discussion here, nor is the reference to Monaco 1986, 13, n. 39, which deals with KÚR following personal names in Ur III administrative documents. See n. 9 above.

13 This section runs parallel, in part, to BAM 579: i 40–44 // BAM 52: 39–44 (fifth tablet of the gastrointestinal subcorpus STOMACH), with considerable deviations:

DIŠ NA šī-ri-iḫ-ti ŠÀ TUKU-ma ŠÀ-šú KÚM ú-kal mi-na-tu-šú DU[B.MEŠ-ka] GABA-su i-ka-sa-su LÚ (var.: NA) BI UD.DA ḫa-miṭ ana TI-šú šimGÚR.GÚR šim[LI/GAM.MA] úKUR.KUR ʾtar-muš ʾIGI-lim ʾIGI.NIŠ šimŠEŠ na⁴ga-bi-i ILLU LI.DUR (var.: LI.TAR) ʾḪAB ʾak-tam sâḫ-lu-u GAZ[Isar] Ú.KUR.RA 14 Ú.ḪI.A ŠEŠ (var.: an-nu-ti) DIŠ-niš ta-pa-aš ina KAŠ NU pa-tan NAG-ma BURU₈ maš-qit NAM.ÉRIM BÚR.RU.DA.KE₄.

ana bulluṭišu zūz aktam rebūt
ḥīl abuk[*kati* x x x x x] ⁽³⁾
[ina] šina akal šikari išattima
ina arkišu šalšātu išattima
īarru issall[*a' lā tanakkud ibal-*
luṭ]

him: [you ...] a half shekel of *aktam*-plant
 and a quarter shekel of *abukkatu*-resin [...],
⁽³⁾ then he drinks it in two *akal* of beer;
 after that he drinks it in thirds, then he will
 vomit. He may bec[ome critically ill, but do
 not worry, he will recover].

§ 1b

- 4 [DIŠ K]I.MIN 1 NINDA *si-in-du* ZÍZ.ÀM ½ NINDA *as-né-e* ½ NINDA
^{šim}LI *šal-šu* NINDA GAZ[^Isar x x x x]
 5 [ina] 1 SÌLA KAŠ ŠE ŠEG₆-*šal ta-šaḥ-ḥal* 1 NINDA Ì.GIŠ *ḥal-ša* 1 NINDA
 LĀL [x x x x]
 6 [E]GIR-*šu šal-ša-a-tú* NAG-*ma* [BURU₈]

⁽⁴⁾ [*šumma* k]i.min *ištēn akal*
sindu kunāši mišil akal asnē
mišil akal burāšu šalšu akal
kas[*û* x x x x] ⁽⁵⁾ [ina] *ištēn qa*
šikar uṭṭati tušabšal tašaḥḥal
ištēn akal šamnu ḥalša ištēn
akal dišpu [x x x x] ⁽⁶⁾ [*a*]rkišu
šalšātu išattima [īarru]

⁽⁴⁾ Alternatively, [you ...] an *akal* of *simdu*-
 groats of emmer, half an *akal* of Dilmun
 dates, half an *akal* of juniper, a third of an
akal of *kasû*-plant [...] ⁽⁵⁾ you boil these
 ingredients in a liter of barley beer, filter it,
 [then you ...] an *akal* of pressed oil, an *akal*
 of syrup [...]; ⁽⁶⁾ after that he drinks it in
 thirds, [then he will vomit].

§ 2a

- 7 [šu]m-*ma LÚ ana* BURU₈-*šu* 1 NINDA LAGAB MUNU₄ 1 NINDA
mu-un-du GAZI^{sar} 1 NINDA s[*i-in-du*? ZÍZ.ÀM?]
 8 [½ NINDA] *as-né-^re¹* ina A ŠEG₆-*šal* NAG-*ma* DIL.BI BURU₈ K.I.MIN
šam-me an-nu-tú [x x x x]
 9 [ina] '³ SÌL[A] KAŠ ŠEG₆-*šal ta-šaḥ-ḥal* 1 NINDA Ì.GIŠ *ḥal-ša* 1
 NI[NDA LĀL x x]
 10 [EG]R-*šu šal-ša-a-tú* NAG-*ma* BURU₈ 3 Ú.ḪI.A BURU₈ š[*á* x x x x]

⁽⁷⁾ [šu]mma *amēlu ana šu'rēšu*
ištēn akal šibirti buqli ištēn
akal mundu kasē ištēn akal
s[*indu*? *kunāši*?] ⁽⁸⁾ [*mišil akal*]
asnē ina mē tušabšal išat-
tima ēdiššišu? īarru ki.min

⁽⁷⁾ If a man—in order to make him vomit:
 an *akal* of malt lumps, an *akal* of *mundu*-
 groats of *kasû*-plant, an *akal* of *sim*[*du*-
 groats of emmer?], ⁽⁸⁾ an *akal* of Dilmun
 dates you boil in water, he drinks it,
 then he must vomit it up all at once(?).

šammē annûtu [x x x x]

⁽⁹⁾ [*ina*] *šalāšat qa šikari tušab-
šal tašaḥḥal ištēn akal šamnu
ḥalša ištēn akal* [*dišpu* x x]

⁽¹⁰⁾ [*ar*] *kīšu šalšātu išattima
i'arru šalāšat šammū arê ša* [x
x x x]

Alternatively, you boil these drugs ⁽⁹⁾ in three liters of beer (and) filter it, [you ...] an *akal* of a liter of pressed oil and an *akal* of [syrup ...; ⁽¹⁰⁾ af]ter that, he drinks it in thirds, then he will vomit. Three drugs for inducing vomiting; of [...]

§ 2b

11 [2] *gi-re-e* ILLU LI.DUR *gi-ru-ú* ^{sim}LI *g*[*i-ru-ú* x x]

12 *ina* 2 NINDA Ì NAG-*ma* BURU₈ EGIR-šú *šal-šá-a-tú* NAG-*ma*
BURU₈-^r*ru*⁷

⁽¹¹⁾ [*šina*] *girê ḥīl abukkati girû
burāšu gi*[*rû* x x] ⁽¹²⁾ *ina šina
akal šamni išattima i'arru ark-
išu šalšātu išattima i'arru*

⁽¹¹⁾ A twelfth of a shekel of *abukkatu*-resin, a twenty-fourth of a shekel of juniper, a twenty-fourth [of a shekel of ...]—⁽¹²⁾ he drinks them in two *akal* of oil, then he will vomit; after that he drinks it in thirds, then he will vomit.

§ 2c

13 Ì ^{gi}š*lam-mu* 5-šú lu 10-šú *ina* ŠU.^rSI-šú⁷ *ú-na-šap* EGIR-šú *šal-šá-a-tú*
NAG-*ma* BURU₈

⁽¹³⁾ *šaman lammu ḥamšīšu lū
ešrišu ina ubānīšu unaššap
arkišu šalšātu išattima i'arru*

⁽¹³⁾ He licks up almond oil either five or ten times with his finger; after that, he drinks it in thirds, then he will vomit.

§ 2d

14 KÚR 2 NINDA LÀL 2 GÍN Ú.KUR.RA *lu* ^uGAMUN^{sar} GAZ SIM ḪI.ḪI
15 *ina* 2 NINDA SUM^{sar} NAG EGIR-šú *šal-šá-a-tú* NAG-*ma* BURU₈

⁽¹⁴⁾ *šina akal dišpu šina šiqil
nīnû lū kamūnu taḥaššal
tanappi taballal* ⁽¹⁵⁾ *ina šina
akal sūmi išatti arkišu šalšātu
išattima i'arru*

⁽¹⁴⁾ You crush, sieve and mix together two *akal* of syrup, two shekels of *nīnû*-plant or *kamūnu*-spice, ⁽¹⁵⁾ he drinks it in two *akal* of garlic (juice); after that, he drinks it in thirds, then he will vomit.

§ 2e

- 16 KÀŠ.MEŠ SUMUN.MEŠ NAG-*ma* BURU₈ *ana a-mur-ri-qa-nu* SIG₅
mál-tak-tú

(16) *šinātu labirātu išattima*
i'arru ana amurriqānu damiq
maltaktu

(16) He drinks old urine, then he will vomit.
 It is good for *amurriqānu*-jaundice, an
 experimental remedy.

§ 3a

- 17 *a-na* BURU₈ TAR-*si mu-raṭ-ṭi-bu* GU₇-šú A ^{gis}NU.ÚR.MA NAG-šú
šum₄-ma KÚM.MEŠ ^{šim}ŠEŠ NUMUN ^ú*qut-ri*
 18 ^úSULLIM^{sar} *ina* A SÚD *tak-ša-a-tú ina* UGU ŠĀ-šú LÁ *u maš-qut an-nit*
 NAG-šú

(17) *ana arê parāsi muraṭṭibu*
tušakkalšu mē nurmē tašaqqišu
šumma ummāt murru zēr
qutri (18) *šambaliltu ina mē*
tasâk takšâtu ina muḥḥi lib-
bīšu tašammid u mašqūt annīt
tašaqqišu

(17) In order to stop vomiting: you have
 him eat mash[?] and have him drink
 pomegranate juice; if it is summertime,¹⁴
 you crush myrrh, seed of *qutru*-plant and
 (18) *šambaliltu*-plant in water and place
 them as a cold compress on his belly and
 only then you have him drink this potion.

§ 3b

- 19 2 GÍN ^úDÚR.NU.LUḤ.ḤA DU₁₀-*tī tu-sal-lat it-tī* 2 NINDA LĀL *ina* IGI
 NĀ-šú GU₇ šá KA *kar-šú*

(19) *šina šiḡil tīyati ṭābti tusal-*
lat itti šina akal dišpi ina pān
šalālīšu ikkal ša pī karšu

(19) You chop up two shekels of sweet *tīyatu*-
 plant, and he eats it in combination with
 two *akal* of syrup before bed. A recipe for
 the esophagus.

14 U. Steinert is to be credited for the correct reading of KÚM.MEŠ as *ummāt(u)*, “summer(time)” (personal communication).

§ 4¹⁵

- 20 *šum-ma* LÚ GABA-su TU₁₅ *le-qa-at-ma ú-šá-an-na-a'* 1 GÍN
 21 1 GÍN LAGAB MUNU₄ ½ GÍN ZÌ.ŠE.SA.A *ina* LĀL u Ì *hal-ša ú-na-šap*

(21) *šumma amēlu irāssu šāra
 leqātma ušanna' ištēn šiqil tīy-
 atu* (22) *ištēn šiqil šibirti buqli
 zūz lābtu ina dišpi u šamni
 ḥalša unaššap*

(21) If gas has become trapped in a man's chest such that it forms a blockage, he must lick up one shekel of *tīyatu*-plant, (22) one shekel of lumps of malt and a half shekel of roasted barley flour in syrup and pressed oil.

§ 5

- 22 *šum-ma* GABA-su *ta-ta-kal-šú šá nu-uš-šu-pu a-na nu-uš-šu-pi-šú* LĀL
 Ì.NUN.NA
 23 Ì *hal-ša* 1 DÚR.NU.LUḤ.ḤA *4-ut mu-un-du* GAZI^{sar} 2 *gi-re-e* Ú.BABBAR
 2 *gi-re-e* 1 šu-un-ḥu
 24 2 *gi-re-e* IM.KAL.GUG *an-da-šum* SÚD-ma *ina* KAŠ *ṭa-a-bi ú-na-šap*

(22) *šumma irāssu tātakkalšu ša
 nuššupu ana nuššupīšu dišpu
 ḥimētu* (23) *šamnu ḥalša tīy-
 atu rebūt mundu kasê šina
 girê šammu pešû šina girê
 šunḥu* (24) *šina girê kalgukku
 anda(ḥ)šum tasāk ina šikari
 ṭābi unaššap*

(22) If he is eaten up with pain in his chest—in order to prepare a lozenge for him to suck on: you crush syrup, ghee, (23) pressed oil, *tīyatu*-plant, a quarter of a shekel of *mundu*-groats of *kasû*-plant, a twelfth of a shekel of the “white plant”, a twelfth of a shekel of *šunḥu*-plant, (24) a twelfth of a shekel of *kalgukku*-paste, and *anda(ḥ)šu*-plant, and he must suck on it in sweet beer.

§ 6a¹⁶

- 25 DIŠ NA *lu* MUR.MEŠ *lu ki-šir-ti* MUR.MEŠ *lu su-alu* GIG *ana* DIN-šú
mun-zi-qu te-bé-er'(NI)
 26 *ina* A LUḤ-si *ta-šá-an-ni-ma* LUḤ 1 GÍN ^{gis}EREN 2 GÍN ^{gis}ŠUR.MÌN 1½
 GÍN ^{gis}dup-ra-nu

15 This section is duplicated in *BAM* 44: 5'–6', where it is for the most part broken and erroneously has ŠÈ (= zê) LAGAB MUN[U₄] instead of 1 GÍN LAGAB MUNU₄.

16 This section is duplicated in *BAM* 42: 24–35 (a) // *BAM* 44: 33'–40' (b) // Heeßel and Al-

- 27 2 GÍN ^{šim}GÍR 2 GÍN ^{šim}MUG 2 GÍN ŠIM.ŠAL 5 GÍN GI DU₁₀.GA 2 GÍN ŠIM.^dMAŠ
 28 KÚR 2 GÍN ^{šim}MAN.DU ½ GÍN ^{šim}ŠEŠ ½ GÍN ^{šim}ḤAB 4-ut ILLU
^{šim}BULUH 2 GÍN *bu-uṭ-na-na*
 29 2 GÍN ^úḥa-ša-nu 2 GÍN ^úkur-ka-nu-ú 10 GÍN ^úqul-qul-la-nu 16 Ú ŠEŠ.MEŠ
 DIŠ-niš *ta-pár-ras*
 30 a-na MAŠ *mun-zīq tu-sam-maḥ ana DUG te-es-sip* ^{gis}GEŠTIN *dan-nu*
 DU₁₀.GA *ana ŠĀ DUB 7 U₄ GAR*
 31 e-nu-ma *il-tab-ku ina* ^gSAG.KUD GI DU₁₀.GA *la pa-tan NAG.MEŠ*
^{dug}*ta-ri-ḥu ša Ú.ḪIA ša LUGAL*

(25) *šumma amēlu lū ḥašē lū*
kiširti ḥašē lū suālu maruṣ ana
bulluṭišu munzīqu tebēr (26) *ina*
mē temessi tašannima temessi
ištēn šiqil erēnu šina šiqil šur-
mēnu ištēn šiqil zūz duprānu
 (27) *šina šiqil asu šina šiqil*

(25) If a man suffers either from lung prob-
 lems, or from clots in the lungs or from
 phlegm, in order to cure him: you select
 some raisins and (26) wash them in water
 twice. One shekel of cedar, two shekels of
 cypress, one and a half shekels of *duprānu*-
 juniper, (27) two shekels of myrtle, two

Rawi 2003, 232, § 38 (c); here follow variants of some importance, each time after : before
 which the present tablet is quoted.

25. *mun-zī-qu te-bé-er*!: [GEŠT]IN.ḪĀD.A.MEŠ *te-be-er* (a). 26. *ina* A LUḪ-si *ta-ša-an-*
ni-ma LUḪ: 2-šú *ina* GEŠTIN.SUR LUḪ-si (a), [*ina* G]EŠTIN.SUR.RA LUḪ-si *ta-ša-ni-ma*
 LUḪ-si (b); 25–26. *mun-zī-qu ...* LUḪ omitted in (c); 1 GÍN ^{gis}EREN: [1]½ GÍN ^{gis}ere-nu
 (a); 2 GÍN ^{gis}ŠUR.MĪN: 1½ GÍN ^{gis}ŠUR.MĪN (a), 1 GÍN ^{gis}ŠUR.MĪN (c); 1½ GÍN ^{gis}dup-
 ra-nu: 2 GÍN *dap-ra-nu* (a). 27. 2 GÍN ^{šim}MUG: omitted in (a); 2 GÍN ŠIM.ŠAL: 1½ GÍN
 ŠIM.ŠAL (a); 2 GÍN ŠIM.^dMAŠ: 3 GÍN ^{šim}BAL (a). 27–28. 2 GÍN ^{šim}GÍR ... ½ GÍN ^{šim}ŠEŠ:
 1 GÍN ^{šim}GÍR 5 GÍN GI DU₁₀.GA 3 GÍN ^{šim}MUG 1 GÍN ^{šim}MAN.DU 1 GÍN ŠIM.ŠAL
 2 GÍN ŠIM.^dMAŠ 1½ GÍN ^{šim}ŠEŠ (c) 28. 1½ GÍN ŠIM.^dMAŠ inserted after ^{šim}*man-du*
 (a); 4-ut: IGI.4.GĀLLA (c), IGI.5.GĀLLA (b), *ḥum* (abbreviation for *ḥummušu*) GÍN
 (a); ^{šim}BULUH: ^{šim}BULUH-ḥi <(a)> (a). 29. 10 GÍN ^úqul-qul-la-nu: 10 GÍN ^{šim}ŠE.LI (a);
 PAP (= *naphar*) inserted before 16 Ú (b); *ta-pár-ras*: *ta-ka-sim* (ac). 30. a-na MAŠ *mun-*
zīq: KI (= *itti*) GEŠTIN.ḪĀD.A.MEŠ (a); ^{gis}GEŠTIN *dan-nu*: GEŠTIN *ḥa-am-ra* (a); 7
 U₄ GAR: 5 u₄-me GAR-an (a). 31. After NAG.MEŠ (a) continues: *ana MUR sa-ḥi* [TI-ṭ]i
 SIG₅-iq ŠIM.ḪIA *ša* LUGAL! (tablet: LÚ) 2 ^{dug}*ta-ri-ḥa-a-te ni-šir-ti* LUGAL-ti. 30–31. (c)
 has a widely deviating text (! marks corrected readings, HS): GAZ SIM 'SÚN'! TITAB
 ZÍZ'.AN'.NA' *ina* NINDU BAD-er E₁₁-a' SED *tu-ub¹²-bal¹² i-na* DUG¹² GUG GAZ SÚN TITAB
 ù Ú.ḪIA *an-nu-ti* DIŠ-niš ḪI.ḪI *ana'* DUG¹ *te'-es'-síp¹* 3 U₄-mi GAR-an U₄-ma (= *enūma*)
 AL.ŠEG₆.GĀ (= *ibtašlu*) Ī.GIŠ *ḥal-ša u* KAŠ *dan¹²-nu¹²* DU₁₀¹².GA *ana* ŠĀ DUB-ak (no ù!)
ina ^gSAG.KUD NU *pa-tan* NAG.MEŠ *ana* MUR.MEŠ DÜ.A.BI SIG₅ *ta-ri-ḥu* DIDA SIG₅
 ša EN.TE.NA.

ballukku šina šiqil šimiššalû
hamšat šiqil qanû t̃ābu šina
šiqil nikiptu ⁽²⁸⁾ *šina šiqil suādu*
zūz murru zūz t̃urû rebût h̃il
baluḥḥi šina šiqil buṭnāna
⁽²⁹⁾ *šina šiqil ḥašānu šina šiqil*
kurkanû ešeret šiqil qulqulānu
šeššeret šammē annūti ištēniš
taparras ⁽³⁰⁾ *ana mišil munzīq*
tusammaḥ ana karpati tessip
karānu dannu t̃ābu ana libbi
tašappak sebet ūmē tašakkan
⁽³¹⁾ *enūma iltabku ina takkussi*
qanê t̃ābi lā patān ištānatti
tariḥu ša šammē ša šarri

shekels of *ballukku*-aromatic, two shekels of *šimiššalû*-aromatic, five shekels of sweet reed, two shekels of *nikiptu*-aromatic, ⁽²⁸⁾ two shekels of *suādu*-aromatic, a half shekel of myrrh, a half shekel of *t̃urû*-aromatic, a quarter of a shekel of *baluḥḥu*-resin, two shekels of *buṭnānu*-plant, ⁽²⁹⁾ two shekels of *ḥašānu*-plant, two shekels of *kurkanû*-plant, ten shekels of *qulqulānu*-plant—you cut up these sixteen drugs finely together, mix them ⁽³⁰⁾ into half of the raisins, put everything together in a jar, pour strong, sweet wine into it and leave it for seven days. ⁽³¹⁾ Once the mixture has macerated, he must drink it at regular intervals on an empty stomach through a tube made of sweet reed. A jar with drugs for the king's use.

§ 6b

- 32 3 GÍN ^{gis}qu-un-na-bu 3 GÍN ŠIM.ŠAL 3 GÍN ^{šim}MUG 3 GÍN ^{šim}GÍR 3
 GÍN ^{šim}GAM.MA
 33 3 GÍN ^{šim}BULUḤ 2 GÍN ^{ua}a-a-ru-ut-tú 2 GÍN ^{gis}EREN 4 GÍN GI DU₁₀.GA
 PAP ⅓ (sc. MA.NA) 6 GÍN ŠIM
 34 *ina ma-suk-tu tu-ḥa-ša-aš* SĪG mun-ziq *ina KAŠ ZÚ.LUM.MA LUḤ*
E_{II}-ma ŠIM šu-a-ti
 35 *ana ŠÀ ḪI.ḪI pa-šu-ú ana UGU ŠUB-ma 3 U₄ ka-ník ina U₄ 3.KAM*
BAD-ma (a erased) ana ^dGAŠAN BAL

⁽³²⁾ *šalāšat šiqil qunnabu*
šalāšat šiqil šimiššalû šalāšat
šiqil ballukku šalāšat šiqil šum-
lalû ⁽³³⁾ *šalāšat šiqil baluḥḥu*
šina šiqil yāruttu šina šiqil
erēnu erbet šiqil qanû t̃ābu
naḫḫar šeššešrā šiqil riqqu ⁽³⁴⁾
ina masuktu tuḥaššaš tamaḥ-
ḥaš munzīq ina šikar suluppi
temessi tušellima riqqu šuāti
⁽³⁵⁾ *ana libbi taballal pašû ana*

⁽³²⁾ Three shekels of cannabis, three shekels of *šimiššalû*-aromatic, three shekels of *ballukku*-aromatic, three shekels of *šumlalû*-aromatic, ⁽³³⁾ three shekels of *baluḥḥu*-resin, two shekels of *yāruttu*-plant, two shekels of cedar, four shekels of sweet reed, in total twenty-six shekels of aromatics—⁽³⁴⁾ you cut them to pieces and stamp them fine in a mortar, you rinse (the remaining half of) the raisins in date beer, take them out and ⁽³⁵⁾ mix the mélange of aromatics in;

muḥḥi tanaddima šalāšat ūmē then you pour white beer over it and leave it
kanik ina šalši ūmi tepettima sealed¹⁷ for three days; you unseal it on the
ana Bēlti tanaqqi third day and libate it before the Lady.

§ 7

- 36 KÚR šum-ma LÚ ḥa-še-e GIG bit-qa Ú.NAM.DIN ina A ^{giš}NU.ÚR.MA
 SÚD-ma NAG
 37 GABA-su te-še-’i šá nu-šu-pu ú-na-šap ¹ NINDA KÀŠ SUMUN.MEŠ ¹
 NINDA KAŠ DU₁₀.GA su-um-(mu)-nu Ì ḥal-ša
 38 ana ŠÀ a-ḥa-meš tu-sam-maḥ EME-šú ina mu-ši-pe-e-ti ta-šab-bat ana
 KA-šú ŠUB-ma
 39 tu-šap-šaq KAŠ.SAG ZÚ.LUM.MA DU₁₀.GA NAG-šú

(³⁶) *šumma amēlu ḥašē maruṣ*
bitqa šammi balāṭi ina mē
nurmē tasākma išatti (³⁷) *irāssu*
teše’i ša nuṣṣupu unaššap ištēn
akal šinātu labirātu ištēn akal
šikaru ṭābu sum(mu)nu šamnu
ḥalša (³⁸) *ana libbi aḥāmeš*
tusammaḥ lišānšu ina mušīpēti
tašabbat ana pīšu tanaddima
 (³⁹) *tušapšaq šikar suluppi ṭābu*
tašaqqišu

(³⁶) If a man suffers from lung disease, you crush an eighth of a shekel of the “plant of life” in pomegranate juice and then he drinks it. (³⁷) You examine his chest and he must suck on a lozenge. (³⁸) Then you mix together (³⁷) an *akal* of old urine, an *akal* of sweet beer and an eighth of a liter of pressed oil, (³⁸) you grab hold of his tongue with rags of *mušīptu*-cloth and pour the mixture into his mouth (³⁹) even though you have problems with it?¹⁸ Then you give him sweet, first-class date beer to drink.

§ 8a¹⁹

- 40 DIŠ NA em-bu-bu ḥa-še-e GIG-ma ú-gan-na-aḥ KI ru-ṭi^{sic}-šú MÚD
 ŠUB-a ½ NINDA A ^{giš}NU.ÚR.MA
 41 15 ŠE Ú.NAM.TI.LA ina 2 NINDA.ḪI.A Ì ḥal-ša DIŠ-niš ḪI.ḪI-ma
 NAG-šú

17 J. Scurlock is to be credited for having established the correct reading of the polyvalent signs as *ka-ník*, stative G-stem of *kanāku* “to seal”.

18 Is this an error for *ušapšaq*, “(though) he may suffer great distress,” or is a physical meaning intended: “to the point of choking”?

19 This section is duplicated in *BAM* 44: 16’–17’ (b) // Heeßel and al-Rawi 2003, 232, § 37 (c). Some variants worthy of note: 40. *em-bu-bu ḥa-še-e*: G1.GÍD MUR.MEŠ (bc); *ru-ṭi-šú*:

(40) *šumma amēlu embūbu
ḥašē maruṣma ugannaḥ itti
ruṭiṣu dāmu inaddā mišil akal
mê nurmê* ⁽⁴¹⁾ *ḥamiššer uṭṭat
šammi balāṭi ina šina akal
šamnu ḥalša ištēniš taballalma
tašaqqišu*

(40) If a man suffers from a diseased wind-
pipe along with a severe cough and he spits
up blood together with his saliva, you mix
together half an *akal* of pomegranate juice,
⁽⁴¹⁾ a twelfth of a shekel of the “plant of life”
in two *akal* of pressed oil and have him
drink it.

§ 8b²⁰

- 42 1 GÍN ^uDÚR.NU.LUḤ.ḤA ½ GÍN GAZI^{sar} 1 GÍN Ú.BABBAR 1 GÍN
^ušu-un-ḥu 2 GÍN ^uan-daḥ-šum
43 5 Ú MUR.MEŠ GAZ SIM *ina* LĀL *u* Ì ḥal-ša ú-na-šap

(42) *ištēn šiqil tīyatu zūz kasē
ištēn šiqil šammu pešū ištēn
šiqil šunḥu šina šiqil andaḥšum*
⁽⁴³⁾ *ḥamšat šammē ḥašē taḥaš-
šal tanappi ina dišpi u šamni
ḥalša unaššap*

(42) One shekel of *tīyatu*-plant, a half shekel
of *kasû*-plant, one shekel of the “white
plant”, one shekel of *šunḥu*-plant and two
shekels of *andaḥšu*-plant—five drugs for
the lungs; ⁽⁴³⁾ you crush and sieve them and
then he licks them up in syrup and pressed
oil.

§ 9

- 44 DIŠ NA *su-alu* GIG ^uan-daḥ-šum SÚD *ina* LĀL *u* Ì ḥal-ša ḪI.ḪI NU
pa-tan NAG.ME ^uḪUR.ḪUR SÚD *ina* KAŠ NAG-ma DIN

(44) *šumma amēlu suālu maruṣ
andaḥšum tasâk ina dišpi u
šamni ḥalša taballal lā patān*

(44) If a man suffers from *suālu*-phlegm, you
crush *andaḥšu*-plant and mix it in syrup
and pressed oil; then he drinks it at regular

ÚḤ-šú (bc); ½ NINDA: omitted in (c). 41. 15 ŠE Ú.NAM.TILA: 15 še-⟨ú⟩ ^uÚKUŠ^{sar} (c), U₄.15.KĀM (corrupted text) ^uÚK[UŠ] (b); *ina* 2 NINDA.ḪIA Ì ḥal-ša: [i-n]a ½ SĪLA Ì.GIŠ ṛḥal'-ša (b), ½ SĪLA Ì.GIŠ BĀRA (c).

20 Duplicated in BAM 43: 4–5 (d) // BAM 44: 11–12 (b) // BAM 161: vii 13–16 (e) // Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003, 232, § 34 (c). In none of the duplicates any units of measure are specified; further variants that make a difference: 42. ^uDÚR.NU.LUḤ.ḤA: ^(u)ti-ia/ia-tú (bce). 43. 5 Ú MUR.MEŠ: IM.KAL.[GA] 6 *šam-me* MUR.MEŠ (b), [x] Ú.ḪIA MUR GIG (c); GAZ SIM: ḪI.ḪI (c), omitted in (be); LĀL *u* Ì ḥal-ša: LĀL *u* Ì.NUN *u* Ì.GIŠ BĀRA.[GA] (b), LĀL Ì.NUN.(NA) *u* Ì+GIŠ ḥal-ši (de), Ì.NUN.NA [u Ì.GIŠ BĀRA.G]A (c).

ištanatti ḥašû tasâk ina šikari intervals on an empty stomach. Then you
ištanattima iballuṭ crush *ḥašû*-thyme and he drinks it in beer at
 regular intervals, then he will recover.

§ 10

45 DIŠ NA *su-alu rit*ⁿ(tablet: DUB)-*ku-su* GIG IM.KAL.GUG SÚD *ina* LĀL
 ZÚ.LUM.MA *u* Ī.NUN.NA 𒄩.𒄩
 46 šèr-ti *u* ka-ši-tú 7-šú *u* 7-šú *tu-ša-šap-šú* *ina* GABA-šú ^{túg}BAR.SIG NU
 DU₈

Reverse

47 šum-ma EN.TE.NA *pu-šik-ku* LÁ *ina* A ^{giš}ŠE.NÁ.A RA-ma DIN

(45) *šumma amēlu suālu ritkusu* (45) If a man suffers from congealed *suālu*-
maruṣ kalgukku tasâk ina dišip phlegm, you crush *kalgukku*-paste and mix
suluppi u ḥimēti taballal (46) it in date syrup and ghee; (46) you have him
šerti u kašitu sebīšu u sebīšu lick it up twice seven times at daybreak and
tušaššapšu ina irtišu paršigu in the cool of the evening; do not remove
lā tapaṭṭar (47) *šumma kūšu* the *paršigu*-sash from his chest. (47) If it is
pušikku tašammid mē šunē wintertime, you put on a bandage of carded
taraḥḥašma iballuṭ wool and bathe (him) with an infusion of
šunû-plant, then he will recover.

§ 11

48 úNAGA.TIR GAZI^{sar} úḪUR.ḪUR úDÚR.NU.LUḪ.ḪA šimBULUḪ
mál-ma-liš GAZ SIM
 49 *ba-lu pa-tan ina* KAŠ ŠE SUMUN *lu ina* GEŠTIN LÍMMU-tú *ḥa-a-ṭu*
NAG šá su-alu ana ka-ma-a-si

(48) *qiltu kasû ḥašû tīyatu* (48) You crush together and sieve *qiltu*-lye-
baluḥḫu malmališ taḥaššal plant,²¹ *kasû*-plant, *ḥašû*-thyme, *tīyatu*-plant
tanappi (49) *balu patān ina* and *baluḥḫu*-aromatic; (49) then he drinks
šikar uṭṭati labiri lū ina karāni it in four doses on an empty stomach in old
erbetu ḥâṭu išatti ša suālu ana barley beer or in wine. A recipe for cleaning
kamāsi out *suālu*.

21 The correct reading of the second sign as NAGA was established by I. Finkel.

§ 12a

50 DIŠ NA ši-qá DAB-su pa-šu-ú GA KU₇.KU₇ Ì *hal-ša* GEŠTIN LÀL u
Ì.NUN

51 *mál-ma-liš* ̒I.̒I NU *pa-tan ú-na-šap*

(50) *šumma amēlu šīqa išbassu*
pašû šizbu matqu šamnu ḥalša
karānu dišpu u ḥimētu (51) *mal-*
mališ taballal lā patān unaššap

(50) If a man is seized by *šīqu*-cough, you
mix together white beer, sweetened milk,
pressed oil, wine, syrup and ghee (51) in
equal quantities; then he licks it up on an
empty stomach.

§ 12b

52 DIŠ NA ši-qá DAB-su šá-ʾi-i-lu A.ŠÀ SÚD *ina* GA NAG-*ma ina-eš*

(52) *šumma amēlu šīqa išbassu*
šāʾilu eqli tasāk ina šizbi išat-
tima ināeš

(52) If a man is seized by *šīqu*-cough, you
crush a praying mantis; he drinks it in milk,
then he will recover.

§ 12c

52*²² LÀL Ì *hal-ša* GA U₈ *pe-ši-ti u* GEŠTIN/KAŠ.TIN?²² (tablet: QUM) *ana*
ŠÀ KAŠ SUMUN ̒I.̒I *maš-qut šá ḥu-ʾi* TAR-si *šu-ut K[A ...]*

(52*) *dišpu šamnu ḥalša šizib*
lahri pešīti u karānu/kurunnu?
ana libbi šikari labiri taballal
mašqūt ša ḥuʾi parāsi šūt p[ī ...]

(52*) You mix syrup, pressed oil, milk of a
white ewe and wine/fine beer? into old beer.
A potion to stop *ḥuʾu*-cough; oral lo[re of ...]

§ 13

53 *ana ú-qá* TAR-si ^úzi-ba-a *ta-mar-raq ina* TÚG.GADA KÉŠ
tu-še-en-še-šu-ma ina-eš šu-ut KA

54 DIŠ KI.MIN LÀL Ì.NUN.NA Ì *hal-ša* ^{šim}̒HAB *tu-ba-ḥar ú-na-šap*

22 This line is written on the tablet's left-hand edge. The scribe had inadvertently skipped the line and upon realizing his omission, after having finished his copy, he had no other option but to add it here afterwards. The lengthened ruling between lines 52 and 53 indicates that it has to be inserted there. An example of the same procedure for correcting an

(53) *ana uqqa parāsi zibâ
tamarraq ina kitê tarakkas
tušenšeššuma ināeš šūt pî* (54)
*šumma ki.min dišpu himētu
šamnu ḫalša ṭurû tubaḫḫar
unaššap*

(53) In order to stop *uqqu*-cough: you pulverize black cumin, bind it into a piece of linen and have him inhale it, then he will recover. Oral lore. (54) Alternatively, you thoroughly cook syrup, ghee, pressed oil and *ṭurû*-aromatic, then he licks it up.

§ 14

55 DIŠ NA *ši-i-qu lu ḫu-’u* GIG GA KU₇.KU₇ NAG

(55) *šumma amēlu šīqu lū ḫu’u
maruṣ šizbu matqu išatti*

(55) If a man is suffering from *šīqu*- or *ḫu’u*-cough, he must drink sweetened milk.

§ 15a

56 1 GÍN ^uHUR.HUR ½ GÍN GAZI^{sar} 1 GÍN ^ušu-un-’u 1 GÍN Ú.BABBAR 4 ú
KA *kar-šú tu-ga-r’ e¹-[e²]*

57 *u* TU₁₅ *la-qa-a-tú ba-lu pa-tan ina KAŠ NA[G]*

(56) *ištēn šiqil ḫašû zûz kasû
ištēn šiqil šun’u ištēn šiqil
šammu pešû erbet šammû pî
karši tugarê* (57) *u šāri laqātu
balu patān ina šikari išatti*

(56) One shekel of *ḫašû*-thyme, a half shekel of *kasû*-plant, one shekel of *šun’u*-plant, one shekel of the “white plant”—four drugs for the esophagus, for clearing away *tugarû* (57) and gas; he drinks them in beer on an empty stomach.

§ 15b

58 6-*u’* ^utar-muš ḫum-mu-šú ^uIGI-līm 6-*u’* ^uIGI.NIŠ ½ GÍN Ú.BABBAR

59 KÚR ½ GÍN *bit-qa* Ú.KUR.RA *bit-qa* Ú.NAM.DIN 6 ú KA *kar-šú*

(58) *suddû tarmuš ḫummušu
imḫur-līm suddû imḫur-ešrā
zûz šammu pešû* (59) *zûz bitqa*

(58) A sixth of a shekel of *tarmuš*-plant, a fifth of a shekel of *imḫur-līm*-plant, a sixth of a shekel of *imḫur-ešrā*-plant, a half shekel

omission can be found in *STT* 95, line 138, which actually belongs after line 110; the head of the ruling jutting forth so as to protrude into the blank space to the left is not there in Gurney’s copy but clearly visible on the physical artifact.

*nīnû bitqa šammi balāṭi šeššet
šammū pī karšu*

of the “white plant”, ⁽⁵⁹⁾ five-eighths of a shekel of *nīnû*-plant, an eighth of a shekel of the “plant of life”—six drugs for the esophagus.

§ 15c

- 60 ½ GÍN ^ú*tar-muš* ½ GÍN ^ú*IGI-līm* ½ GÍN ^ú*IGI.NIŠ* ½ GÍN ^ú*KUR.RA* ½
GÍN *NAGA.SI*
61 ½ GÍN ^{na4}*gab-bu-u* ½ GÍN ^ú*NAM.DIN* ½ GÍN ^ú*ḪUR.ḪUR* PAP 8 ^ú
ŠEŠ.ME
62 *mál-ma-liš* LÁ GAZ SIM *ki-šir-šú-nu la i-re-eḫ-ḫa tu-da-q-qaq* EN ^ú *u*
ki-šir-šú-nu
63 *tu-da-q-qa-qu-ma ana ŠÀ a-ḫa-meš tu-sam-maḫ* ½ GÍN ZÌ.SA LÁ-ma 1
NINDA LÁL
64 KÚR *ina ŠÀ* 4 NINDA KAŠ ŠE SUMUN SAG.MEŠ *ta-sáh-ḫi* ^ú *ina ŠÀ*
ḪI.ḪI-ma ú-bar-re-e-ma NAG *šá* kar za meš *ana* KA GUB
65 ÉN ^d*gu-la* GAŠAN *šur-bu-tu* 4 AMA *réme-ni-tu* 4 *a-ši-bat* AN-e KÙ.MEŠ
ana UGU ŠID-nu

⁽⁶⁰⁾ *zūz tarmuš zūz imḫur-līm zūz imḫur-ešrā zūz nīnû zūz uḫūlu qarnānu* ⁽⁶¹⁾ *zūz gabbū zūz šammi balāṭi zūz ḫašē napḫar samānat šammū annūtu* ⁽⁶²⁾ *malmališ taḫât taḫaššal tanappi kiširšunu lā ireḫḫâ tudaqqaq adi šammē u kiširšunu* ⁽⁶³⁾ *tudaqqaquma ana libbi aḫāmeš tusammaḫ zūz lābtu taḫâtma ištēn akal dišpu* ⁽⁶⁴⁾ *ina libbi erbet akal šikar uṭṭati labiri rēštî tasaḫḫi šammē ina libbi taballalma ubarrēma išatti šá* kar za meš *ana pī šaṭir* ⁽⁶⁵⁾ *šiptu Gula bēltu šurbūtu ummu rēmēnūti āši-bat šamē ellūti ana muḫḫi tamannu*

⁽⁶⁰⁾ A half shekel of *tarmuš*-plant, a half shekel of *imḫur-līm*-plant, a half shekel of *imḫur-ešrā*-plant, a half shekel of *nīnû*-plant, a half shekel of horned alkali, ⁽⁶¹⁾ a half shekel of alum, a half shekel of the “plant of life”, a half shekel of *ḫašū*-thyme—
⁽⁶²⁾ you weigh out ⁽⁶¹⁾ all of these eight drugs ⁽⁶²⁾ in equal measures, pound and sieve them. Not a node of them should be left behind; you keep cutting until you have cut fine the drugs and their nodes ⁽⁶³⁾ and you mix everything thoroughly together. Then you measure out a half shekel of roasted barley, you shake up an *akal* of syrup ⁽⁶⁴⁾ in four *akal* of old first-class barley beer and mix the drugs in; then he must fast for some time and drink it ... Written at dictation.
⁽⁶⁵⁾ You recite over it the incantation: “Gula, exalted lady, compassionate mother, who dwells in the pure heavens.”

§16a

- 66 *šum-ma LÚ ħi-níq-ti* GIG ÉLLAG.ME GIG DÚR.GIG MIN TAB UD.DA
MIN *um-ma* DAB.DAB-su
67 2 *gi-re-e* ^{na4}*gab-bu-ú* 2 *gi-re-e* NAGA.SI 2 *gi-re-e* Ú.KUR.RA
68 2 *gi-re-e* MUN 2 *gi-re-e* Ú.NAM.DIN *ina* UGU A SÚD-*ma* NAG

⁽⁶⁶⁾ *šumma amēlu ħiniqti*
maruṣ kalāti maruṣ muruṣ
šuburri maruṣ ħimiṭ ṣēti maruṣ
umma iṣṣanabbassu ⁽⁶⁷⁾ *šina*
girê gabbû šina girê uḫûlu
qarnānu šina girê nīnû ⁽⁶⁸⁾
šina girê tābtu šina girê šammi
balāti ina muḫḫi mē tasākma
iṣatti

⁽⁶⁶⁾ If a man suffers from strangury, suffers from kidney trouble, suffers from a diseased anus, suffers from burning with the *ṣētu*-fever, and an intermittent fever seizes him, ⁽⁶⁷⁾ you crush a twelfth of a shekel of alum, a twelfth of a shekel of horned alkali, a twelfth of a shekel of *nīnû*-plant, ⁽⁶⁸⁾ a twelfth of a shekel of salt, a twelfth of a shekel of the “plant of life” over water, and then he drinks it.

§16b

- 69 KÚR 4-*ut* ^{na4}AN.NE SÚD ZÚ.LUM.MA *tu-kap-pat i-la-ʾu-ut* EGIR-šú
KAŠ ŠE SUMUN NAG-šú

⁽⁶⁹⁾ *rebūt milʾu tasāk suluppu*
tukappat ilaʾut arkišu šikar
uṭṭati labiru tašaqqišu

⁽⁶⁹⁾ You crush a quarter shekel of *milʾu*-mineral, form it with a date into a pill, and then he swallows it; afterwards, you give him old barley beer to drink.

§16c

- 70 2 *gi-re-e* Ú.NAM.DIN 2 *gi-re-e* NAGA.SI *gi-ru-ú* MUN *eme-sal-lim*
71 *gi-ru-ú* Ú.KUR.RA *gi-ru-ú nam-ruq-qu gi-ru-ú* ^{na4r}*gab-bu-ú*
72 KÚR *ina* Ì ḫal-ša SÚD *ina* BAR ZÚ.LUM.MA NIGIN GIGURU₃ ME ZI
ra-bu šá ŠU^{II} ʾUMʾ.ME.A

⁽⁷⁰⁾ *šina girê šammi balāti*
šina girê uḫûlu qarnānu girû
tābat emesallim ⁽⁷¹⁾ *girû nīnû*
girû namruqqu girû gabbû
⁽⁷²⁾ *ina šamni ḫalša tasāk ina*

⁽⁷⁰⁾ A twelfth of a shekel of the “plant of life”, a twelfth of a shekel of horned alkali, a twenty-fourth of a shekel of fine salt, ⁽⁷¹⁾ a twenty-fourth of a shekel of *nīnû*-plant, a twenty-fourth of a shekel of *namruqqu*-

qīlip suluppi talammi ullat
qīb[?] nasāhī[?] rabû[?] ša qātē
ummâni

plant and a twenty-fourth of a shekel of
 alum—⁽⁷²⁾ you crush them in pressed oil,
 envelop everything in a date skin, and then
 he swallows it. A great[?] instruction[?] for erad-
 icating (illness)[?] from the hand of a scholar.

§ 17

- 73 KÚR 4-ut Ú.NAM.TILLA *bit-qu* NAGA.SI *la* ¹he¹-su-ú *bit-qa* ^{na4}gab-bu-ú
 šá še-[er²]-¹šú¹ sa-a-mu
 74 *bit-qu* MUN *eme-sal-lim* 4 Ú.MEŠ *an-nu-tú ina* Ì *gu-un-nu* SÚD *lu ina*
 'LÀL *lu*¹ *ina* ZÚ.LUM.MA NIGIN-*ma* GU₇-šú¹
 75 EGIR-šú³ 3 NINDA KAŠ ŠE SUMUN *a-na* UGU NAG-*ma* DIN *maš-qut*
 šá *nap-ḥar mur-šu ana* GIG DÛ.A.BI [S]IG₅

⁽⁷³⁾ *rebût šammi balāṭi bitqu*
uḫūlu qarnānu lā ḥesû bitqa
gabbû ša šē[r]šu sāmu ⁽⁷⁴⁾
bitqu ṭābat emesallim erbet
šammū annûtu ina šamni
gunnu tasâk lû ina dišpi lû ina
suluppi talammima tušakkalšu
⁽⁷⁵⁾ *arkīšu šalāšat akal šikar*
uṭṭati labiru ana muḫḫi išat-
tima iballuṭ mašqûṭ ša napḥar
muršû ana murṣi kalāma
 [da]miq

⁽⁷³⁾ A fourth of a shekel of the “plant of life”,
 an eighth of a shekel of horned alkali that
 has no bristles[?], an eighth of a shekel of
 alum whose sur[face][?] is red, ⁽⁷⁴⁾ an eighth
 of a shekel of fine salt—you crush these
 four drugs in *gunnu*-oil, envelop them in
 either syrup or a date and have him ingest
 it; ⁽⁷⁵⁾ after that he drinks an additional
 three *akal* of old barley beer, then he will
 recover. As a potion for all illnesses it is
 effective against every illness.

§ 18

- 76 *šul-lul-tú* 1 GÍN ⁴nam-ruq-¹qu 2 gi¹-re-e NAGA.SI SÚD *ina* Ì.GIŠ BUR
 tu-šá-ša 5 ku-pa-tin-[nī]
 77 tu-kap-pat LÂL SUD-*ma* i-l[a-²]u-ut EGIR-[šú³] 3 NINDA KAŠ ŠE
 SUMUN NAG-[ma D]IN
 78 ¹maš¹-qut šá EN.TE.NA šá *la bur-re-e* NAG

⁽⁷⁶⁾ *šullultu šiqil namruqu šina*
girê uḫūlu qarnānu tasâk ina
šaman pûri tušašša ḥamšat
kupatin[nī] ⁽⁷⁷⁾ *tukappat dišpu*

⁽⁷⁶⁾ You crush a third of a shekel of *namruq-*
qu-plant and a twelfth of a shekel of horned
 alkali, you compose portions each contain-
 ing these ingredients in the same ratio using

tasallaḥma il[aʷ]ut arkišu
šalāšat akal šikar uṭṭati labiru
išatti[ma ib]alluṭ (78) mašqûṭ ša
kūši ša lā burrê išatti

fine oil as a medium, ⁽⁷⁷⁾ so as to roll ⁽⁷⁶⁾ five pills; ⁽⁷⁷⁾ you coat these in syrup, and then he swallows them. Thereupon he drinks three *akal* of old barley beer, then he will recover. ⁽⁷⁸⁾ A wintertime potion; he must drink it while not fasting.

§ 19a

- 79 DIŠ NA *ina* KA-šú ÚŠ BURU₈ ʷNU.LUḪ.ḪA IM.KAL.GUG *mál-ma-liš*
 SÚD *t[u]-x-x-[x ina]* KAŠ SILA₁₁
 80 *ina* MUL₄ *tuš-bat ina še-rì NU pa-ʳtan¹ N[A]G-ma* BURU₈ : DIN-*uṭ ana*
 KA GUB KI.MIN Ú.AŠ NÍTA S[ÚD² x x *ina*] KAŠ NAG

⁽⁷⁹⁾ *šumma amēlu ina pīšu*
dāmu iʿarru nuḫurtu kalgukku
malmališ tasāk t[u]-x-x-[x ina]
šikari talāš (80) ina kakkabi
tušbāt ina šēri lā patān išat-
tima iʿarru : iballuṭ ana pī šaṭir
ki.min ēdu zikaru tas[āk x x
ina] šikari išatti

⁽⁷⁹⁾ If a man vomits up blood in his mouth, you crush in equal quantities *nuḫurtu*-plant (and) *kalgukku*-paste, you ..., knead it in beer, ⁽⁸⁰⁾ leave it out under the stars; then he drinks it in the morning on an empty stomach and he will vomit, *var.:* he will recover. Written at dictation. Alternatively, you crush the male *ēdu*-plant, you ..., then he drinks it in beer.

§ 19b

- 81 DIŠ KI.MIN IM.SAḪAR.BA[BBAR.KUR.R]A *ana* KAŠ ŠUB *ina* MUL₄
tuš-bat la pa-tan NAG e-ma NAG-ʳú¹ [ina] ʳA¹ R.A.MEŠ

⁽⁸¹⁾ *šumma ki.min annu[ḥar]a*
ana šikari tanaddi ina kakkabi
tušbāt lā patān išattima ēma
išattû [ina] mē irtanaḥḥaš

⁽⁸¹⁾ Alternatively, you put *annuḥara*-paste in beer and leave it out under the stars; then he drinks it on an empty stomach. Each time he takes a draught, he must bathe with water.

§ 20

- 82 [gi]šŠUR.MÌN ʳšim¹[L]I na⁴KUR-nu DAB ʷu₅-*ra-nu* Ú.AŠ NÍTA *ki-šir*
 gišʳMA¹.NU
 83 [NUM]UN gišŠIN[I]G 7 Ú.ḪIA ŠEŠ.MEŠ *maš-ḡut šá* GAZ ŠÀ-b[i *ina*
 KA]Š NAG

- 84 [ú]a-ra-ri-ia-a-nu NUMUN ^{giš}ŠINIG ^úA.ZAL.LÁ 3 šam-me ħu-uš GAZ ŠĀ
Z[I[?]-h]i[?]23 ina KAŠ NAG

(82) šurmēnu bu[rā]šu šadānu
šabītu urānu ēdu zikaru kišir
e'ri (83) [zē]r bīni sebeti šammū
annūtu mašqūt ša ħīp libbi [ina
šika]ri išatti (84) arariyānu zēr
bīni azallu šalāšat šammē ħūš
ħīp libbi na[sāh]i[?] ina šikari
išatti

(82) Cypress, juniper, magnetite, anise, male
ēdu-plant, a node of e'ru-wood, (83) seed
of tamarisk—these seven drugs are for a
potion against melancholia; he drinks them
in beer. (84) arariyānu, seed of tamarisk and
azallu—three drugs for expelling(?) severe
melancholia; he drinks them in beer.

Catchline

- 85 [DIŠ N]A li-'i-ba DAB-su IR ma-at-tú TUKU.TUKU-ši ana ZI ½ NINDA
^ūHUR.ĤUR ½ NINDA ^ūNU.LUĤ.ĤA [x x x x]

(85) [šumma am]ēlu li'ba
iṣbassu zūtu mattu irtanašši
ana nasāḫi mišil akal ḫašū
mišil akal nuḫurtu [x x x x]

(85) If a man is seized by the li'bu-fever and
sweats a great deal by fits and starts, in
order to eradicate it: [you ...] half an akal of
ḫašū-thyme, half an akal of nuḫurtu-plant
[...].

Colophon

- 86 [nis]-ħu 2-ú NU AL.TIL TA UGU GIŠ.'DA' SUMUN šá bul-ṭu
mál-ta-ka-^rtú[?] [x x x x]
87 [GAB]A.^rRⁱ BĀR.SÍP^{ki} ki-ma [la]-bi-ri-šú šá-ṭi-i[r]-ma ba-[rì u uppuš]²⁴
88 [x x]²⁵ ^rm¹.d⁺AG-ú-šal-lim A-šú šá ^m.d⁺EN-dan-ni DUMU ^mki-di[n-x x x]
89 [pa-liḫ] ^rd⁺AG¹ ù ^dME.ME ina šur-qu ù da-na-nu [la i-tab-bal-šú]
90 [ina me-reš-t]i ^rNU¹ GUL šá ina-aš-šú-šú ^rx x x x¹ [x x x x]

23 Less likely to be restored as TU[KU-ši] = ira[šši], which would unavoidably entail the insertion of ⟨DIŠ⟩ = ⟨šumma⟩ between -me and ħu-: “three drugs for ⟨if⟩ he ha[s] severe melancholia.”

24 Probably written up-puš₄ or even AG.A, since there is hardly room for up-pu-uš.

25 Room allows for restoring GÍD.DA, im-gi-ṭi, IM.DUB or DUB-pi.

⁽⁸⁶⁾ [nis]ḥu šanû ul qati ultu
muḥḥi lē'i labiri ša bulṭū mal-
takātu [x x x x] ⁽⁸⁷⁾ [gab]arê
Barsip kîma [la]birîšu šaṭirma
ba[ri u uppuš] ⁽⁸⁸⁾ [x x] Nabû-
ušallim mārûšu ša Bêl-danni
mār Kidin-[x x x] ⁽⁸⁹⁾ [pālîḥ]
Nabû u Gula ina šurqu u
danānu [lā itabbašū] ⁽⁹⁰⁾ [ina
mērešt]i 'lā' ikalli ša inaššûšu
'x x x x' [x x x x]

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Second extract, not finished, from an old writing board of remedies, experiments [and ...]; ⁽⁸⁷⁾ an exemplar from Borsippa. Written according to its original, chec[ked and collated]. ⁽⁸⁸⁾ [Tablet] of Nabû-ušallim, son of Bêl-danni, descendant of Kidin-[...]. ⁽⁸⁹⁾ [He who honors] Nabû and Gula [shall not take it away] by theft or force ⁽⁹⁰⁾ [no]r keep it back [intentional]ly. He who takes it away ...²⁶

Commentary

§ 1a (= Lines 1–3)

1–3. These lines parallel, somewhat imprecisely, *BAM* 579: i 40–44 and *BAM* 52: 39–44. The first line and half in our text is basically identical to the first line and a half there, but as soon as quantities of the therapeutic ingredients are introduced, in the middle of the second line, the texts begin to diverge. BM 78963 begins with a half shekel of *aktam*, while the passage from *BAM* 579 begins with Akk. *kukru*, written ^{sim}GÚR.GÚR, so it is clear that the passages are not identical. Instead, we might hypothesize that BM 78963 listed only the last two or three ingredients found in the *BAM* 579 parallel, perhaps only *aktam*, *ḥil abukkati* and perhaps *kasû*, although BM 78963 is broken, so it is impossible to know. 1. *ši-ri-iḥ-ti* ŠĀ: This relatively well-known type of fever serves as the point of departure for the composition and should be contrasted with the *lī'bu* fever mentioned in line 85, viz. the catchline to the incipit of the next tablet in this series of extracts. In *BAM* 579, the parallel passage represents the first extended case history in the text, after several simpler, paradigmatic entries for internal fever and fever affecting the epigastrium. If the sequence of fevers listed in *KUB* 29 60: v 17–19 (edited in *ZA* 45, 208; cited *CAD* R 201a), viz. *umma šarḥa lī'ba danna u zu'tam ma'attam* (*CAD* quotation to be corrected!) TUKU.TUKU-ši is taken as paradigmatic, we might hypothesize that the first tablet of extracts dealt with *ummu*, the second with *širiḥti libbi* and the third with *lī'bu*. Here, however, the fevers in question are intestinal rather than

26 For the way the beginning of this line is restored as well as the reading of GUL see Hunger 1968, 51, No. 126: 6; the lacuna seems not large enough to have accommodated the phrase *lā libbi*, “unintentionally”, before *ina mērešti*. A parallel to the thief of the tablet being designated in the curse formula as *ša inaššûšu* is found in Hunger 1968, 61, No. 160: 6; the playful spelling our tablet employs for the verb represents an as yet unparalleled orthography. The

generalized, hence the collocation with ŠĀ/*libbu*. Nearly the same phrase, only with KÚM between *ši-ri-iḫ-te* and ŠĀ occurs at the beginning of the reverse of *BAM* 174, a section that is immediately followed by a recipe for “removing heat/fever (KÚM) from the digestive tract (ŠĀ)” (see line 7 below as well). 1. *mi-na-tu*¹-[šú DUB.MEŠ-ka]: Since *ummu*, “temperature, heat”, is rather non-descript, the most telling collocation in this first section is with “flaccid limbs”, Akk. *minātu tabkā*. *CAD* M/1 88a cites several examples of the idiom in the therapeutic corpus: *mi-na-tu-šú* DUB.DUB Á-šu *kim-ša-a-šú ù bir-ka-šú* [GU₇.MEŠ *ana* TI-šú] in *AMT* 31/1: 1 (now republished in *BAM* 7 2, Ms. B: 1) in the kidney disease sub-series, *mi-na-tu-šú* DUB.DUB-ak in *BAM* 234: 7, which is actually concerned with anxiety and witchcraft (see Ritter and Kinnier Wilson 1980, and Stol 1999), and, of particular interest, the first line of *BAM* 319, viz. *šumma* LÚ *mi-na-tu-šú* GIM *mar-ši* ‘DUB’.MEŠ-ka and the first two lines of *BAM* 231: ‘DIŠ NA’ SAG.DU-su ‘GU₇’. [MEŠ-šú] IGI.MEŠ-šú NIGIN-du / *mi-na-tu-šú it-ta-ta*¹ ‘na’-áš-pa-ka a-šu-uš-tum TUKU-ši. Here the correlation with anxiety, Akk. *ašūtu*, is particularly clear, but note that it is actually a physical symptom, as indicated by the use of the phrase *kīma marši*, “like a sick man”, in *BAM* 319. 2. UD.DA *ḫa-miṭ*: For an overview of *ḫimiṭ šēti* and its byforms, such as the predicative construction used here, viz. *šēta ḫamiṭ*, see Stol 2007, Johnson 2014 and Johnson 2017. András Bácskay is currently preparing a volume that collects all known references to *ḫimiṭ šēti*. 2–3. *zūz* / *rebūt*: These are the two basic subdivisions in the shekel, one-half (Akk. *zūzu*, “division”) and one-fourth (Akk. *rebūtu*, “fourth”), respectively; on the subdivisions of the shekel, which partially overlaps with Aramaic terminology, see Powell 1987–1990, 511–514. 2. 4-ut ILLU LI.[DUR]: This amount of *ḫīl abukkati* is actually found elsewhere in the gastrointestinal pathology subcorpus, as for example in *BAM* 578: ii 57: IGI [4]. ‘GÁL’.LA ILLU LI.TAR or the similar line in *BAM* 72: 2’: ‘IGI’ 4.GÁL.LA ILLU¹ [x ...] and fully preserved in *BAM* 543: ii 29 (listed under *AMT* 36/2: 6 in *CAD* A/1 81b): IGI 4.GÁL.LA ILLU LI.DUR. 3. 2 NINDA: The logogram NINDA, plausibly to be read as Akk. *akalu*, “(flat) bread”, offers particular difficulties in the text because it seems to be used for measurements of both volume, as here, and of weight. In the 81-7-1 materials, Finkel classified it exclusively as a measure of weight, because it is never used as a measure of (liquid) volume in those materials, but in our text there are at least five different passages in which the liquid carrier for the drugs is measured in NINDA (lines 3, 12, 15, 41, and 64). As a measure of volume (or capacity) NINDA normally corresponds to one-tenth

rest of the line does not fit into any known pattern; what traces remain look like ‘*ana* 3-šú *ana* x’; at any rate, they are not compatible with ‘*ana* EN-šú lī’-[*ter*].

of a ŠILA in the Late Babylonian period (see Powell 1987–1990, 498–499) and we have tacitly understood NINDA in this way, although in order to produce a more coherent translation, we have consistently used the likely Akkadian equivalent, viz. *akal* (absolute state), as a uniform rendering of NINDA. Powell notes that “[t]he prototype of the division into 10 *akalu* may be the [Middle Babylonian] *kāsu* (written GÚ.ZI), a small cup-like vessel which seems to be a 1/10 sila measure for oil” (Powell 1987–1990, 499) and this also lines up, broadly speaking, with Powell’s discussion of the “Persepolis cosmetic bottle” which was inscribed with “8 and 1/3 *akalu*” and had a capacity of 787.4 ± 0.9 ml, yielding “an arithmetical bracket of 94.38–94.596 ml. for the *akalu* and 943.8–945.96 ml. for the *qû* (sila)” (Powell 1987–1990, 504). Powell also discusses a ŠILA made up of six NINDA rather than ten, in use in the Neo-Babylonian period and there is at least one place in our text, in line 41, where this six NINDA per ŠILA measure may have been in play. The first possible use of NINDA as a measure of weight occurs in line 4 and is discussed there. **3. *is-sal-la’-la’-[a’ la ta-na-kud DIN-uṭ]***: The words of reassurance to the physician here, viz. “he may become critical, but do not worry,” precede the standard closing statement *iballuṭ*, which in this context is presumably a simple future “he will get better,” so they have not been included in our list of “global comments”. Stol (2009) argues convincingly that the verb *salā’u* basically means “to sprinkle, to spatter”, but is extended through metaphoric use to mean “to criticize, to cast aspersions on”. Consequently, in the N-stem, particularly in medical use, it easily comes to mean “to get infected, to be ill”. The context of *is-sal-la-[a’]* in our line seems to invoke both the idea of illness as well as the anxiety and concern that illness evokes. The reconstruction here after *is-sal-la-[a’]* basically follows the well-known passage *ilappassuma issalla’ lā tanakkud iballuṭ* in *BAM* 578: i 41 and the duplicating passage in *BAM* 159: i 36–37 as well as the recent treatment of these two passages in Stol 2009, 40 and Parys 2014, 14 and 29.

§ 1b (= Lines 4–6)

4. 1 NINDA: This is the first occurrence of NINDA that might be taken as a measure of weight, a possibility that occurs at least a dozen times in the text. Elsewhere in the therapeutic corpus ingredients such as “juniper” (^{šim}LI) and “*kasû*-plant” (GAZIsar) are normally weighed, usually in shekels, but the more general use of the NINDA/*akal* measure in our text may point to an extension of NINDA/*akal* as a capacity measure that could also be used as a proxy for the weighing of ingredients. If Powell is correct in surmising that “The *akalu* was apparently based on an approximation of the customary amount of grain (or flour?) used for a flatcake” (Powell 1987–1990, 498), it probably amounted to

approximately 50–60 grams of raw material, which for a modern flour might have produced approximately 80 grams of bread. These back-of-the-napkin guesses—based on modern recipes—do not line up with the usual equations between volumes of water and their weight (discussed in Powell 1987–1990, 509), normally 1 SĪLA (volume) of water corresponding to 2 MA.NA (weight), which is quite similar to the present-day equation that 1 liter of water weighs 1 kilogram. Moreover, unlike the metrology of bricks, for which we have attested ratios of conversion (Powell 1987–1990, 508–509), there do not appear to be any attestations of a conversion ratio for breads in the first millennium. In order to show that a single term is used for these seemingly different types of measurement, as noted above, we have consistently translated all occurrences of NINDA as a measurement as *akal*: here yielding “an *akal* of *simdu*-groats of emmer”. It is also noteworthy that eight of the ten ingredients that are apparently weighed in NINDA in our text also occur in the 81-7-1 materials in the same measurement. 4. *si-in-du* ZÍZ.ÂM/A.AN: The logogram ZÍZ.ÂM could also be read as IMGAGA (= Akk. *kunāšu*, “emmer”), but this *diri*-reading was not always recognized in the first millennium, as for example in *BAM* 9: 38 or *BAM* 11: 3 and 6, where ZÍZ.AN.NA appears, interpreting the AN phonetically and adding an /n/ auslaut. 5. KAŠ ŠE: This is not, by any means, the usual logogram for “beer” but rather an *ad hoc* effort to differentiate ordinary beer, made with barley, from the emmer-based ingredients in the preceding lines. Therefore it is rather unclear whether it is to be read as *šikar uṭṭati* or simply as *šikaru*.

§ 2a (= Lines 7–10)

7. DIŠ NINDA LAGAB MUNU₄: The role of “lumps of malt” (LAGAB MUNU₄ = *šibirti buqli*) here and in line 21 should not be underestimated; it is probably seen as a key emetic ingredient in contrast to the soothing ingredients found in lines 70 such as “alum” (^{na4}*gab-bu-u*), “horned alkali” (NAGA.SI) and “salt” (MUN). For a recent overview of the role of salt in the treatment of intestinal diseases in Mesopotamia, see George 2016, 135–136, but in contrast malt is only found, in these early incantations, in the context of the use of the brewer’s jar (= Akk. *namzītu*) as metaphor (George 2016, 135). LAGAB MUNU₄ is also attested in *BAM* 174: 4, as an emetic, but there with schematic amounts such as 1 GÍN. 8. DILL.BI BURU₈ (= 𒀭) KI.MIN: Since “to vomit in or with beer” (*ina* KAŠ BURU₈) makes little sense, we assume here that the signs represent an adverbial expression DILL.BI, which is an attested variant of the DILL.NI = Akk. (*w*)*ēdiššīšū* (*MSL* 13, 188 = Izi, Tablet E: i 169–169a). Nonetheless, the correct rendering of the logogram DILL.BI in Akkadian here is far from clear: in our transcription we have the rare, *lectio difficilior* *ēdiššīšū*, but other

possibilities such as the common term *ištēniš* should also be considered. Akk. (*w*)*ēdiššišu* normally means to do something in isolation (see *CAD* E 37b–38a), so our translation of DILI.BI BURU₈ as “he must vomit it up all at once” is highly conjectural. Be that as it may, KI.MIN then abbreviates the beginning of line 7 (*šum-ma LÚ ana BURU₈-šú*), before offering an alternative treatment.

§ 2b (= Lines 11–12)

11. 2 *gi-re-e*: Literally “two carats”, where the “carat” as a unit of measure is one-twenty-fourth of a shekel, so “two carats” amounts to one-twelfth. Powell writes of Akk. *girû* as a unit of measure: “*girû*, ‘carat,’ 1/24 shekel, is the seed of the carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*; the usual derivation of Greek keration from *keras*, ‘horn,’ is improbable).” (Powell 1987–1990, 512). In contrast to other literature (including *CAD* G; Powell 1979, 101), Powell argues for 1/24 of a shekel and draws a parallel with the 7,30 ŠE (= 1/24 of 180) found in the Middle Babylonian glass making texts, going on to state: “Its appearance as a unit of alloy in the glass making text perhaps signals the reasons for its existence: (1) it is very near the minimum mass that could be effectively measured with ancient balances (no weight specimens lower than this have ever been discovered and identified); (2) it forms a subsystem with 1/8 (*bitqu* ...) and 1/4 (*rebūtu* ...), which are also associated with alloying” (Powell 1987–1990, 512).

§ 2c (= Line 13)

13. 5-*šú lu* 10-*šú ina ŠU.ŠI-šú¹ ú-na-šap*: Literally, “he should lick up almond oil either five or ten times with his finger,” and though one of the strangest descriptions of the therapeutic practice in all of Babylonian medicine, it actually makes fairly good sense in the context of emetics and the like. Even if “almond oil” is the correct interpretation of the beginning of the line (see Gadotti 2014, 36 for a nice overview of the sequence of fruits and dates that leads up to ŠE ȚA.LU.ÚB, including ^{giš}LAM as both “a general term for nuts” and more specifically “almond”), it remains unclear whether this type of oil was sweet or bitter. Both sweet and bitter almond oil is found in medieval Arabic medicine (Lev and Amar 2008, 92–93), but if it was bitter almond oil, slowly licked from the fingers of one or both hands, it would presumably have been a rather effective emetic.

§ 2d (= Lines 14–15)

14. KÚR: The first of the eight occurrences of KÚR in the left margin occurs in this line, presumably as an indication of an error or ambiguity of some kind; see the comments at the beginning of the paper for a broader perspective on

KÚR as a paratextual notation. Errors are always difficult to identify, but in this case two possibilities come to mind. The error may lie in the measure phrase 2 GÍN that precedes the ingredient Ú.KUR.RA (= Akk. *nīnû*): this ingredient occurs hundreds of times in the therapeutic corpus, and where it is preceded by a measure phrase it is almost always the schematic form 10 GÍN (only in *BAM* 52: 12, also a *nishu* extract tablet, do we find it preceded by 1 NINDA). Alternatively, the error may be related to the use of NINDA as a unit of measure: this is one of only two places in the text (the other is in lines 63–64) where NINDA appears to function as both a unit of weight (2 NINDA LĀL) and volume (*ina* 2 NINDA SUM^{sar} in line 15). This in combination with the unusual use of “garlic” as a liquid carrier in the next line may have led to the line being flagged. 15. *ina* 2 NINDA SUM^{sar}: If this statement is not an error, we have to assume that it is referring to a garlic soup or infusion as the carrier of the other ingredients. The text clearly has “2 NINDA” but perhaps the source text read simply *ina* A (*šá*) SUM^{sar}, “in garlic juice” (with A rather than MIN/2). 15. EGIR-šú *šal-šá-a-tú* NAG-ma BURU_g: This is the sixth and last occurrence (otherwise in lines 3, 6, 10, 12, and 13) of the instruction that the recipe is, “afterwards, to be drunk in thirds, and then he will vomit”, viz. EGIR-šú *šal-šá-a-tú* NAG-ma BURU_g = *ark-īšu šalšātu išattima iarru*, which provides the organizing principle for the first 15 lines of the text. Written out syllabically, *šal-šá-a-tú* appears to be unique within the medical corpus: CAD sub *šaluštu* and AHw sub *šalšu* collect a few examples of the form, viz. *šalšātu*, the plural of *šaluštu*, but all in commercial contexts.

§ 2e (= Line 16)

16. KĀŠ.MEŠ SUMUN.MEŠ: Akk. *šinātu labirātu*, “old urine”, is only otherwise attested as an ingredient in the therapeutic tradition in *BAM* 52: 19, where we read [x] SĪLA KĀŠ SUMUN.MEŠ ŠEG₆-*šal ta-šá-ḫal*, “you boil and strain ... liters of old urine” (the immediate context is not clear, but the tablet as a whole is also concerned with digestive and intestinal disease), although various human and animals urines, including that of the patient himself, are also known from elsewhere in the therapeutic corpus. The much more common ingredient “old beer” (KĀŠ SUMUN = Akk. *šikaru labiru*) seems to occur in many of the same contexts and we should not exclude the possibility that “old urine” is a *Deckname* for low-quality beer. *mál-tak-tú*: We translate as “experiment(al remedy) (?)” in contrast to the usual *bulṭu latku*, “tested recipe”, primarily in order to highlight the difference between the two terms. The rarity of the primary ingredient in this recipe would also seem to be in accord with an experimental substitution of urine (KĀŠ) for beer (KĀŠ).

§ 3a (= Lines 17–18)

17. *mu-raṭ-ṭi-bu* GU₇-šú: Literally, “you make him eat something that moistens (D-stem participle of *raṭābu*),” but *mu-raṭ-ṭi-bu* is actually attested lexically as a container for beer mash: DUG SÚN = MIN = *karpāt mu-raṭ-ṭi-bu* (Hh 10: 74), immediately preceded by DUG TITAB = *karpāt titāpī* (Sallaberger and Civil 1996, 136) and the most likely interpretation, in our context, is that *muraṭṭibu* stands for the “beer mash” itself. 17. *šum₄-ma* KÚM.MEŠ: *šumma ummāt(u)*, “if it is summertime.” This expression stands in contrast to a similar seasonal proviso in line 47, namely *šum₄-ma* EN.TE.NA, “if it is wintertime.” See line 47 for further discussion of the differing seasonal treatments of bronchial and gastrointestinal disease. 18. *tak-ša-a-tú*: there are no medical attestations of the term in CAD T 87, but a drug by this name does occur in URU.AN.NA (Iriana) 1: 294, where it is equated with foxvine: Ú šá-mi *tak-ša-ti* parallels Ú MIN (= GEŠTIN.KA₅.A). In his overview of fever in Mesopotamian medicine (2007), Stol points to the centrality of foxvine in the treatment of several types of fever. Scurlock (2014, 476) takes the term in its usual sense as “winter, lit. cold season”, but doing so makes the rest of the line largely incomprehensible, since the instructions that begin with “if it is summertime, you crush (three ingredients) in water” is not brought to completion, while the verb represented by LÁ, viz. *tašammid*, lacks an appropriate direct object. We therefore take Akk. *takṣātu* here as referring to a cold compress or bandage that is applied to the chest in the heat of summer.

§ 3b (= Line 19)

19. DÚR.NU.LUḪ.ḪA DU₁₀-tī: “sweet *tīyatu*”, where Akk. *tīyatu* is written with the logogram DÚR.NU.LUḪ.ḪA and must be carefully distinguished from Akk. *nuḫurtu*, written NU.LUḪ.ḪA. As the references in CAD show, Akk. *tīyatu* is also used as a spice and seems to have little or nothing to do with Akk. *nuḫurtu*.

§ 4 (= Lines 20–21)

20–21. These two lines parallel BAM 44: 5'–6'. 20. *šum-ma* LÚ GABA-su TU₁₅ *le-qa-at-ma ú-šá-an-na-a'*: The meaning of the first half of the line is fairly clear: “if gas has gotten trapped in someone’s chest” but the significance of the verb that follows is less so, presumably the D-stem of *šanā'u* to mean “to form a blockage”. The subject of *le-qa-at* is the patient’s chest (= Akk. *irtu*), hence the third feminine singular ending, with TU₁₅ (= Akk. *šāru*) “wind” as an accusative of object or “relation” (*Akkusativ der Beziehung*) with a transitively used stative verb. 21. LAGAB MUNU₄ ... ZÌ.ŠE.SA.A: Here the ingredient “lumps of malt” reappears, alongside roasted barley flour, presumably as an

emetic, although the recipes no longer mention vomiting at this point and turn, instead, to lozenges that are to be sucked on by the patient.

§ 5 (= Lines 22–24)

22. *ta-ta-kal-šú*: Tentatively parsed as a 3rd f. sg. of the Gt durative of *akālu* with dative pron. suffix 3 m. sg. (dativus incommodi or ethicus), lit.: “his chest eats itself up on him.” Alternatively one could argue for a Gtn preterite, hence “his chest has been hurting him all the time,” but a preterite would be an utter anomaly in a context like this. **22. *šá nu-uš-šu-pu a-na nu-uš-šu-pi-šú*:** Literally, “in order for him to suck on that which is to be sucked on,” i.e. a lozenge, although the precise nuance of the idiom is still somewhat elusive. Presumably, the patient is sucking on a lozenge of some kind, viz. the *šá nu-uš-šu-pu*, which is made of LĀL Ĭ.NUN.NA Ĭ *hal-ša* and ʾDÚR.NU.LUḤ.ḤA, “syrup, ghee, pressed oil and *tīyatu*”, in order to alleviate pain in his chest. The accompanying recipe, which begins with 4-*ut mu-un-du* GAZI^{sar} in line 23, is apparently meant to ease the process of *nu-uš-šu-pu*, “sucking on the lozenge”, in some way. We have opted for *nušsupu* as the form of the lemma due to PI-sign in *nu-uš-šu-pi-šú*, which suggests that the last consonant is /p/ rather than /b/. **24. *an-da-šum*:** This orthography—with simple DA in place of DAḤ—is not otherwise attested in the therapeutic corpus: according to CAD A/2 113a there is one occurrence of it in a contemporary administrative document: 1 GÍN *an-da-šú* in VAS 6 310: 2. Maybe an assimilation *ḥš* > *šš* has taken place, hence *andaššu(m)*, here written defectively, but only the opposite, viz. *šḥ* > *šš* (GAG, § 25d*), seems to be attested elsewhere; or *ḥ* became ’ first and after elision yielded *andāšum*.

§ 6a (= Lines 25–31)

25–31. These lines parallel *BAM* 42: 24–35, *BAM* 44: rev. 33’–40’ and Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003, 232, § 38, and they also shift the focus of the extracts from illnesses of the digestive tract to respiratory disease. This is indicated, above all, by the three major classes of respiratory illness in line 25, namely (1) MUR.MEŠ, (2) *ki-šir-ti* MUR.MEŠ and (3) *su-alu*. Most of the variants are dealt with individually below, but the variations in the sequence and amounts of ingredients will have to be dealt with in a separate study: it is telling, however, that there are significant variations in the amounts of specific ingredients, suggesting real differences in practice rather than a simple schematic approach to quantities. **25. *mun-zī-qu te-bé-er***!: listed in CAD under *muzīqu*, “raisin” (= Sum. GEŠTIN.ḤÁD.A), the only other syllabic writing in a therapeutic context seems to be in BM 62376: 8–9: ʾti-ia-a-tú ʾna-na-ka / ʾka-mu-nu mun-zī-qá. While the term for “raisin” is fairly clear, the verb that follows it is less so: in the parallel text we find [GEŠ]TIN.ḤÁD.A.MEŠ *te-be-er*, but the final sign, on our tablet, is

NI rather than ER, hence “you pick out (Akk. *bêru*, “to select, to choose”) (some) raisins.” 28. **KÚR**: The second occurrence of **KÚR**, here, probably also indicates that schematic “2 shekel” measure phrases have been carried over from a written recipe: note the contrast between the 2 GÍN of ^{šim}MAN.DU and *bu-uṭ-na-na* and the *zūz* and *rebūt*, respectively, of ^{šim}ḪAB and *ILLU* ^{šim}BULUḪ. 28. ^{šim}**ḪAB**: *CAD* lists three different readings *ṭūru*, *ṭurû*, *ṭīru*, and suggests “medicinal plant, perhaps opopanax”, a suggestion that goes back to Stol’s discussion (see below). *CAD* also lists it under *ṭūru*, with *ṭurû* and *ṭīru* as variants. The variant in *ṭīru* is probably mistakenly influenced by *e-ṭi-ru*. The best lexical evidence has *ṭú-ru-u*, hence *ṭurû*, the normalization that we adhere to here. As Stol points out, whatever its identification, *ṭurû* “was not an expensive article: one can buy three talents of *ṭurû* for half a mina of silver, i.e., 360 shekels for 1 shekel of silver ...” Meissner (1913, 36) has already suggested a connection between *ṭurû* and the Talmudic *ṭwr*, an obscure hapax legomenon. In the tractate *Pesaḥim* *ṭwr* is one of the bitter herbs that may be eaten during Passover (Pes. 39a) (Stol 1979, 72). Stol points out that the equation ^{šim}ḪAB = *ṭú-ri* = *in-ZA-ru-ú* in *TCL* 6 34, *BRM* 4 32: 14, suggests that *in-ša-ru-ú* “can be connected with Hebrew *šorî* ‘balsam’” and that *in-ša-ru-ú* be a loan from Aramaic; *inšarû* in therapeutic texts: Finkel 2000, Texts 1:9, 10:41, 16:9(!). 29. **ta-pár-ras**: The parallel texts in *BAM* 42 and Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003, 65 have *ta-ka-sim*, from Akk. *kasāmu*, “to cut up, to chop”, as opposed to Akk. *parāsu*, “to cut off, to divide up”, in our text. 30. **a-na MAŠ mun-zīq**: *ana mišil munzīq*, “(mix them into) half of the raisins.” Other possible readings of MAŠ/BAR make relatively little sense: *qīlip munzīq*, “raisin skin”, is not otherwise known and a reading of MAŠ/BAR as 1(BÁN) = *īštēt sūt* would imply an absurdly huge quantity of one particular ingredient vis-à-vis the minute amounts of all the rest. Our interpretation here is also in line with the verbal hendiadys or repetition found in lines 25–26: *ina mê temessi tašannima temessi*, “(you select some raisins and) wash them in water twice (or perhaps in two portions),” literally “you wash them in water, you wash them twice.” This interpretation is also supported by the parallel in *BAM* 42, where the multiplicative 2-šú, which corresponds to the verbal hendiadys *tašannima temessi* in our text, is used in the phrase 2-šú *ina* GEŠTIN.SUR LUḪ-si (GEŠTIN.SUR is presumably a corruption of GEŠTIN.ḪÁD, which is an abbreviated form of the logogram corresponding to *mun-zi-qu* in our text). The repetition of *temessi*, in combination with *tašanni*, might suggest that two portions of raisins already exist in line 25–26 and that our phrase here refers to one of those two portions. See the comment to line 34 for the disposition of the other half of the raisins. 30. **dan-nu**: One of the parallel texts has *ḥa-am-ra*, “intoxicant”, rather than *dan-nu*, “strong”, but there does not seem to be any basis for choosing one variant over the other. 30. **GIŠ.GEŠTIN dan-nu**

DU₁₀.GA *ana ŠÀ DUB*: *karānu dannu t̃ābu ana libbi tašappak*, “you pour strong, sweet wine into it.” As already elucidated in Stol’s entry on “Wein” in *RLA*, the duplicating passage in *BAM* 42: 31, has GEŠTIN *ha-am-ra* in place of our GIŠ.GEŠTIN *dan-nu*, while in Emar 6/3 369 (Arnaud 1986, 327 and 336), variant to line 38 (GEŠTIN : *ha-am-[ra]* in Msk 731042, Ms. B: 23 [Arnaud 1985, 123]), where GEŠTIN is also glossed with *ham[ra]*. Stol goes on to note that the term *hamru*, which corresponds to the Old Babylonian term *himru* and is also attested as *ha-rí* in Ebla, can also be used to describe a type of beer. The qualification of *karānu* with *hamru* must be seen as the *lectio difficilior*, so the use of *dannu* in our text may represent a banalization. 30. 7 U₄ GAR: The parallel passage in *BAM* 42 has 5 U₄-*me* GAR-*an*, hence five days instead of seven. Although not otherwise attested in the Babylonian therapeutic tradition, this part of the recipe sounds like the putrefaction rituals found in medieval Arabic compendia, where compounds are left sealed in a container for a period of time to allow for transformative processes of one kind or another to take place. This is particularly clear in line 35, where the resulting mixture is poured out as a libation rather than ingested (see generally Kruk 1990 as well as the materials in Raggetti forthcoming). 31. *e-nu-ma il-tab-ku*: “once the mixture has macerated.” Note in particular the parallel in Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003, where our phrase corresponds to U₄-*ma* AL.ŠEG₆.GÁ, which is normally equated with Akk. *bašālu*, “to cook, to ripen”, rather than the verb *labāku*, “to soak, to macerate”, found in our line. A similar phrase, viz. U₄-*ma* ŠEG₆.GÁ (without AL), is found in *BAM* 44: 30, and *BAM* 555: ii 12. Although this might be seen as a simple banalization, it probably is not, since the stative (or nominalized) form of the Sumerograms properly corresponds to Akk. *bašlu*, which can also mean “ripe” alongside the more common meaning “cooked”. Neither *AHW* nor *CAD* have any instances that are clear examples of *bašlu* for putrefaction and/or fermentation, but the correspondence between *labāku*, “to macerate”, and *bašlu*, “ripe”, certainly points in that direction.

§ 6b (= Lines 32–35)

34. *tu-ḥa-ša-aš* PA/SÌG *mun-ziq*: Scurlock’s 2(BÁN) for PA/SÌG is rather unlikely: PA/SÌG, as it stands, is either to be read as SÌG, the logogram for a verb like *tamaḥḥaš*, “you pulverize”, or PA *mun-ziq*, “branch of raisins”. We have adopted the first of these in our translation, hence *tamaḥḥaš*, “you stamp them fine,” alongside *tuḥaššaš*, “you cut them to pieces.” However, there may be a case for emending PA/SÌG *mun-ziq* to MAŠ *mun-ziq*, as we find above in line 30. If this emendation is correct, the second half of the raisins picked out in line 25 would seem to appear here in a second part of the recipe.

§ 7 (= Lines 36–39)

36. **Ú NAM.DIN:** literally “the plant of life”. The name occasionally stands for “medicinal/healing plant” generically but most of the time denotes a specific ingredient: see *RLA* 10, 506a sub “Pflanzenkunde. B”. The descriptive text known as *Šammu šikinšu* (*KADP* 33: rev. 12', ed. in *JMC* 18 [2011], 26) describes it as a green plant resembling the *papparhû*-plant. Surprisingly, the commentary text MMA 86.11.109 (<http://ccp.yale.edu/P412240>) has an entry on **Ú NAM.TILA** (obv. 12), defining it, very differently, as the seed of a tree (name completely lost save the *giš*-determinative, but tentatively restored as the *haluppu* species). 37. **GABA-su te-še-î:** This utterly rare meaning of the verb *še'û* has been proposed under the heading “to probe, scrutinize” in *CAD* Š/2 356a sub *še'û* 1c; it is not acknowledged in *AHW* 1223a sub *še'û* 6a. In theory, the signs could also be read *te-še-e'* and normalized as *tešše'*, the present tense of *ešē'u*, which is on record as a hapax legomenon in the lexical list *Malku-šarru* 4: 236, where it is equated with *šabātu* (Hrůša 2010, 106). The sequence of *šabātu* synonyms followed by *nasāhu* synonyms, in lines 235–241, might conceivably reflect a medical vernacular as the source for this section of the list (not so assessed by Hrůša [2010, 249], but see Geller [2015] for a more promising interpretation of *Malku-šarru*). 37. **su-um-(mu)-nu Ì ħal-ša:** See *AHW* 1058b sub *summunu*, “Achtel”, or more particularly “1/8 qû-Maß”, hence our translation “one eighth of a liter”; *CAD* misses the fact that it is a unit of measure and translates “(a foodstuff?)”. See also Streck 1995, 66, § 57c with n. 151; the context demands that a capacity measure precedes Ì.GIŠ *ħal-ša*. Thus also dissipates the aporia Finkel 2000, Texts 5:8, 22:15–16. 38. **ina mu-ši-pe-e-ti:** The “seizing of the tongue” in order to give a patient medicine is well-known in the therapeutic literature, but here the type of cloth that is to be used to seize the tongue is specified: this is a plural form of Akk. *mušiptu*, “(standard size) piece of cloth” (*CAD* M/2 242a). Stol (2007) has identified two other occurrences of the term in the therapeutic corpus: *BAM* 240:13' and *CT* 55 377: 7, but in neither case is the cloth used to seize the tongue. See Ì *gu-un-nu* in line 74 for another rare term found in both our text and *BAM* 240.

§ 8a (= Lines 40–41)

40–41. These lines parallel *BAM* 44: 16'–17' as well as Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003, 232, § 37. 40. **ru-ṭi-šú:** The parallel lines have **ÚḪ-šú**, “his spittle”, and we can be rather certain that the sign sequence **RU DI ŠÚ** is to be transliterated as *ru-ṭi-šú* for Akk. *ru'tu*, “spittle, saliva, phlegm, mucus”, followed by the third person masculine singular possessive pronoun. The use of the emphatic consonants in Akkadian to encode a sequence of consonant plus glottal stop is known from elsewhere in the Akkadian language, in particular the well-known

use of {š} in Middle and Neo-Assyrian to represent the phonological sequence /s'/ in some forms of the Akk. verb *našû*, “to carry” (see Parpola 1974, Voigt 1986, and Kouwenberg 2003 for background), although the closer parallel in Middle Assyrian is actually the variation between orthographies in DA and TA for writing the verb *naṭû*, “to hit”, viz. *na-DA-at* as opposed to *na-TA-at* (see Deller and Saporetti 1970 and the discussion in Kouwenberg 2003, 85 and n. 61). The phonological string in these latter examples is probably /naṭat/, with the third weak aleph, in contact with the dental, being represented by {ṭ} in some examples. Yet, in our case here, the order of consonant and glottal stop is reversed, viz. glottal stop followed by dental rather than dental followed by glottal stop, so all things considered we lack strictly parallel phenomena known from elsewhere. Our example, therefore, does not quite fit into the general model of *post*-glottalization described by Kouwenberg, since in some circumstances glottalization amounts to a kind of co-articulation, where the on-set of the glottalization can vary along a continuum. Since the parallel makes certain that a sequence of /t/ is at work here, the only question, really, is how Akk. *ru'tu* was articulated in actual speech. **41. 15 ŠE Ú.NAM.TILA:** The reference to “fifteen grains” here corresponds to one-twelfth of a shekel in the older notational system, largely attested in the Old Babylonian sources, but elsewhere in our text the same amount is specified as 2 *girû*, as for example in lines 11 and 70. In line 70, in particular, we have the phrase 2 *gi-re-e* Ú.NAM.DIN, which refers to precisely the same ingredient in the same amount, but does so using a late orthography in contrast to an Old Babylonian form like 15 ŠE Ú.NAM.TILA. **41. ina 2 NINDA.ĦLA Ì ḫal-ša:** This is a use of NINDA for volume rather than weight, as made particularly clear in the two other manuscripts where 2 NINDA.ĦLA is replaced with 1/3 SÌLA. As already noted in the commentary to line 3, the slightly older, Neo-Babylonian NINDA measure had only six NINDA per SÌLA (see Powell 1987–1990, 499), which would fit the equation between 2 NINDA and 1/3 SÌLA.

§ 8b (= Lines 42–43)

42–43. These lines parallel *BAM* 43: 4–5, *BAM* 44: 11–12, *BAM* 161: vii 13–16 and Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003, 232, § 34. Note, however, that the sequence of extracts in *BAM* 44, runs in the opposite direction as in our text. **42. úšû-un-ḫu ... úan-dah-šum:** These two ingredients are also found together in a recipe for “fifteen drugs for someone suffering from pain in the shoulders and lung disease”, as for example in *BAM* 165: ii' 5'. This same fifteen ingredient recipe is also found in *BAM* 44: 7–10.

§ 9 (= Line 44)

44. DIŠ NA *su-ālu* GIG: The shift from “lung disease” (MUR.MEŠ GIG) in lines 42–43 to the disease known as *suālu* in this one line simplicium, to be followed below by *šiqu* disease, parallels nicely the sequence of pharmacopoeia for lung illnesses in the lists of pharmaceutical items, particularly *BAM* 1: ii 21–26 which lists drugs for lung disease (‘NUMUN ÁB.DUḪ, ‘*ha-šá-a-nu*, ‘*pu-ug-la-nu*, ‘*bu-uṭ-na-nu*, ‘NUMUN *at-kám*, ‘*šal-la-pa-nu*), immediately followed, in lines 27–36 with drugs for *suālu* (‘LAG GÁN, ‘NUMUN ‘*at-kám*, ‘NU.LUḪ.ḪA, ‘SUḪUŠ *ni-ne*, ‘SUḪUŠ ^{giš}ŠE.NÚ.A, ‘ILLU ^{giš}ÁŠAL, ‘*an-daḫ-šum*, [‘]GA¹-*a-nu*, ‘EME.[UR.GI₇], ‘NU.LUḪ.ḪA) and in lines 37–40 with drugs for *šiqu* (‘NUMUN LAG GÁN, ‘*tāk-da-na-nu*, ‘GÌR-*a-nu*, ‘*an-daḫ-šum*). Our simplicium here is Akk. *andaḫšu*, which is described as a treatment for both *suālu* and *šiqu* diseases. The surprising thing is that none of the six ingredients listed for diseases of the lung in *BAM* 1 recur in our text; instead, five other ingredients are listed in lines 42–43 (*tīyatu*, *kasû*, *šammu pešû*, *šunḫu* and *andaḫšu*), followed in line 44 with a repetition of *andaḫšu* as a simplicium for the treatment of *suālu* as well as a subsequent use of the drug *hašû*.

§ 10 (= Lines 45–47)

45–47. These lines parallel *BAM* 44: 8–9. **45. DIŠ NA *su-ālu rit¹-ku-su* GIG:** This particular type of *suālu* is not otherwise known, although IM.KAL.GUG (= Akk. *kalgukku*) is found as an ingredient for ordinary *suālu* in *BAM* 548: i 19 and presumably *BAM* 43: 8, although the term *suālu* is not preserved in the latter. If *rit¹-ku-su* is the correct reading, it is a *pitrus*-form (Gt verbal adjective) of Akk. *rakāsu*, to which CAD assigns a separate section (CAD R 102a s.v. *rakāsu* 7), “said of evil, disease”, where they take *muršu lemnu rit-ku-su ittiya*, “an evil disease is firmly attached to me” as their key exemplum. The Gt in use here is probably reflexive or “intensive” (Kouwenberg 2010, 367 and 373–374, particularly productive in Standard Babylonian for the non-prefix forms) rather than reciprocal, hence the manifestations of the disease are presumably “bound to each other”, hence our translation of the term as “congealed”. **47. *šum-ma* EN.TE.NA:** See the discussion of *šum₄-ma* KÚM.MEŠ, “if it is summertime”, in line 17 above as well as ‘*maš¹-qut šá* EN.TE.NA in line 78. The partial duplicate of the preceding lines in Heeßel and al-Rawi 2003 continues on with an unparalleled section that concludes with the statement *ana* MUR.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI SIG₅ *ta-ri-ḫu* DIDA SIG₅ *šá* EN.TE.NA. The suggestion of an alternative procedure during the cold of winter is also found in *BAM* 22: 31’, a text concerned with eye disease, and, more importantly, *BAM* 44: 32, which, though broken, describes a procedure as both “of the winter”, viz. *šá* EN.TE.NA, and a “secret of kingship”, viz.

ni-šir-ti LUGAL-*ti*. Likewise, *BAM* 92, includes the term EN.TE.NA alongside a drug, NUMUN ^u*at-kám* that is normally used in the treatment of diseased lungs. *BAM* 119: 6' describes heating a therapeutic solution during the winter, viz. *šum₄-ma* EN.TE.NA *ba-aḥ-ru-su*. If we limit ourselves to occurrences of the idiom in treatments for *suālu*, we need to focus on *BAM* 146: 53'–55' (and the parallel passage in BM 38910), where the remedy is sucked through a straw in summer ([*šū*] *m₄-ma um¹-[ma-t]um¹ ina ZĀ.ḪILI[sar]* / *si-ka-ti SĪG-aš ina GĪSAG.[KUD] GĪD-ad* ...), but in winter it is simply drunk in beer, and *BAM* 431: v' 33'–36', where a heavily damaged section is described as “ingredients for diseases of the lungs in winter”, viz. [... Ū] 'MUR^{1min}.MEŠ *ša* EN.TE.NA. Taking a remedy through a straw is also found in line 31 of the text edited here. Since neither of the seasonal conditions, in lines 17 and 47 in our text, are found in connection with fever, it is probably not a reflection of the “a fever in winter is worse than in summer” theme (Yoma 29a; see Geller 2004, 12 for an overview). Instead, as Geller emphasized when we read this text with him and his students, the seasonal conditions in our text are concerned with using bandages that are cool in summer and warm in winter in order to avoid taxing the patient. The same idea is also found in the Babylonian Talmud (Abodah Zarah 28b, apud Preuss 1923, 208; cf. Gittin 69b), in a treatment for diseases of the anus, where, among other possibilities, *mešāh qīrā* is wrapped in “rags of flax cloth during the summer” (*we-līnqôṭ be-šāḥaqēy de-kītānā' be-qāyṭā'*), but “cotton during the winter” (*we-da'amr gūfnā' be-ṭitwaw'*).

§ 11 (= Lines 48–49)

48. ^u**NAGA.TIR**: The composite logogram ^u**NAGA.TIR** is an unprecedented orthography and is here assumed to stand for the *qiltu*-plant, a rarely attested alkali-producing plant which may incidentally be written with the simple logogram ^u**NAGA**; since it is far more common for the latter to be read *uḫūlu*, the TIR-sign, normally representing the lexeme *qīš/ltu*, has evidently been added here for disambiguation. It cannot be ruled out that the scribe, at the same time, was intending a pun, cryptographically suggesting that the plant's habitat had to be sought in the thickets. 49. **KAŠ ŠE SUMUN**: Again the use of ŠE to distinguish ordinary beer, made from barley, from other types of beer is somewhat odd; here the qualification is extended further with SUMUN, “old”. 49. **LÍMMU-tú ḥa-a-tu NAG**: The drinking of the potion in four doses, rather than the three doses found in the earlier extracts, is distinctive, as is the use of the Akk. term *ḥātu*, which originally means “payment, installment” (*CAD* Ḫ 158b; *AHw* 337, “Rate”). The orthography LÍMMU-tú for Akk. *erbettu*, with LÍMMU representing four horizontal wedges in two stacks, is apparently unique in the therapeutic corpus, but is the usual writing for the numeral in Sumerian

literary contexts and royal inscriptions in the second millennium BCE. 49. *šá su-alu ana ka-ma-a-si*: The global comment appended here is equally surprising and should be read as *kamāsu*, “to collect, to finish”, although the idiom is not elsewhere attested in medical contexts. We maintain the basic meaning of *kamāsu* as “to collect” (see *CAD* and *AHW* sub *kamāsu*), although the entry in *AHW* 431, translated as “beenden”, is the closest to our passage in meaning, namely that the phlegm has been cleared away in its entirety. Elsewhere in our text, in lines 56 and 57, *laqātu* is used in similar way to refer to the removal of a disease, but there in a kind of interjection rather than a global comment.

§ 12a (= Lines 50–51)

50. *DIŠ NA šī-qá DAB-su*: Although Akk. *šīqu* does not appear in the incipits of the BRONCHIA sub-series, it does appear in the small section of keywords that follows the total, viz. [NÍGIN 6 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA KIR₄-šú DUGUD EN DIŠ NA G]I.GÍD MUR.MEŠ *šī-i-qi* ù LÚ.TUR *su-alu* GIG, which lists diseased windpipe, the *šīqu* illness and *suālu* in children as its keywords. As is usually the case with the keywords that follow the total in a sub-series of the Assur Medical Catalog, the keywords name illnesses that are not named in the incipits of the tablets that make up the sub-series but that do occupy a major part of the sub-series nonetheless. As was the case with the other *materia medica* mentioned in our text, the ingredients found in this recipe do not, for the most part, line up with the ingredients listed in *BAM* 1. *CAD* defines it as “an eczema” but as its position in the lists of *materia medica* and the therapeutic sub-series makes clear, it is actually a disease of the lungs. In his comment on the occurrence of *šīqu* in the lung disease section of *SpTU* 1 43, Geller notes that *šīqu* “occurs in the list of *MSL* 9 96: 197, associated with bile or gall” (Geller 2014, 8).

§ 12b (= Line 52)

52. *šá-’i-i-lu A.ŠĀ*: The standard treatment for *šīqu* in the lists of *materia medica* is “LAG GĀN, literally “the clod-of the-field plant”, but this entirely logographic writing never appears in our text, and in its place we find the *šā’ilu eqli*. In the Old Babylonian period, this insect was written BURU₅ ENSI (HS 1799 c: iii 12 = OB Ura 3: 360), literally the “dream-interpreter locust”, commonly understood to refer to a species of praying mantis, while in the first millennium lists this designation gets transformed into BURU₅ ŠĀ.A = Akk. *si-ik-du* (K 4330 = CT 14, pl. 8: rev. i 4). The lexical equation between BURU₅ ENSI and our term is found in tablet 14 of the first millennium version of Ura (K 71a = CT 14, pl. 1: rev. i 10’–11’), where BURU₅ ENSI is equated with *šá-a’-i-lum* and BURU₅ MIN (= ENSI) A.ŠĀ.GA is equated with MIN (= *šá-a’-i-lum*) *eq-li*. This

is very tersely summarized in Landsberger's *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien* (Landsberger 1934, 124) and the older logogram actually appears in *BAM* 555: iii 64': [...] *pa-ša-ti* BURU₅ ENSI A.ŠÀ.GA HÁD.A SÚD TÉŠ.BI 𒀭.𒀭.𒀭. The real puzzle, therefore, does not lie in the alignment of the Old Babylonian BURU₅ ENSI with the first millennium form of the term in our text, but rather in the possibility that this term can be aligned with the 𒀭LAG GÁN and found in the lists of *materia medica* for the treatment of *suālu* and *šīqu*. The logogram LAG normally corresponds to Akk. *kirbānu*, "clod", and *CAD* collects references to 𒀭LAG GÁN/A.ŠÀ in medical contexts in *CAD* K 404a, including at least two syllabic writings, viz. 𒀭LAG.GÁN = Ú *kir-ba-an* A.ŠÀ in URU.AN.NA (Iriana) 1: 483–488 and *kur-ba-an* A.ŠÀ in *PBS* 2/2 107: 43, but the sign LAG can also be read as SILA₁₁ or SILAG, which is the standard logogram for Akk. *lāšu*, "to knead" (this is based on the partial homophony or rebus of /lag/ with /(si)lag/). One can only surmise that the characteristic posture and movement of the forelegs of the mantis—the behavior that led to its sobriquet as the "praying" mantis—were interpreted as the characteristic behavior of "kneading". The "kneader" in Akkadian would be *lā'īšu*, although it is not attested in a clear context where it means "kneader" (see *AHW* sub *lā'īšu* and *CAD* L sub *lāḫišu* for the relevant entries). Inversion or playful metathesis of {l} and {š} in *lā'īšu* would have yielded *šā'īlu*, "inquirer, diviner", as in our phrase *šā'īlu eqlī*.

§ 12c (= Line 52*)

52*. U₈ *pe-ši-ti*: It is probably too far-fetched to read this phrase as *lahri wa-ši-ti* = *lahri wāšīti* and translate "a top ewe", i.e. one excelling in milk yield (see *AHW* 148ob sub (w) *āšū(m)*), and we have opted here for the more prosaic *lahri pešīti*, "white ewe".

§ 13 (= Lines 53–54)

53. *u-qá*: *CAD* U–W 202a under *uqqu* (= Sum. MUR.GIG, viz. "sick lung"), based on *MSL* 9, 96: iv 196 (the disease list). The one non-lexical example in *CAD* (W 22279: 17') has subsequently been published as *SpTU* 1 6 (= P348427): DIŠ U₈.UDU.𒀭.IA ša MUR.GIG ú-kil. (This tablet also makes use of KÚR as a marginal notation, although it is copied as NU.) The logogram MUR.GIG also appears in line 10 of *BAM* 44, which we have encountered several times above. The term also seems to appear in a commentary to *Šumma Izbu*, viz. *Izbu* Commentary: 114, where we read *uq-qá-at* = *šá-bu-lat*, viz. Akk. *šābulu*, "dry, withered, shriveled". The lung disease *uqqu* should not be confused with *uququ*, as in *BAM* 338: rev. 9, which is apparently a form of paralysis. 53. *tu-še-en-še-šu-ma*^{sic}: Scurlock takes this verb as an anomalous Š-stem of *mašû*,

but we interpret it as a Š-stem form of *ešēnu*, “to smell (an odor)”, hence “you make him smell (the bundle).” If we do not emend the text, this can be arrived at through a pair of phonological changes: a rare instance of nasalization /šš/ > /nš/ (GAG, §§ 32.c and 96.k) and the more common assimilation /nš/ > /šš/, yielding *tuššēnšu-ma* as the base form. Alternatively, in line with a suggestion made by Ulrike Steinert, we could also arrive at the same result through an emendation, flipping the order of EN and ŠE, so as to produce *tu-še-še-en-šu-ma*. This emendation assumes that the original tablet had *tu-še-še-en-šu-ma*, but our scribe mistakenly copied *tu-še-en-še-šu-ma*, with EN following ŠE rather than ŠE, due to the repetition of sibilant followed by /e/. Slightly different forms of the same verb appear in *BAM* 240: obv. 26' (*tu-še-še-en-ši-ma*) and *BAM* 575: ii 55 (*tu-uš-še-en-šu*).

§ 14 (= Line 55)

55. DIŠ NA *ši-i-qu lu hu-ʾu* GIG: The particular orthography *hu-ʾu* is not otherwise attested, but it may be a variant form of *ha(h)hu*, “phlegm, mucus”, often mentioned alongside other terms pointing to congestion of the chest (*AHw* 308); the verbal root is probably (*h*)*aʾû*, “to spit out”. The key attestation for *ha(h)hu* is in the sixth tablet of the respiratory sub-series BRONCHIA, as we can see from the summary and catchline of *BAM* 548: DUB 5.KÁM.MA DIŠ NA 'KIR₄'-[šú DUGUD ...] / DIŠ NA *su-a-lam ha-ha u ki-šir-ta₅* 'GIG' [...] [...]. More so than its possible derivations, the pairing of *hu-ʾu* with *ši-i-qu* raises the possibility that it is an alternative name of the illness otherwise known as *šīqu*. The term *hu-ʾu* is not found in the list of diseases in *MSL* 9, but like *guhhu*, *hu-ʾu* may simply be another example of onomatopoesis roughly equivalent to English “cough”.

§ 15a (= Lines 56–57)

56. *šū-un-ʾu*: This is an alternative spelling of Akk. *šunhu*, with /h/ reduced to /ʾ/, which appears in its more common orthography, viz. *šū-un-hu*, in line 23 and 42 above. A similar reduction of /h/ to /ʾ/ also presumably appears in *hu-ʾu* in the preceding line. 56–57. *tu-ga-^rre¹*-[e²] / *u* TU₁₅ *la-qa-a-tú*: This infinitive phrase, viz. *tugarê u šāri laqātu*, “to clear away *tugarê* and gas”, occurs as a qualification of the phrase *erbet šammū pī karši*, “four drugs for the esophagus”, all before the instruction that the patient is to drink the remedy, so it has not been classified as a “global comment” like the similar use of *kamāsu* in line 49 above. Nonetheless, in both cases the infinitives seem to be used to describe the total eradication of a disease, *laqātu*, “to glean”, taking away the very last particles, so that it will not crop up again (see *AHw* “wegraffen zur Vernichtung”), *kamāsu* in reference to phlegm (Akk. *suālu*) and *laqātu* in reference to *tugarê* and gas. The

overall context here might suggest that the rare term *tugarû* should be translated as “belch” or “burp” since this would yield a nice parallel between “wind” that leaves the body through the mouth as opposed to that which leaves from the anus; it remains unclear how *tugarû* might be differentiated from forms of Akk. *gešû*, “to belch”.

§ 15b (= Lines 58–59)

58. 6-*u'* / *hum-mu-šû*: Here we encounter two additional units of measurement, not met earlier in the text, viz. one-sixth, Akk. *suddû* (written 6-*u'*), and one-fifth, Akk. *hummušu*. In Powell's *RIA* survey (1987–1990, 512), he devotes two very short paragraphs to these two units of measure, but in his contribution to the *Festschrift* for Tom Jones he provides a broader view of *suddû*: “There are three terms attested for this unit: one Sumerian and two Akkadian. These are recorded in the commentary Hg 98 (*MSL* 10 32) to Hh XVI 441, where the line should read: na₄ igi-6'-gál-la = *a-ban pa'-ras manê še-eḫ-[ri]* = *su-ud-d[u-ú]*, ‘a sixth-stone (Sum.) = fraction (i.e., half)-of-a-little-mina-stone (Akk. an archaic term) = sixth-of-a-shekel (the standard NB term)’ ... This is the smallest weight unit attested in Sumerian text in the form igi-x-gál, which also agrees with the evidence of Hh XVI” (Powell 1979, 95–96). In contrast to the long history of one-sixth of a shekel as a unit of measurement, Powell argues that one-fifth of the shekel was not a distinctive unit of measurement prior to the invention of the Neo-Babylonian term *hummušu*. 59. KÚR: The occurrence of KÚR in the left margin adjacent to this line is probably in response to the use of *bitqu* as a unit of measure here (twice) and in line 73 (twice again), where 3 *girû* would have been the expected expression for one-eighth of a shekel. The three other occurrences of KÚR in the left margin, in lines 64, 69 and 72, will be dealt with below. 59. 6 Ú KA *kar-šû*: Here, and in line 56 above, a series of ingredients are specified as “drugs (for) the esophagus”, lit. “mouth/opening of the stomach”. Since our text is not particularly focused on this organ, it may represent the same four-fold classification of the organs of the body that is found in *SpTU* 1 43: 7, where a series of illnesses, including *ḫimit šēti*, are characterized as *ul-tu KA kar-šû*, using the same orthography as in our line here (see the edition and discussion in Geller 2014, 3–4 and 7, citing the discussion in Cadelli 2000, 298). The respiratory diseases, in *SpTU* 1 43, are otherwise collected in the third section, in lines 19–24, under the heading [*ul-t*]u *ḫa-še-e*, “from the lungs”. Geller reads the first of the respiratory illnesses, in line 19, as *tib-bi*, with the Akk. term *tibu*, “arousal, attack” in mind, but one might also consider the possibility of reading *ú'-qá'*, the otherwise poorly attested respiratory illness in line 53. As Geller goes on to point out in his discussion of the four organ system in *SpTU* 1 43: “Although the four organs cited in *SpTU* I

43 are not identical with those listed in Galen, nevertheless the general concept is remarkably similar, namely that certain inherent factors or properties of these four organs can create conditions which cause disease" (Geller 2014, 24).

§ 15c (= Lines 60–65)

60–62. The repetition of $\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN before all eight ingredients in combination with the expression *malmališ taḥât* in line 62 introduces a degree of redundancy and suggests some editorial reworking of this section, since the same schematic amount precedes each ingredient and the adverb *malmališ* describes an equal amount of each ingredient. 60–65. These lines are a stand-alone recipe, without symptom descriptions and the like. Three additional recipes in much the same form follow in lines 69–78. The recipe is described as šá KAR ZA.MEŠ *ana* KA GUB. The second part of this global comment, namely *ana* KA GUB, may be equated with Akk. *ana pî šaṭir*, “written at dictation”, as occasionally found in colophons, but the first half of the global comment, viz. šá KAR ZA.MEŠ is enigmatic. One might read it syllabically as *kar-ša*, an accusative singular form of *karšu*, which, however, would constitute quite an anomaly, since the lexeme only occurs in the acc. plur. governed by the verb *akālu*: *karši/ē akālu*, “to slander, calumniate”. It could be speculated that the MEŠ has been added for the very purpose of expressing the plural, taking KAR.Z/ŠA.MEŠ as a kind of pseudo-logogram. Even so, the aporia remains, for, apart from the fact that the virtually indispensable *akālu* is still missing (see *STT* 300: 27 [Geller 2014, 49]), the phenomenon of slander is entirely outside the purview of our text. One might speculate that KAR ZA represents a corrupted form of *kar-šû*, “stomach”, or that it describes the source of the materials in a “quay of stones (and minerals),” but neither is convincing. 64. *ta-sáh-ḥi*: Tentatively rendered as “you shake up” on the assumption that the verb is *seḥû* (*saḥû*), in the G-stem, exceptionally with the transitive meaning “to throw into confusion”, a sense otherwise attested only in the D-stem. 64. KÚR ... *ú-bar-re-e-ma*: The first of the three remaining marginal uses of KÚR (excluding the one in line 73): all three of the marginal KÚR notations here in line 64 as well as in lines 69 and 72 seem to be indicating that a verbal form is either written in an unusual syllabic orthography or written in an unusual logographic orthography. Here *ú-bar-re-e-ma* is a D-stem present tense of *berû*, viz. *burrû*, and is here and in line 78 considered to have intransitive meaning, largely on the strength of the observations made by N. Kouwenberg (2010, 272–273). Whereas the G-stem denotes a process with a non-agentive subject: “to be/get hungry, to starve”, the derived agentivity expressed by the D-stem makes the verb denote an action or an activity (with a personal subject and without

direct object). In this particular case the D-stem can be said to express voluntary action: “to choose/decide not to eat”, i.e. “to fast”, “to observe a period of fasting”. The use of KÚR in this line may be pointing to the ambiguity of *ú-bar-re-e* as either intransitive or transitive, which might, in turn, have led to the suggestion that the verb is actually transitive here and should have been in the second person, addressed to the physician, meaning “you make (him) fast”. This would line up nicely with the two second person D-stem verbs in line 63: *tu-da-aq-qa-qu-ma* and *tu-sam-mah*, but it does not seem to be correct. On the contrary, the editor was probably well-aware of the intransitive usage of *burrû*, as made evident in line 78, where *šá la bur-re-e*, “while not/without fasting”, is almost certainly intransitive. The use of KÚR to mark “possible ambiguity” rather than a “mistake” is also found in line 69, where an alternation between initial and middle weak forms of *alātu*, “to swallow”, seems to be in play. 65. ÉN ^dgu-la GAŠAN *šur-bu-tu*₄ AMA *réme-ni-tu*₄ *a-ši-bat* AN-e KÛ.MEŠ: The incantation referenced here by its incipit is almost certainly the one recently edited by Böck under the title “Gula, Great Lady who Dwells in the Pure Heavens” (Böck 2014, 88–90). Our citation adds the phrase AMA *réme-ni-tu*₄, which is a rendering of AMA ARḪUŠ, “merciful mother”, which only appears, in reference to Gula, in a distinct spell, namely in the incipit of “Physician of the Land, Ninisina”, viz. én ^da.zu kalam.ma ^dnin.ì.si.in.na.ke₄ *ama arḫuš kalam.ma me.en* (Böck 2014, 80). The largely syllabic version in our line also allows for a minor improvement to Böck’s edition: where Böck has GAŠAN GAL-*tum a-ši-bat*, on the basis of a single manuscript (K 9684+ = BAM 431: iii 47), our syllabic form *šur-bu-tu*₄ must correspond to the GAL-*tum* in Böck’s edition, suggesting that the correct title is “Gula, Exalted Lady who Dwells in the Pure Heavens”, with Akk. Š-stem elative *šurbûtu*, “exalted”, in place of Böck’s *rabûtu*, “great”. This incantation may also provide a link to the *ḫiniqtu* illness in the next section, since it may have been included in BAM 7 9: 39–41, which is appended to a series of treatments for *ḫiniqtu* (Geller 2005, 90, apud Böck 2014, 90).

§ 16a (= Lines 66–68)

66–68. This is a rather complex case history, not paralleled elsewhere in the therapeutic corpus: five symptoms are listed, including strangury (Akk. *ḫiniqtu*), kidney and anal diseases (ÉLLAG.ME GIG and DÚR.GIG GIG), *šēta ḫamīṭ* fever and a recurrent temperature (*um-ma* DAB.DAB-su = *umma iṣṣa-nabbassu*). Note as well that the amount of each ingredient is given schematically as 2 *gi-re-e*.

§ 16b (= Line 69)

69. **KÚR ... *i-la-’u-ut***: The **KÚR** marker in the left margin of this line is probably meant to be paired with the **KÚR** in the margin of line 72. Both lines describe the patient “swallowing” a pill: in this line the verb is written syllabically, *i-la-’u-ut*, which corresponds to the infinitive *la’ātu*, while in line 72 a byform of the same verb, namely *alātu*, is written logographically as GIGURU₃. That both forms of the verb were recognized in some circles is made clear by an entry in a *Šumma Izbu* (6: 40) commentary that reads *a-lit = la-’it*, equating the stative of the two forms of the verb (*CT* 27 26: 3, apud *CAD* A/1 336b; Leichty 1970, 88 and 218).

§ 16c (= Lines 70–72)

72. **KÚR ... NIGIN GIGURU₃ ME**: These two logographically written verbs presumably correspond to the Akkadian expression *talammi ullat*, “you envelop (everything in a date skin), and then he swallows it.” The equation between NIGIN and *law/mû*, “to surround, to wrap”, is well-known and both *CAD* and *AHw* collect examples of its use in preparing pills. This occurrence of the logogram KA×LAG (“mouth” × “lump”) = GIGURU₃ = *alātu*, “to swallow”, is the first ever to pop up outside the lexical corpus, where it is equally rare and recorded only once, in the list Erimḫuš 3: 64 (*MSL* 17, 49). In syllabic form, the Akkadian verb is fairly well attested in therapeutical texts, always in the D-stem with the patient as its subject, hence the normalization above as *ullat* or *u’allat*. However, since a D-stem sits less well with a singular object—there is only one pellet to be ingested here, whereas the usual prescription is for a number of pills to be swallowed—a G-stem reading *i’allut* should not be ruled out altogether. Theoretically, the ME that follows could be taken as part of the logographic writing: GIGURU₃.ME, marking the D-stem or a *tan*-stem. If not, however, as we most tentatively suggest in the edition, ME corresponds to *qību*, “prognosis, procedure, instruction”, ZI for the infinitive *nasāḫū*, “to remove (illness)”, and *ra-bu* then qualifies *qību*, yielding *qīb nasāḫi rabû*, “a great eradicating (procedure)”.

§ 17 (= Lines 73–75)

73. **NAGA.SI *la ḥe-su-û***: NAGA.SI corresponds to Akk. *uḫūlu qarnānu*, literally “horned” or more likely “sprouted alkali”, but the precise meaning of Akk. *ḥesû* is far from clear. The translation “horned alkali that has no bristles” is based on *CAD* H 177a sub *ḥesû* B, “to be bushy (of hair)”. See Böck (2000, 77, n. 378) for the latest discussion of this elusive lexeme. If it corresponds to “glasswort” or “saltwort” of some kind (prototypically forms of the genus *Salicornia*), it would be describing the plants from which potash for glass or soap production

can be derived. 74. *Ġ gu-un-nu*: As Stol (2007, 2) puts it, “*gunnu* is a vernacular by-form of *gurnu* ‘of second quality,’” following in the footsteps of *AHW* 299a sub *gurnu*. This term is found in the text that Stol was commenting on, viz. *BAM* 240: 11’, as well as the same expression *Ġ.GIŠ gu-un-nu* in *BAM* 391: 18.

§ 18 (= Lines 76–79)

76. *šul-lul-tú*: Corresponding to one-third of a shekel, this is yet another unit of measure that is not otherwise attested in the therapeutic corpus. As the references sub *šullultu* in *CAD* Š/3 241b show, this term is normally found in commercial and legal contexts. Its collocation with *Ġ GÍN* is probably made necessary by the fact that it is not normally used in therapeutic contexts, meaning that the shekel, as the subdivided unit, had to be specified. 76. *tu-šá-ša*: To be parsed as present tense Š-stem of *mašû*; the full assimilation of *m* before *š* is admittedly an anomaly (*GAG*, § 31.f), yet less objectionable than a derivation of (*w*)*ašû*, which would yield no meaningful idiom in the present context; moreover, the spelling would offend against regular phonology in disregarding the *Umlaut* *a* > *e* normally seen in this verb’s corresponding Š-stem tense, appearing as *tu-še-(eš)-še/ša-(a/am)*.

§ 19a (= Lines 79–80)

80. *NAG-ma BURU₈: DIN-uṭ*: This is the only embedded variant in the text, and it actually sheds light on one of its structural peculiarities, viz. the use of *BURU₈* to mark the end of recipes at the beginning of the tablet. The first seven explicitly demarcated extracts in the text, viz. lines 1–16 all end with the Akk. verb *iʾarru*, “he will vomit”, rather than the usual *iballuṭ*, “he will recover” (with the possible exception of line 12, where a badly broken and questionable *DIN* [= Akk. *iballuṭ*] follows *BURU₈* [= Akk. *iʾarru*] and a questionable *-ma*). The next group of extracts, in lines 17–43, all end with the final part of the treatment performed by or on the patient: *NAG-šú* in lines 17 and 18, *GU₇* in line 19, *ú-na-šap* in lines 21 and 24, *NAG.MEŠ* in line 31, *NAG* in line 36, *ú-na-šap* in line 37, *NAG-šú* in lines 39 and 41, and *ú-na-šap* in line 43. Only in line 44, near the end of the obverse, does the standard phrase *iballuṭ*, “he will recover”, written here as *DIN*, actually occur. The rest of the tablet, up to line 80, uses various expressions for “he will recover” to end each section: *DIN* again in line 47 (first line on the reverse), the common alternative to *iballuṭ*, namely *ina-eš*, in lines 52 and 53, *DIN* in lines 75 and 77 and finally the embedded variant here in line 80. The replacement of *iballuṭ* / *ināeš*, in the first half of the tablet, with *iʾarru*, “he will vomit”, is one of the most important landmarks in the tablet and the significance of this marker is confirmed by this embedded

variant, contrasting “he will vomit” (BURU₈) with “he will recover” (DIN-*uṭ*). The last two excerpts, in lines 81–84, seem to end with NAG in much the same way as lines 17–43.

§ 20 (= Lines 82–84)

83–84. *maš-qut šá* GAZ ŠÀ-*bi* ... *ḫu-uš* GAZ ŠÀ-*bi*: In the last two extracts we turn to a pair of psychological or emotional illnesses known as *ḫīp libbi* and *ḫūš ḫīp libbi*, which have been translated as “melancholy” and “severe melancholy” respectively in order to mark the contrast. The second of these illnesses, viz. *ḫūš ḫīp libbi*, serves as a point of orientation and general title for the sub-series dedicated to mental illness in the Assyrian Medical Catalog, namely section XIX, which is dedicated to mental disorders and is summarized with the line NÍGIN 3 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA *ḫu-uš-ša* GAZ ŠÀ TUKU.TUKU-*ši*, “Total: three tablets from ‘If someone continually suffers from *ḫušša ḫīp libbi* ...’”. Unlike the other extracts in our tablet, all of which would be located in the anatomically driven first part of the Assyrian Medical Catalog, these final two extracts deal with psychologically induced problems with the digestive tract.

§ 21 (Catchline)

85. [DIŠ N]A *li-’i-ba* DAB-*su*: For a discussion of the catchline and its significance for understanding the position of this second tablet in a series of extract tablets as well as the colophon, see the introductory comments at the beginning of this contribution.

Acknowledgments

The *Werdegang* of the text edition presented here as a collaborative endeavor has been as follows. It was the first author of this common *Festgabe* who came upon the physical tablet early in 2014, when he had to examine the artifact in the B.M. Study Room on behalf of U. Steinert for its possibly containing sections concerned with women’s diseases, as incrowd scholarly rumor would have it; quod non: the frequent chain of signs to be read *šal-šá-a-tú*, “in thirds”, had been misunderstood as pointing to “that woman”—MUNUS *šá-a-tú*. He thereupon became enthusiastic about the masterpiece of late cuneiform himself, because of its nearly perfect state of preservation and its challenging idiosyncracies in orthography and phraseology. His enthusiasm materialized in an edition of the tablet—transliteration with bound text transcription—for the BabMed Project that was based on his own photographs and those made by BabMed team member Eric Schmidtchen in the autumn of that same year (see plates below). When

his provisional edition was scheduled for classroom-reading in the May 2015 sessions of Mark Geller's *Keilschriftmedizin-Seminar*, which he had the privilege to attend in person as part of a TOPOI fellowship stay in Berlin, he collated what results he had achieved so far against the edition of the tablet that had meanwhile become available in Scurlock's Sourcebook (2014), as well as with an unfinished transliteration that I. Finkel had made decades ago and kindly put at the BabMed Project's disposal. It appeared that the first author's edition widely diverged from theirs, predominantly, as was to be expected, in its assessment of the unusual idioms the text of the tablet is teeming with. Yet, it was decided to maintain its text virtually unaltered but for a couple of readings which he was eagerly happy to have replaced with evidently better ones as proposed by either of the named scholars. A few more corrections were subsequently accepted into the edition as a result of the seminal *Auseinandersetzungen* the text sparked among the Berlin *Keilschriftmedizin*-aficionados who participated in the Seminar meetings devoted to it. Consequently, the transliteration and transcription parts are essentially the first author's part of the work, along with basically philological portions of the Commentary where arguments are given for his readings of passages that pose textual problems orthographically, grammatically and lexically; whenever a reading is not of his own invention but originated with another scholar's genius, it is explicitly stated so. As a next step toward a full edition of the tablet's text the second author created a working translation to serve our sodality meetings at Hittorfstraße 18, Dahlem. Over the year since, the two authors intermittently exchanged views and findings regarding the tablet and its lost world; from the building blocks thus gathered the second author finally created the commentary part of the present edition, which is to be understood as largely his part of the shared labour, in particular when it comes to the medico-historical contextualization of the tablet and its disparate contents. The translation and the introduction represent joint work.

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FIGURE 26.1
BM 78963, sides



FIGURE 26.2 *BM 78963, sides-edges*

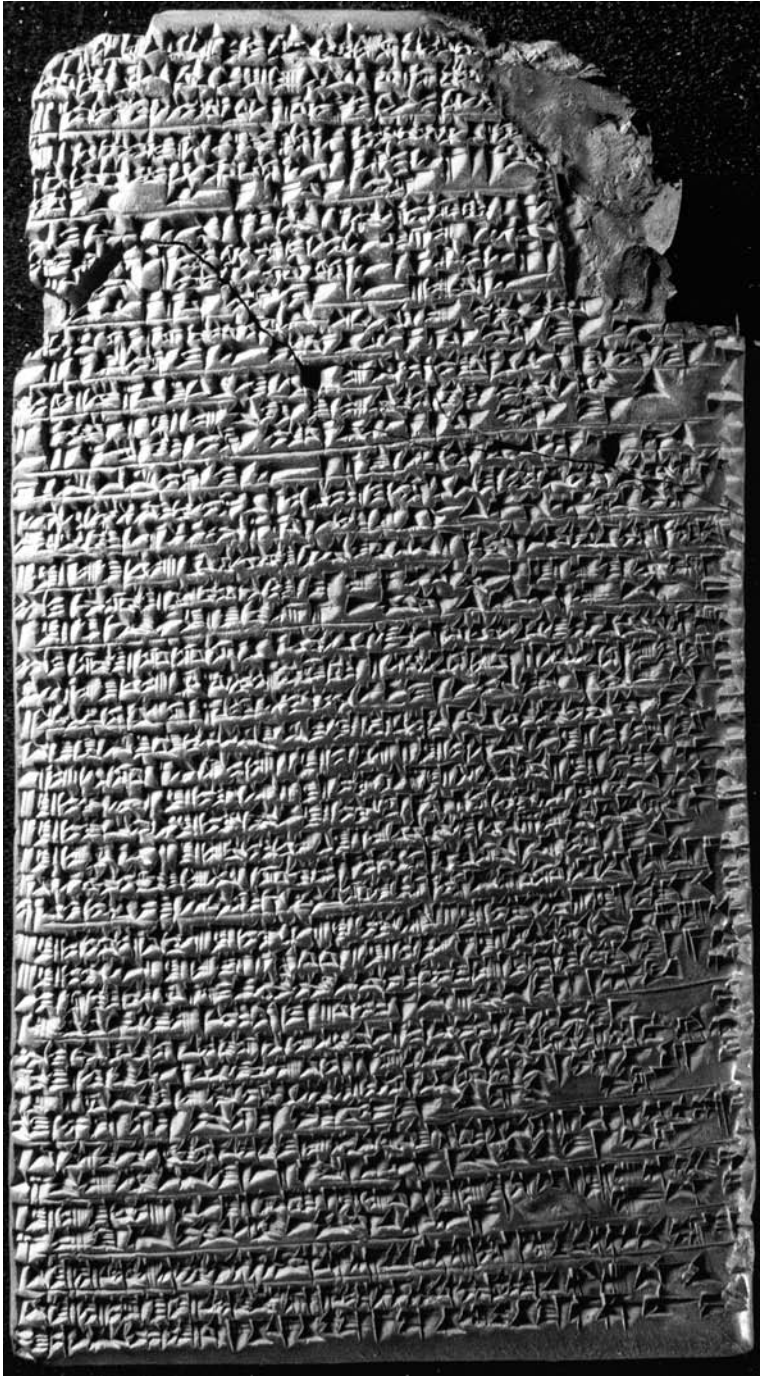


FIGURE 26.3 *BM 78963, obverse*

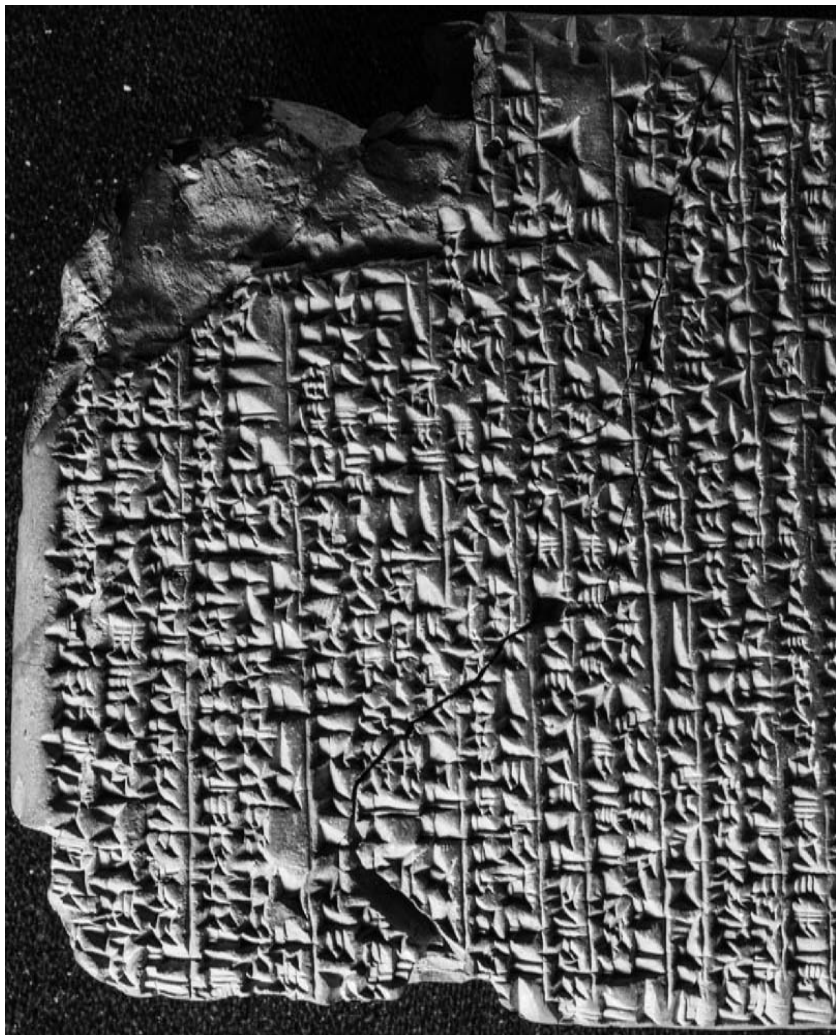


FIGURE 26.4 BM 78963, obverse close-up

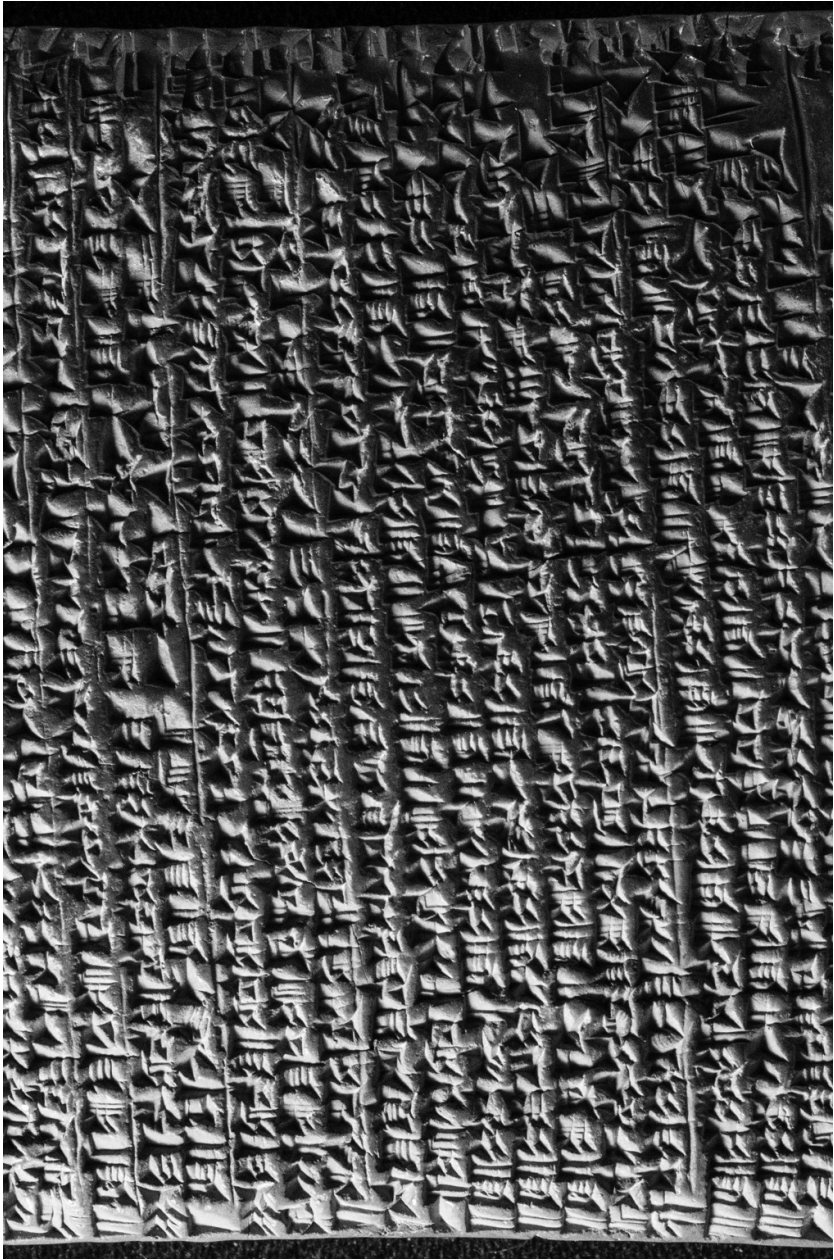


FIGURE 26.5 BM 78963, obverse close-up



FIGURE 26.6 BM 78963, obverse close-up



FIGURE 26.7 *BM 78963, reverse*

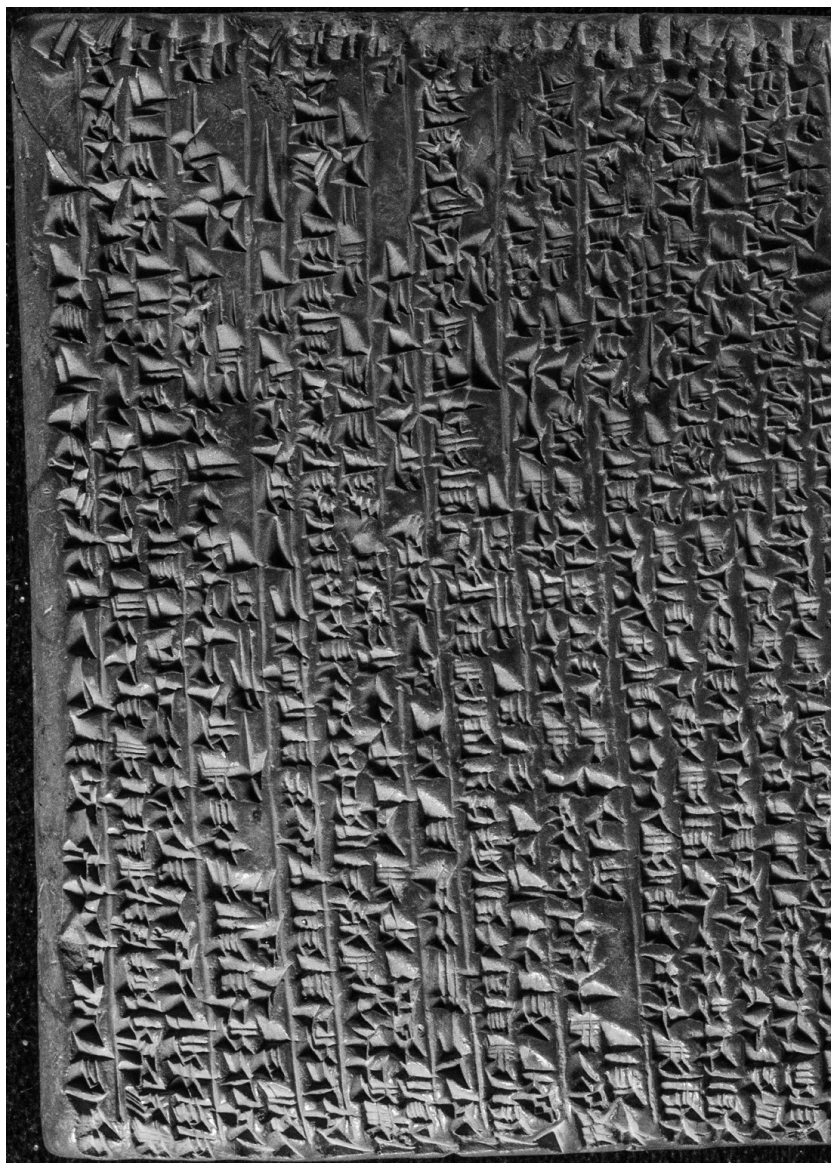


FIGURE 26.8 BM 78963, reverse close-up

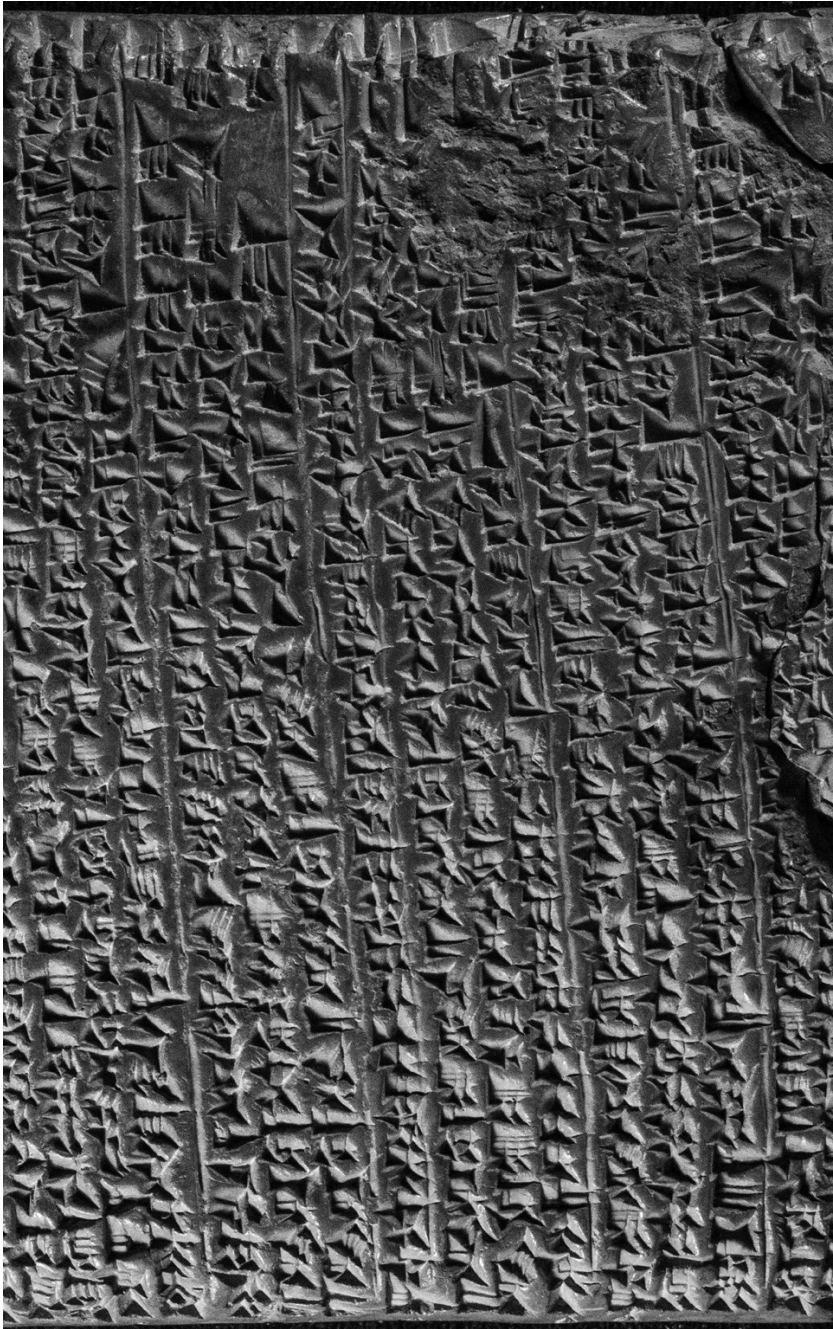


FIGURE 26.9 *BM 78963, reverse close-up*

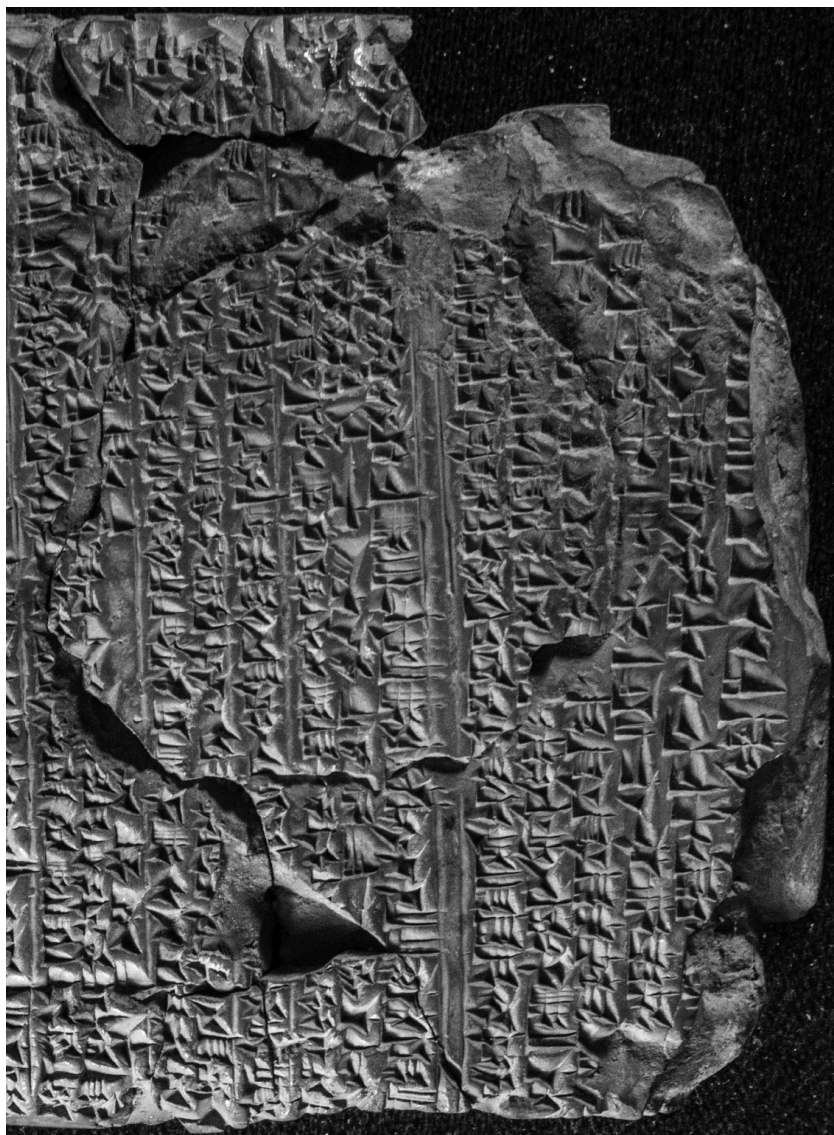


FIGURE 26.10 *BM 78963, reverse close-up*

From Awe to Audacity. Stratagems for Approaching Authorities Successfully: The Istanbul Egalkura Tablet A 373

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When you go to people in power or to pacify judges (cast this spell): “I, the servant of God, will set off towards judges and officials; may their tongue be like an ox’s, their heart be like King David’s, may Solomon, the hand of the Saviour, be our judge.”

A spell from old Russia, translation F. BADALANOVA-GELLER



In the process of searching for any unpublished tablets that might qualify for inclusion in his projected edition of the Egalkura texts it was not long before the first author of this *Festgabe* (henceforth: HS) found out that under the museum number A 373 the Istanbul collection of tablets from Ashur holds an important manuscript whose Egalkura content was still awaiting scholarly treatment.¹ Ever since it was excavated, the clay artefact has been accessible outside the Istanbul museum through the excavation photo only. Mark’s jubilee provides a happy opportunity to finally extricate this valuable piece of cuneiform from obscurity and present it to him in a comprehensive edition as a token of gratitude for the undiminished and inspiring way he has lent his support to whatever Assyriological endeavours either of us has ventured upon over the years. There is all the more reason for us to dedicate this student opusculum to Mark’s profound and open-minded scholarship, because he has shown a vivid

¹ Pedersén (1986, 54) described it as “... incantations of when a person shall enter the palace (é.gal.ku₄.ra);” 65, catalogued as “Text 255: Ass. 13955 xz; Ph. Ass. 4128; A 373”.

enthusiasm for the Egalkura project from its inception, and made a contribution to it himself to boot by sharing his knowledge of some fragments in the British Museum that he had identified as relating to this genre.

Although the excavation photo enabled HS to identify the individual spells transmitted in A 373, in large part thanks to unpublished duplicates he had been given the privilege to study in the British Museum before, it proved far from adequate to base an edition on, not even a coherent transliteration of any one section.² It meant nothing less than a game changer in the decipherment of the tablet when HS came in the happy possession of a series of excellent photos S. Panayotov (hereinafter: SP) had taken for him during a research stay in Istanbul, for they proved a sound basis for HS to produce a fairly complete transliteration.³

As SP had acquired an appetite for the genre himself when attending Mark Geller's classes devoted to a reading of selections from HS's provisional edition of the Egalkura texts, it was decided between us to make the publication of the cuneiform artefact a joint effort. Armed with the still imperfect transliteration, SP created a line drawing of the tablet combining his modern photographs and the excavation photo Ph. Ass. (S) 4128.⁴ In the course of an intermittent exchange of ideas our distinct conversions of the tablet progressively improved to finally take shape in the co-edition here presented. The translation and commentary parts were contributed by HS; the introduction represents a common achievement. On this occasion, both authors express their deep gratitude to Assuman Dönmez of İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri for permission to study and publish A 373.

2 In *LKA*, p. xii, sub 107a our tablet is referred to with the words: "Auf Assur-Photo 4128 befindet sich eine Wiedergabe einer weiteren Tafel der Serie (sc. Egalkura, HS), die ich wegen des Zustandes der Aufnahme nicht publiziere."

3 On the request of HS, SP also took photos of the hardly less important Istanbul Egalkura tablet A 374, published by Ebeling only photographically as *LKA* 107a (Assur-Photo 4131), which the great cuneiformist motivated as follows (p. xii): "Da die eine Seite nur nach jahrelangem Studium zu entziffern wäre, gebe ich vorläufig die Grabungsphotos davon in Vergrößerung." It was quite a shock to find that not only had the "reverse" ("die eine Seite"; in fact, the convex side is the obv.) tremendously deteriorated since, but also that the "obverse", which was well preserved at the time the photo was made, had meanwhile lost half of its text, viz. the upper and middle left, and suffered damage otherwise as well. In its current condition, only the last nine lines of the "obverse" and the first three of the "reverse" are more or less intact. The greater part of an edition of A 374 must therefore be based on the excavation photo and heavily rely on the duplicates, which are fortunately available for nearly all of its sections. To serve the Assyriological community, a provisional reconstruction of its text is given in the Appendix to this article.

4 The excavation photo was kindly provided to SP by the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin.

A 373 and the Other Sources for the É.gal.ku₄.ra Incantation Rituals

A 373 belongs to a batch of thirteen tablets of Ashur provenance, all but three from the House of the Exorcist (N 4), which together constitute the Egalkura corpus in the narrow sense, for only in this group of text witnesses do spells have formal rubrics that record their generic identity as **ka'inim.ma é.gal.ku₄.ra**. In terms of the sigla adopted for the projected edition, a key to which is provided below, those from the House of the Exorcist are the following: A, B, C, D, E, F, L, N, U, V.⁵

Sources for the É.gal.ku₄.ra incantation rituals

A <i>KAR</i> 71	O A 3445 (OI Chicago;	Y BM 45755 (unpub.)
B <i>KAR</i> 237+ (<i>KAL</i> 7 25)	unpub.)	Z BM 62975 (unpub.)
C <i>KAR</i> 238	P BM 32515 (unpub.)	Aa <i>STT</i> 144: 14'–18'
D <i>LKA</i> 104	Q BM 77263 (unpub.)	Ab <i>SpTU</i> 1 18
E <i>LKA</i> 105	R BM 46857 (unpub.)	Ac BM 42639 (Finkel 2000,
F <i>LKA</i> 106	S 81-7-27, 125 (BM;	No. 43)
G <i>LKA</i> 107	unpub.)	Ad BM 54743+55418
H <i>STT</i> 237	T BM 48481 (unpub.)	(Gesche 2001, 407; obv.
J BM 47457 (unpub.)	U A 373 (published here)	Böck 2007, Pl. XXVI)
K <i>SpTU</i> 2 24	V VAT 13683 (<i>OrNS</i> 59,	Ae <i>OECT</i> 11 58
L VAT 7820 (<i>KAL</i> 7 24)	26)	Af BM 77049 (unpub.)
M BM 103385 (unpub.)	W <i>SpTU</i> 2 23	Ag BM 66587 (unpub.)
N A 374 (unpub.; ph. <i>LKA</i>	X BM 41044+41112	
107a)	(unpub.)	

In More Detail

For A, B, C, D, E, F, N, and U see Pedersén 1986, 54, etc.; L and V are not considered there. L was first made known to HS through photocopies of the excavation photo kindly passed on to him by I. Finkel who in turn had got them from F. Köcher.⁶ For the Egalkura nature of V see below, Commentary to l. 13, footnote. G is from the Ashur “urban area”.

5 These tablets must be among those, which S. Maul hints at in his recent survey of the exorcist's library with the words: “In einer ganzen Reihe von Texten waren außerdem Verfahren beschrieben, durch die sichergestellt werden sollte, daß einem Menschen, der bei dem König vorzusprechen oder in einer Rechtsangelegenheit vor Gericht zu treten hatte, persönlicher Erfolg beschieden sein würde” (Maul 2010, 198).

6 L has now been published by Meinhold (2017; *KAL* 7 24), along with a re-edition of B (*KAL* 7

M and **O** were purchased from dealers on the antiquities market. The few details recorded for **M**, which represents the lower part of a three-column tablet, can be found in Lambert's Third Supplement to the Kouyunjik Collection Catalogue, p. 76. **O** came to the knowledge of HS through a provisional handcopy I. Finkel made decades ago and kindly put at his disposal; photos of the fragment have recently been provided through the kind efforts of W. Farber. The fascinating remark in Lambert's description of **M** to the effect that it forms a triangle join with **G** and **O** needs nuancing: (1) The physical test to prove the hypothesis that the three museums each possess one of the joining fragments has yet to be carried out. (2) If the fragments do belong to the same tablet, **M** (lower part) does not join either of the other two (upper part) directly: Since what in **O** should be defined as column ii breaks off five or six lines before the spell ends, after which other two or three lines must be allowed for the rubric and ritual, and in **M** col. ii starts after a break with the second or third line of a different incantation, a gap of at least eight to eleven lines divides the two fragments; much the same appears to be the case with regard to **G** (obv. = "col. i") and **M**, col. i. (3) To judge from the photos, **G** and **O**, hypothetically assumed to form the upper part of cols. i and ii–iii respectively, bear no visible signs of continuation, neither physically nor textually.

Finally, **H** and possibly **Aa** should be added as the only Assyrian Egalkura text witnesses not from Ashur. Ninevite exemplars of any Egalkura text are conspicuously lacking from our cuneiform archive.

Egalkura Texts

The Egalkura and related spells of Neo- and Late Babylonian transmission, while often sharing their prescriptive and prognostic sections with their Ashur counterparts, totally lack rubrics that categorize them under this specific heading.⁷

25) to which a tiny new fragment has been joined. We are thankful for her kindly providing us with a pdf-copy of these two *KAL* editions, just before this article went to press. The last-minute references to *KAL* 7 that could be inserted have been made merely for the sake of being up to date bibliographically; time constraints forbade us from making any further use of the book in our edition of A 373.

7 A telling example is the rubric attached to the incantation *mû bāltakunu bilānim* (for whose text see below, Commentary to l. 20); in two Ashur sources (GN) it reads: *ka'inim.ma é.gal.ku₄.ra ša ħūd pānī*, in one (B) *ka'inim.ma ħūd pānī*; in the later Babylonian tradition

It would appear that the individual Egalkura incantations were never subjected to an editorial rigour that would have them arranged in a fixed sequence so as to make up a comprehensive series. This can be readily demonstrated by a comparison of any two or more tablets which share a fair number of duplicate sections, for instance **M**, **N**, **O**, and **U** (see the chart above). Despite the huge overlap in content, we count across these duplicates a mere six instances of sections occurring in the same order and each time in sets of just two, without any observable consistency in where on the tablet they are located. In this respect the Egalkura corpus strikingly mirrors the Šà.zi.ga collection, whose loose organization has been described as follows: “While some incantations and their accompanying rituals seem to be grouped by similarities of themes, there are sufficient duplicates of texts showing different arrangements to convince one that no complete ordering arrangement was ever instituted.”⁸ Yet, scribes have left traces of attempts at serial fixation of some extent on two tablets from the House of the Exorcist by entering in brief colophons a catchline followed by the notation that the tablet at hand is the “[x]th *nishu*.”⁹

Its loosely organized format notwithstanding, the Egalkura corpus constitutes a markedly distinct branch of exclusively interhuman magic, bordering on and at times merging with outright sorcery, whose objective is essentially a dual one. It is primarily contrived to secure a smooth reception by the authorities before whom the client is going to appear, and to imbue him with the power to manoeuvre them into deciding favourably on his case.

Perhaps we can think of the “palace” as the embodiment of the authorities institutionally; the “prince” then is their executive avatar. In real life, the former may range from the royal palace in the capital via a provincial seat to a “City Hall”; the latter title is used as a *chiffre* for any state official or executive of the crown, running the gamut from the king himself to a governor and prefect all the way down to a petty mayor, and will be rendered here as “prince”

only the latter one is attested (J). Note that the rubric *ka'inim.ma é.gal.ku₄.ra* never bears the extension *-kám* or *-ke₄*. I. Finkel is to be credited for identifying **P**, **Q**, **R**, **S**, **T**, **Y**, and **Z**.

8 Biggs 2002, 71–72.

9 (1) **A**, rev. 27–28: [ÉN] *pa-aḥ-ru i-dab-bu-bu di-bi-ia* EGIR-šú / [x-x] *nishu* GIMSUMUN-šú šà-ṭir-ma ba-ri, “Next comes [the incantation] ‘Having convened they bring accusations against me’ (...);” (2) **L**, rev. 8–10: ÉN *ḥu-un-tab* MIN EG[IR-šú] / x-ú *nishu* GIMSUMUN-šú SAR-ma ba-[ri] / [ú-il-t]i *ṽki-šir-aš+šur* [x x], “Next comes the incantation ‘*ḥuntab ḥuntab*’ (...).” Unfortunately, neither of the incantations hinted at is positively attested in the extant Egalkura corpus. Whereas the first makes perfect sense as an Egalkura incipit, the second one is most puzzling for not being in Akkadian; the closest parallel to this linguistic oddity is the unique Sumerian Šudu’a incantation from Hellenistic Uruk **W**, 30–35.

out of mere convention. On closer view, the palatial venue often turns out to be functioning as a theatre for legal proceedings and an arena for litigation, the official who holds a post there having to act accordingly in his judicial capacity as a magistrate. Thus, besides kindling an agreeable mood in the authorities entitled to administer the law and hold him answerable, the Egalkura client's second concern when entering the palatial court of law is how to make a stand against his litigator and opponent. The spells to that effect picture him engaging upon an array of both behavioural and procedural strategies to neutralize his adversaries and their supporters and make him win the case. Fundamentally, he has two lines of action to choose from: either he takes an aggressive approach, staking his sorcerous potential on defeating them with the use of violence—in a harmless effigy, to be sure, enacted in mere speech—or, diametrically opposite to the use of force, he turns soft and gentle, using his magical toolkit to ensorcell his adversaries into joining his side as his allies by deploying a multitude of tricks of enchantment and persuasion.¹⁰

Edition of A 373

Sources

A 373 (Istanbul; = U)

Dimensions ca. $17 \times 14.2 \times 2.5$ cm.

The unbaked tablet is a relatively thick one. Probably, at some point prior to or during the excavation the tablet had got damp when pressure was put on its reverse, damaging this side and bending the artefact, with a crack on the obverse as a result. Today, the tablet is in poor condition and tends to flake off with every turn and touch, a worrying sign of the less than optimal conservation methods of the Istanbul Museum. If one compares the tablet in its present state with the excavation photo (Ph. Ass. (S) 4128) it becomes immediately clear that nearly a whole section has disappeared from it since it came into the possession of the Istanbul Museum. The left half of lines 16'–22' on the rev. were found entirely lost when SP inspected the artefact in 2011.¹¹ In the copy, the shaded part on the rev. 16'–22' indicates that this text portion was copied from the excavation photo and is no longer preserved on the tablet. Regrettably, the excavation photo (Ph. Ass. (S) 4128) lacks in quality, and to add to our epigraphical

10 Basic information on Egalkura magic can be found in Schwemer 2007, 329, Sachindex s.v. "Rituale"; Stadhouders 2013.

11 Compare also the comments to fn. 3 above.

handicaps the tablet was still uncleaned when the photo was taken. All this greatly impedes our understanding of these lines; for instance, in rev. 18', SP would like to read [DÛ.DÛ].BI *ana* IGI NUN KU₄ ..., whereas HS hesitates to accept this suggestion. For these lines to be better understood, we have to wait for a duplicate to emerge.

A paleographical scrutiny shows that the scribe had a tendency to execute the signs with more wedges than usual for the classical Late Assyrian script. For instance, the sign RU (obv. 16) has the parameters A₄B₁C₂ and not the usual A₃B₁C₂; LI (obv. 21) has A₂B₈C₁ instead of A₂B₇C₁; LUGAL (obv. 26) has A₂B₁₀ instead of A₂B₉; KU₄ (obv. 28) has A₁B₈, and DUGUD (obv. 29) has B₉C₁.¹² There are more cases like these but the examples cited sufficiently illustrate the scribal habits of the tablet's creator. In general, a profusion of wedges is indicative of signs that belong to the Middle Assyrian rather than the Late Assyrian syllabary. However, Assyrian handwriting is notoriously hard to date precisely and sometimes Middle Assyrian sign forms can be found alongside their Late Assyrian counterparts, even in Nineveh manuscripts.¹³ This leaves the dating of A 373 open to any point of time between the 9th and 7th centuries BCE; on the mere evidence of the script, an early dating ca. 9th–8th century BCE might be contemplated.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the colophon is too ill-preserved to settle the question.

Duplicates

Obverse

ll. 1–12 // M: vi 1–13;

ll. 13–19 // M: vi 14–23 // R: 3'–9' // S: rev. 3–13;

ll. 20–28 // M: v 1–5 // N: rev. 1–11;

ll. 29–38 // O: ii 6'–14';

l. 39 [sqq.] // A: 1–13; D: 12–rev. 2; M: iv 15–23;

¹² For the parameters see Gottstein and Panayotov 2014.

¹³ Panayotov 2015, fig. 7.

¹⁴ A degree of reticence in accepting an early date is due in the light of Maul's contention (2010, 204, fn. 49) that very few tablets with earlier ductus had entered the library amassed in the *Haus des Beschwörungspriesters* ("Nur sehr wenige ältere Tafeln, die einen mittelassyrischen oder frühneuassyrischen Schriftduktus aufweisen, sind in den Tafelbestand gelangt").

Reverse

ll. 5'–15' // C: rev. 8–19 // M: iii 1'–12';

ll. 19'–22' // E: 11–14 // M: ii 1'–5' // N: 11–15.

For a key to the sigla see the chart above.

A 373—Transliteration

Upper edge, in tiny script; too much is destroyed to attempt a transliteration.

Obv.

1. [ÉN É].GAL ša ši-*ip*-r[u]-šá da[n]-nu
 2. [šup-š]u-qu la na-^ršá¹-a-ma še-ret-sa dan-n[a]-at
 3. [te-k]e-e-t[u] ma-li ši-pir-šá
 4. [EGI]R[?] dal-^rti[?]-šá pu-luḥ-tu₄ ba-^ršá¹-a[t]
 5. ^ra¹-šib lib-^rbi¹-šá l[ab]-bu la ga-me-^rlu¹
 6. e-rib lib-bi-šá ^dšá-maš ú-sap-[pa]
 7. a-na ^dnusku u ^drNIN-É¹.GAL il-la-ku su-pu-^ršú¹
 8. ^dUTU ú-šur KA-^ria¹ šul-li-ma qí-bi-^rti¹
 9. lu-ru-ub ina šul-me-ma tu-ba-ti-iš lu-tú-ra
 10. EN ^dUTU lu-mu-ur gi-mil dum-qi-ka TU₆ ÉN
-
11. KA.INIM.MA É.GAL.KU₄.RA DÙ.DÙ.BI ina IN.BUBBU ŠU¹¹-ka
LUḥ-s[i]
 12. ÉN 3-šú ŠID-nu-[ma] ^ra-na¹ É.GAL KU₄-u[b]
-
13. [É]N al-lak al-lak ti-ba-ku ^rMIN ^d1¹kù-sù mul-li-lu ti-bi KI-i[a]
 14. ^ra¹-me-ru-u-a lu-ú ḥa-du-^rú¹
 15. ^rmu¹-pal-li-^rsu¹-u-^ra ki¹-i ak-ka-[d]i-i ina é-ul-maš ul i-šeb-bu-u
la-lu-^ru¹-[a]
 16. [p]u-uḥ-ru-^rum[?] li-tap-pa-la i-da-a-^ra¹
 17. [d]i-ia-na-tu₄ liš-mu-ú ^ra¹-ma-^rtu¹-u-a
 18. [ana]-ku ki-ma šam-^rni¹ UGU UN.MEŠ lu ^rta-ba-ku¹ É[N]
-
19. [K]A.INIM.MA É.GAL.KU₄.RA ^rDÙ.DÙ¹.BI ina ^rŠÀ¹ [Ì+GI]Š KÙ ÉN
3-š[ú] Š[ID]-nu IGI.MEŠ-ka EŠ-aš-m[a KI.MIN]
-
20. ^rÉN¹ Ì+GIŠ bal-ti ap-šu-uš pa-ni-ia-ma ú-ša-a a-na x [x[?]]
 21. ^rina¹ bi-rit su-qí u su-le-e ina bi-rit ^{lú}GAL.MEŠ u ^{lú}TUR.MEŠ

22. ¹ina¹ bi-rit ^{giš}GIGIR u a-ri-di-šá lu-ú šam-ru-ma lim-qu-ta ^{giš}APIN
 23. ¹UDU¹ u A.DAM li-la-a ma-la GÁL-u : e-pi-tum lid-di-na NINDA.MEŠ-ša
 24. ¹LÚ.GÍR¹.LÁ lid-di-na UZU UDU.NITA₂ ¹U₈¹ LÚ.KAŠ.LUL lid-di-na
¹ka¹-su
 25. x x x ri DU₁₁-a E NENNI A NENNI um-ma qé-ri-tú qé-ra DINGIR.MEŠ
 26. qé-ra LUGAL lu-¹ru¹-ub É DINGIR N[U]N ki-^(i d)sin li-iḫ-di-¹i-ma¹
 27. ¹ina¹ qí-bit ^dsin šu-ú-ti at-ta K[I]-ia ḫa-du-ma lu ḫa-da-t[a]

28. [KA.IN]IM.MA É.GAL.KU₄.RA DÙ.DÙ.BI ÉN 3-š[ú] ana [U]GU Ì+GIŠ
 ŠID-nu IGI.MEŠ-ka EŠ-aš-ma NUN [Ḫ]ÚL-ka

29. [É]N šu-uk-pu-du <<a-na>> DUGUD.MEŠ ina É.GAL LUGAL a-me-ri li-riš
 KI-ia
 30. [zì]^{q?}qu li-mu-ru-ni-ma li-šal-li-mu-in-ni
 31. [^{giš}]IG li-mu-ra-ni-ma me-lam-ma-šá lid-di-na
 32. [KÁ[?]] li-mu-ra-ni-ma ina ra-ma-ni-šú lip-pe-te
 33. [x x] x DÙ[?] líl-li-ku ina pa-ni-ia k[a]-la É.GA[L] a-mat MÍ.SIG₅-ia li-iq-bi
 34. [UD]U.NITA₂ U₈ li-šal-li-mu-in-ni e-[g]er-ru-u ṭa-a-bu
 li-tap-p[a-la-an-ni]
 35. [x] x LUGAL li-kab-bit-an-ni DUGUD.MEŠ-šú SIG₅-tì liq-b[u-ú]
 36. [x x S]ILIM[?]-mu liš-ku-n[a]-ni É.GAL KU₄.MEŠ-šá li-ra-m[u[?]-in-ni]
 37. [ina K]A AN.ZÉB ^d15 ^dé-a ^dUTU ^dasar-lú-[ḫi TU₆ ÉN]

38. [KA.INIM.MA É].GAL-KU₄.RA DÙ.DÙ.BI N[A₄][?] ¹x x¹ SÚD ina Ì ḪI.ḪI
 ÉN 3-sú Š[ID-nu-ma IGI.MEŠ-ka EŠ-aš]

39. [ÉN na-šu-nin-ni] ¹a-na di-ni¹ [š]up-šu-qi da-ba-bi r[a-pa-áš]
 GAP

Rev.

- 1'. [.....]
 2'. [.....] x šá[?] x [.....]
 3'. [.....] ¹ŠID[?]-nu ina x x [.....]
 4'. [.....] ¹ana¹ IGI NUN KU₄-ub-[ma]

- 5'. [ÉN] ur-né-t[ú] dan-na-tú ri[t-tú šá A.BÁR]
 6'. [ša] ¹rak¹-su paṭ-ru-ši <<ka>> ka-an-gu [ḫe-pa-áš-ši]
 7'. [š]a te-re-šu-ma ¹i¹-[nam-di-nu-niš-ši]
 8'. [š]a ta-šap-pa-ru-ma ¹la i¹-[kal-lu-niš-ši]

- 9'. 'ina¹ i-ni u pa-ni la iq-qí-ru [*i-nam-di-nu-niš-ši*]
 10'. [er]-^rši^r rak-sa pu-uṭ-ri ka-an-^rgu ḥe-pi^r-[i]
 11'. šá ana DINGIR-ka u ^d15-ka ta-na-ša-ru i-^rid-nam^r-[ma]
 12'. [l]ib-ba-ka la i-kab-ba-^rab TU₆ ÉN^r
-
- 13'. [KA.IN]IM.MA ŠU.DU₈.A.KÁM DÙ.DÙ.BI rit-^rtú šá^r A.BÁR pa-ṭir-^rtú^r
 D[Û-uš]
 14'. [ŠU.S]I.MEŠ GAR-an-ši <ina> SÍG.ZA.GÌN.NA.KUR.RA È-^rak^r ÉN^r 7^r-šú
 ana UGU Š[ID-nu]
 15'. [ina] GÚ-šú GAR-an-ma ŠU.DU₈.A-tú [x] ^rx x x x x x^r [x x x]
-
- 16'. [ÉN] aš-šu^r ri-kíl^r-tú dan-na-at ka-an-^rgu^r x x x x [x x]
 17'. [x] x x x x x x x x x x [x x x x x x x]
-
- 18'. [DÙ].^rDÙ^r.BI diš x x tu IN.BUBBU ^rx^r ka ^rx x x x^r [x x U]GU ŠI[D x x x]
-
- 19'. [al-l]a-ka-ka du-gul-^ran-ni^r [er-ra-ba-k]a nap-li-[sa-an-ni]
 20'. [du]gul-an-ni ki-i GABA-k[a i-tap-li-sa-an-n]i ki-i ŠU.[SI.MEŠ-ka]
 21'. [ki]-i TÚG.GÚ.^rÈ-ka i-ta-ad-da-a le-te-k^ra la téš-še-b[a-a la-la-a+a]
-
- 22'. [DÙ.DÙ.B]I ina UGU TÚG.GÚ.^rÈ-ka^r ŠID-^rma ana IGI NUN^r KU₄-ma
 NUN [ḤÚL]-^rka^r
-

Colophon

[...] x x šà-[ṭir]
 [......] x x x x x x x x x x^r ŠÀ^r.BAL.^rBAL^r?

A 373—Bound Text Transcription and Translation

For the sake of readability the use of [] brackets is restricted here to only those restorations which are not attested positively by any of the other text witnesses.

§1¹*šiptu: ekallu ša šiprūša*
dannū² šupšuqu² la našāma šer-
essa dannat³ tēkētu mali šipirša
⁴*arki² daltīša² puluḥtu bašât*
⁵*āšib libbīša labbu lā gāmilu*
⁶*erib libbīša Šamaš usappa*

§1¹⁻³*Incantation:* The palace whose tasks are harsh, arduous to the point of being unbearable and whose punishment is severe—labour for it is fraught with protests. ⁴⁻⁵Behind² its door² terror reigns, its resident is a merciless lion. ⁶⁻⁷He who enters its interior will pray to Šamaš, his prayers

⁷*ana Nusku u Bēlet-ekalli illakū
supûšu* ⁸*Šamaš ušur pīya šul-
lima qibīti* ⁹*lūrūb ina šulmema
tūbātīš lutūra* ¹⁰*bēlī Šamaš
lūmur gimil dumqika—tē šipti*

will be rendered up to Nusku and Bēlet-ekalli (saying): ^{8–10}“O Šamaš, watch over my speech (in there), make my request (to the prince) successful, so that I go in safely and come back well-pleased. My Lord Šamaš, may I see your grace!” *Incantation formula.*

¹¹*ka'inim.ma é.gal.ku₄.ra
dū.dū.bi ina pē qātika temessi*
¹²*šipta šalāšišu tamannuma
ana ekalli terrub*

^{11–12}*Text of an Egalkura spell. Its use in ritual:*
You wash your hands with straw, recite the spell three times and then you enter the palace.

§ 2 ¹³*šiptu: allak allak tibāku
tibāku Kusu mullilu tibi ittīya*
¹⁴*āmīrū'a lū ḥadū* ¹⁵*mupallisū'a
kī Akkadī ina E'ulmaš ul išebbū
lalū'a* ¹⁶*puḥrum lītappala idāya*
¹⁷*dīyyānātu lišmū amātū'a*
¹⁸*anāku kīma šamni eli nišī lū
tābāku—šiptu*

§ 2 ¹³*Incantation:* I go, I go; I stand erect, I stand erect, Kusu the Purifier stands erect with me.
^{14–15}May those who see me enjoy the sight, while those who look at me cannot get enough of my charm, as though they were Akkadites in the E'ulmash. ^{16–18}May the assembly testify in my defence, may my arguments be heard as judges. May I be as pleasing to people as (fine) oil. *Incantation.*

¹⁹*ka'inim.ma é.gal.ku₄.ra
dū.dū.bi ina libbi šamni elli
šipta šalāšišu tamannu pānika
tapaššašm[a ki.min]*

¹⁹*Text of an Egalkura spell. Its use in ritual:*
You recite the spell three times over pure oil, anoint your face with it and [then you enter the palace].

§ 3 ²⁰*šiptu: šaman bālti apšuš
pānīyama ūšā ana x [x]* ²¹*ina
birīt sūqi u sulē ina birīt rabūti
u šeḥrūti* ²²*ina birīt narkabti
u āridiša lū šamrūma limquta
epinnu* ²³*imneru u nammaštu
lilā mala bašū : ēpitu liddina
akalša* ²⁴*tābiḫu liddina šir
imneri laḥri šāqū liddina kāsu*
²⁵*x x x ri qabā' iqbi' annanna
mār annanna umma qerītu
qerā ilī* ²⁶*qerā šarra lūrūb bīt ilī
rubū kī Sīn liḥdīma* ²⁷*ina qibīt*

§ 3 ^{20–22}*Incantation:* Having anointed my face with the oil of pride I have set out for ... between street and alley, between citizens great and small, between the chariot and those who alight from it. Fierce though they may be, let the plough be dropped?; ^{23–24}let what domestic and wild animals there are come up to me; let the woman baker give me her bread, let the butcher give me the meat of ram and ewe, let the cupbearer give me the goblet. ^{25–27}... a speech? is spoken? by NN son of NN saying: “Invite the gods for a banquet, invite the king! When I enter the temple, may the prince be as pleased (with me) as with Sīn.

*Sîn šūti atta ittīya ḥadūmma lū
ḥadāta*

May you at the behest of said[?] Sîn be overjoyed at me.”

²⁸*ka'inim.ma é.gal.ku₄.ra
dù.dù.bi šipta šalāšišu ana
muḥḥi šamni tamannu pānika
tapaššašma rubû ihaddika*

²⁸*Text of an Egalkura spell. Its use in ritual:*
You recite the spell three times over oil, anoint
your face with it and the prince will be pleased
with you.

§ 4 ²⁹*šiptu: šukpudū <(ana)>
kabtūtu ina ekalli šarru āmerī
liriš ittīya* ³⁰[*zi*] *qqū[?] līmu-
rūnima lišallimū'inni* ³¹*daltu
līmurannima melammaša lid-
dina* ³²[*bābu[?]*] *līmurannima
ina ramānīšu lippete* ³³[*x x*]
*x kalāma[?] lillikū ina pānīya
kala ekalli amāt damiqtīya liqbī*
³⁴*immeru laḥru lišallimū'inni
egerrū ṭābu lītappalanni* ³⁵*x
x šarri likabbītanni kabtūtūšu
damiqtī liqbū* ³⁶[*x x sa*] *līmu[?]
liškunanni ekallu ēribūtūša
lirām[ū'inni]* ³⁷[*ina am*] *āt telīti
Ištar Ea Šamaš Asalluḥi—[tē
šipti]*

§ 4 ²⁹*Incantation:* Now that the dignitaries in the
palace have hatched a plot, may the king who
sees me rejoice over me. ^{30–32}When they see me,
may the battlements[?] let me enter safely; when it
sees me, may the door bestow its splendour upon
me; when it sees me, may the [gate[?]] open of its
own accord. ³³May all[?] the ... go in front of me, the
whole palace put in a good word for me. ³⁴May ram
and ewe portend success for me, an auspicious ora-
cle answer me time and again. ^{35–37}May the king's
... honour me, his dignitaries intercede for me; may
the palace create a friendly spirit[?] for me, those
who enter there love[?] [me—at the command] of
Mighty Ištar, Ea, Šamaš, and Asalluḥi. *Incantation
formula.*

³⁸*ka'inim.ma é.gal.ku₄.ra
dù.dù.bi N[A₄][?] x x tasāk ina
šamni taballal šipta šalāšišu
tamannu[ma pānika tapaššaš]*

³⁸*Text of an Egalkura spell. Its use in ritual:*
You crush ... stone[?], mix it with oil, recite the spell
three times [and anoint your face].

§ 5 ³⁹*šiptu: našūninni ana dīni
šupšuqi dabābī rapaš [...]*

§ 5 ³⁹*Incantation:* They haul me up for an agonizing
trial, accusations against me are widespread [...]

gap of
rev. 15 to 20
lines

[...]

§ 6 ^{1–3'}almost completely
destroyed

§ 6 ^{1–3'}almost completely destroyed

⁴[...] *ana pān rubê terrub[ma*
...]

⁴[...] you enter before the prince [...]

§7 ⁵én.é.nu.ru urnetu dannatu
rittu ša abāri ⁶ša raksu paṭruši
kangu ḥepāšši ⁷ša terrešuma
inamdinūniš[ši] ⁸ša tašap-
paruma lā ikallūniš[ši] ⁹ina
īnī u pānī lā iqqiru inamdinū-
niš[ši] ¹⁰erši raksa puṭrī kangu
ḥepi ¹¹ša ana ilika u ištarika
tanaššaru idnamma ¹²libbaka
lā ikabbab—tê šipti

§7 ⁵⁻⁹*Enuru-incantation*: Robust One, Strong
One, hand of lead, for which what was bound
is unbound and what was sealed is unsealed, to
which they give what it demands, from which
they do not withhold what it orders, to which
they give what is deemed of no apparent value.
¹⁰⁻¹²“Demand, (o Hand,) unbind what is bound,
unseal what is sealed (saying): ‘Give me even
what you keep in reserve for your god and
goddess without regrets!’” —*Incantation for-*
mula.

¹³ka’inim.ma šu.du₈.a.kám
dù.dù.bi rittu ša abāri paṭirta
teppuš ¹⁴ubānāti tašakkanši ina
takilti tašakkak šipta sebīšu ana
muḥḥi tamannu ¹⁵ina kišādīšu
tašakkanma ŠU-DU₈.A-tú [x] ‘x
x x x x x’ [x x x]

¹³⁻¹⁵*Text of a Šudu’a spell. Its use in ritual*:
You make an opened hand of lead, provide it with
fingers and thread it on blue-purple wool; then
you recite the spell seven times over it and put it
around his neck and you shall perform the Šudu’a
ritual ... [...]

§8 ¹⁶[šiptu:] aššu² rikiltu² dan-
nat kangu x x x x [...] ¹⁷[...] x x
x x x x [...] x x x x [...]

§8 ¹⁶⁻¹⁷[*Incantation*]: Because² the contract² is
strong, the sealed document ... [...] ... [...]

¹⁸[dù.dù.b]i diš x x tu pē x ka x
x x x [ana muḥḥi] tamannuma
[x x]

¹⁸[*Its use in rit*]ual: ... straw ... you recite o[ver it
and ...]

§9 ¹⁹šiptu: allakakka dugu-
lanni errabakka naplisanni
²⁰dugulanni kī irtika itaplisanni
kī ubānātika ²¹kī naḥlaptika
itaddâ lētēka lā teššebbâ lalāya

§9 ¹⁹⁻²¹*Incantation*: When I come to you, look
upon me; when I enter before you, look at me.
Regard me (with the same care) as your breast,
inspect me every inch the way you inspect your
fingers one by one, keep your attention fixed on
me like on your cloak; do not get sated with my
charm.

22' **dù.dù.bi** *šipta ana nahlap-
tika tamannu ina pān rubê
terrubma rubû ihaddika*

22' *Its use in ritual: You recite the spell over your
cloak, enter before the prince and the prince will
be pleased with you.*

Commentary

Obverse

§1

The first section is found almost completely paralleled in **M**, the only duplicate currently known. Since both duplicates suffer from damage at their upper left corner, the beginnings of ll. 2 and 4 cannot be established with absolute certainty.

3–5. The way *šipru* is rendered here proceeds from the hypothesis that the depiction of the palace in this spell is a reflection of the old and rather obscure concept of the **é.gal** “palace” functioning as the seat of judicial authorities; the venue where they pass sentence, impose punishment, execute it, and, most significantly, lock up prisoners and put them to forced labour.¹⁵ What vestiges of

- 15 Our prime witness for this set of ideas happens to be the Sumerian Nungal Hymn (edition used: Attinger 2003), as this elaborate composition in praise of the “Lady Wardress” furnishes us with a thrilling ekphrasis that pictures the **é.gal** where she holds sway as an awe-inspiring place of judgement, ordeal, imprisonment, and worse—themes that resurface in our Egalkura spells far less tangibly. Sundry proposals have been made for how to render **é.gal** in this particular context: “Great/Big House, Prison, Tribunal”, or just “Palace” all the same. It should be kept in mind that in the Hymn the **é.gal** she supervises is expressly called the king’s, so any attempt at disambiguation is likely to turn out an impossibility. A potential key-text, the Nungal Hymn may nonetheless prove seminal in decoding quite a few riddles the later Egalkura poses. The goddess Nungal of Old Babylonian depiction has been said to epitomize the deeply fixed fear of the government and the long arm of the law. Quite the same could be claimed for the first millennium Egalkura, the way it conjures up the *ekallu* as a place to enter with the utmost caution. In contrast with the elaborate Nungal Hymn, Sumerian Proverb Collection 6.3 (Alster 1997, 147) epigrammatizes the same concept in the lapidary words: **é-gal tir.ra.àm lugal ur.maḥ.e** **⁹nin-é-gal** (var. **⁹nun.gal**) **sa.šú.uš gal gurus̄ dul.dul.e**, “The **é-gal** is a thicket, the king a lion; Ninegal (var. Nungal) is a net large enough to enmesh many men at a time.” On the edge, one ms. adds: **⁹utu** **šū.mu gid.i.ma.ni.ib**, “Oh Utu, receive my supplication!” Apart from symbolizing imprisonment the goddess’s cast- or clap-net may be hinting at the location where defendants and accusers could lawfully be coerced to swear oaths, either in exoneration of the charges raised against them or in support of the allegations they make: a “Chapel of the Trap-Net” located at the “Gate of Nungal” is on record for having had that very function,

the concept can be traced in this and a few other Egalkura spells will be investigated in depth in a future essay by HS.¹⁶ Assuming that the theatre this spell seeks to evoke is indeed that of the palatial prison, the *tekêtu*, “protests, complaints”, must be coming from the prisoners confined in there as the implied subject. It is hard not to be tempted into speculating that in the phrase *šēr-essa dannat*, “its punishment is severe”, a grim pun is encapsulated on the rare homonym *šêrtu*, “lock”, in order to conjure up the spectre of a heavily locked prison without escape.

The picture would, however, change considerably if we were to suppose that *šipru* is used here in its more basic sense of “message” or “envoy”. Certainly, the palace emitting “urgent” or “harsh messages/envoys” (l. 1) would not be an out-of-place thing at all to hear the Egalkura client bemoan, for in many a spell, including this one, he is shown to feel great fear when having to go up to the palace in order that the authorities decide his case—a procedure with an unpredictable outcome. The incantation of § 5 is a pregnant case in point, the way it opens with a cry of distress as follows: “They haul me up for an agonizing trial,” where the indeterminate “they” may be surmised to be hinting at the palace’s envoys acting as a police squad. By the same token, adapting the translation of l. 3 to “its message is filled with *têkêtu*,” “complaints” would in itself make an impeccable idiom: in Examenstext A: 52 (ZA 64 [1974], 146) the pupil is admonished by his master that his mouth must not be full of *têkêtu*, “complaints” (*têkêti pîka lâ malî*); King Sargon reports how he got enraged over the *atmê têkêti*, “rebellious talk”, which the leader of Carchemish had dared to spread in defiance of the rules of empire (JCS 12 [1958], 22b: 6). Semantically, the lexemes *šipru*, *pû*, and *atmû* can be considered cognates to be subsumed under the generic denominator “speech”. For the last quotation the rendition of *têkîtu* as “words of disobedience against an authority” has arguably been proposed (Landsberger, cited JCS 12 [1958], 23a, fn. 13); it would make perfect sense for the former as well, as it is citing a teacher who gives an unruly pupil a warning.¹⁷ It would, however, be less than likely for there to be emitted a message

which comes close to that of an ordeal insofar as the judges have the procedure executed to separate the guilty from the innocent. The Sun-god’s temple in Sippar has been nominated as a prime candidate to have accommodated this judicial building unit: Charpin 2017, 81–83, 220–222. Naturally, the Lord of Justice is also the one who has the power to save from the trap-net.

16 For the time being see Stadhouders 2013, 308, fn. 14, where the older literature on the concept is given; more recently Sallaberger 2012, 11–12; Charpin 2017, 76–83 and 220–222; cf. Rudik 2011, 428–433, No. 83.

17 CAD T 326 s.v. *têkîtu* a) renders it more vaguely as “unjust/unfair word/act”. However,

filled with words of contumacy by the palace, so all things considered it seems far more in line with the notion of insubordination apparently implied in the noun *tēkītu* to maintain for *šipru* the interpretation “work, labour, task”, here metonymically denoting the murmuring labourers heaving sighs of protest as they can hardly bear the toil.

Taking *mali* for the particle *mal(a/i)*, “as much as”, and translating “all its work is nothing but protests/complaints” would seem a good alternative, were it not for the fact that *šipirša* (*ši-pir-šá*, preserved in both U and M) is evidently in the nominative or accusative case whereas *mal(a/i)* demands that its complement be in the genitive.

2. The first two signs as preserved in M would appear to allow for a reading *šup¹-šu-*, which in combination with the following *-qu*, undisputably present in both manuscripts, makes perfect sense, on the assumption that the stative *šupšuqū* has the *šiprūša* of the foregoing line for its subject. With due hesitation, the ensuing phrase, written *la na-šá-ma* in M, is here taken as an adverbial of the same type as *lā naparkā*, “unceasingly”.

9. This line is noteworthy for making the adverb *ṭubātiš* lose its status of being a hapax legomenon in the Akkadian lexicon; in M it is spelled *ṭu-ba-tiš*. Heretofore, the word was only known from *Enūma eliš* 1 64: *šalil ṭubātiš/ṭub-bātiš*, “He (Apsū) enjoyed a tranquil sleep.”

10. Instead of EN M has *be-li*, which is to be assessed as an allograph of EN, proving that in contexts like this the latter is to be normalized as *bēli*, “my lord”, rather than *bēlu* or *bēl*.

§ 2

In M this section is transmitted without lacunae with the exception of the ritual instruction, which is where the fragment breaks off; noticeably, this section follows upon the same section in M and our Istanbul tablet. The Babylonian duplicates R and S are of limited value as they have preserved this section in a most fragmentary state. It should be noted that each of them has a rather different section preceding it than the Ashur duplicates and that it concludes with instructions for anointment, not for handwashing.

13–15. The polysemous *tebâku* could just as well be rendered “I am on my way / I am on the move / I am on the offensive,” and so does the *tibi* (= *tebi*) which is to be parsed as a stative, too. It does not take a Freud to sense the

in this as well as the other Sargon passage quoted there—in which are juxtaposed the phrases *lemnēti kapādu* and *tēkītu banû* “against Akkad”—the context strongly suggests a connotation of conspiracy and rebellion.

erotic overtones vibrating through this spell. The semantics of readiness and motion as conveyed by the verb *tebû* here and elsewhere in the Egalkura corpus, besides alluding to the client's eagerness to take a stand against his adversary in court and to the aggressivity of his *modus operandi*, has a strong erotic connotation at the same time and may hint at sexual arousal.¹⁸ Likewise the verb *alāku* may occasionally adopt the pregnant sense of "to come in the mood for love" in addition to "to go to court".¹⁹ The ambiguity created intentionally by the use of these polyvalent words has vanished in l. 15, with the evocation of an Ištar festival taking place in her House of Delight (*ul*²⁰) and by dropping the key-word *lalû*, "charm, sex-appeal".²¹ Since patronizing the realm of sex and lovemaking is core business for the goddess, the mere fact that the E'ulmaš is a

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- 18 CAD T s.v. *tebû*; juridical, p. 316, 6: "to institute proceedings in court, to make a claim, to litigate" (perhaps some of the occurrences of the "Koppelung" *tebû*—*dabābu* placed under *tebû* 2.b (p. 310) had better be moved to 6.a); aggressiveness, p. 313, 4: "to attack"; said of sexual arousal, p. 317, 8.e with citations chiefly from Šā.zi.ga incantations. See also s.v. *tēbû* and *tibu*. In reversed order we find *allak tebāku* in the ritual tablet of the so-called *Love Lyrics* twice as part of an incipit: ll. 9', 12", translated by Edzard 1987, 62–63: "Ich gehe voll erregt (zu/nach ...)." For the special meaning of the active stative of *tebû*, "to be determined to get somewhere", often found in conjunction with a finite form of *alāku*, see Rowton 1962, 271.
- 19 Most prominently so in the type of love magic entitled *munus.gen.na* = *sinništu ana alāku*, "in order for a woman to 'come'", textually represented by KAR 61 and 69, ed. Biggs 1967, 70–78, and listed under this heading in the so-called *Exorcist's Almanac* (Biggs 1967, 78, ad l. 22). For details see Biggs 1967, 70: 10, 11 (correct to "... does not come to you"), 21; p. 74: 19; p. 76: (rev.) 1, 9; p. 77: 21. The *Exorcist's Almanac*, whose text is embodied in STT 300, BRM 4 19–20, is cited here according to the edition Geller 2014, 27–57; *munus.gen.na* magic is mentioned on p. 28: 8 (preceded by three types of *ki.ág.gá* "love magic"); p. 32: 50; p. 40: 8; p. 41: 31; p. 48: 21. Compare CAD A/1 321 s.v. *alāku* 4.c.7': *ana sinništi alāku*, "to have intercourse with a woman." A Middle Babylonian *munus.gen.na* ritual has been identified by Elyze Zomer in the Berlin VAT collection; an edition by her is forthcoming.
- 20 See CAD U–W 87 s.v. *ulšu*, lexical section; *ulšu* belongs to the same semantic cluster as *kuzbu*, *lalû*, *ḥadû*, *riāšu*, *šāḥu* and their derivations, all of which may connote quite a degree of eroticism; see also Leick 2003, Index s.v. "hi-li, la-la, *lalû*, *kuzbu*, sex-appeal"; Wasserman 2016, 32.
- 21 Compare Edzard's (1987, 58) call for both caution and open-mindedness in interpreting such arcane texts as the *Love Lyrics*, which are likewise enshrined in a punning and ambivalent idiom: "Wir müssen bei der Lektüre der 'Love Lyrics' also wohl überall auf der Hut sein: Wie sind die Worte gemeint, und was steckt hinter ihnen?" Unlike the *Love Lyrics*, Egalkura spells seem immune to double-entendres of the sort that might betray an anal fixation, be it as a sexual preference or as the eruption of a toddler's mind still in its anal phase (Edzard 1987, 52, a–d).

sanctuary of Ištar's suffices to have it classified as one of her *é.éš.dam/aštam-mus*, i.e. nothing short of a tavern with adjoining brothel.²² The reason why Egalkura spells are not shy in staging the client in the role of a good-looking seducer who will flaunt all his charms of body and soul alike to please the palatial environment—having him operate with the tactics of sheer love magic in the tutelage of Nanāya-Ištar, the Lady Seductress, or indeed Harlot if one likes—, is because these two genres of interhuman magic run parallel in their very purpose: to equip the client with the sorcerous power to manipulate fellow humans into acting and behaving the way he wants them to.²³ The talk, tools and tricks that have proved effective in turning a desired yet irresponsible person into a meak and willing lover will work equally well in winning over the palace to the Egalkura client's side, beguiling the aloof authorities into deciding in his favour willingly, his adversaries into making a volte-face so as to become allies in his defence, and what random and indifferent witnesses may be around into testifying on his behalf.

In full accord with this line of thought, sensual unguents claimed to have belonged to the goddess are a highly prized item for the client to have in his magical toolkit: just like she has employed those cosmetics successfully as a means to subtly persuade male deities into consenting to her every wish and demand, so will their use prove profitable for the client in arousing pleasant feelings and a kind mood of indulgence toward him in the magistrate, ruler or whichever authority is to make a decision regarding him.²⁴

22 The so-called *é.éš.dam* hymn to Inanna *OECT* 1, Pls. 15–16, enumerates a total of seventeen city names and has each of them followed by the name of the corresponding Inanna temple which is consistently referred to as the goddess's *é.éš.dam*; the section pertaining to the E'ulmaš translates as follows (Pl. 15: 20–21): "In Agade, your chosen city, the E'ulmaš counts as your eighth tavern." See the references in George 1993, 155, sub No. 1168.

23 Cf. Cunningham 1997, 110 with fn. 7. What love incantations, those for soothing anger, defeating a legal opponent, entering the palace and loosening the hand have in common, so that they are often found grouped together, is their concern with exercising different types of control over another human being. There is no escaping the question of the extent to which procedures like these, sometimes called "grey magic", cross the line and step into the province of the black arts, making their practitioner commit the crime of illicit sorcery. In an assessment of the status of love magic it has been contended "that love magic is really a form of black magic and that the essence of the spell is one person trying to influence the behaviour or feelings of another person, against their will. (...) the method used is the same as that for any other kind of witchcraft or offensive magic" (Geller 2002, 133). Paradoxically, love magic may at the same time be valued positively as a technique for healing the lovesick client, seeing him as a patient in dire need of a doctor.

24 For details see Stadhouders 2013, 314–318. In a badly preserved tablet (*Ag*) inscribed with

An added motive for the Egalkura client to turn to Ištar as his role model in getting things done his way with the authorities, might be their shared marginality. Embroidering on Edzard's (1987) analysis of the so-called *Love Lyrics*, G. Leick (2003, 241) has made the observation that "Ištar represents, as often in the late texts, the marginal part, the socially inferior position of the legally underprivileged concubine. But at the same time she stands again for the irresistible power of sex-appeal (*kuzbu*), which no social sanctions can ultimately constrict." These texts seem to have her play the role of the seductive woman who has spurned the legal status and social bondage that come with marriage; yet, having stayed out of wedlock and consorting with the fringes of society such as will frequent pub and brothel, she has managed to lure Supreme Authority Marduk, of all gods, into a love affair and to become his paramour. To make the thrill complete, Marduk's legal spouse Šarpānītu gets in the way as her rival in a love triangle, so much so that the *Love Lyrics Ritual* is actually composed as a drama featuring Šarpānītu in the title role of the deceived wife who laments her rejection and hurls insults at Ištar for causing it.²⁵ Not unlike Ištar, our Egalkura client is portrayed episodically as the underdog against his peers and opponents, either because he has recently been marginalized and is now seeking rehabilitation, or for having grounds to be afraid lest he should be marginalized upon his imminent confrontation with the authorities in the palace, as a result of dismissal, demotion or even worse. His rival will likely feel not too different on his part, for in numerous spells it is a priori presumed that the two of them are engaged in a competition for the prince's favour. Our Egalkura practitioner has put his trust in the powerful *ars amatoria* Ištar-Nanāya initiated him into, empowering him to cunningly win the hearts and

incantations to persuade one's *bēl-dabābi*, turning his angry mood (*ru'ubtu*) into good cheer (*šihhu*), and to please (*hadū*) the magistrates (*šāpiru*, *dayyānū*), one of the spells opens: "Anointed with the oil of love (*šaman rāmi*) I [*appear in court*] ...;" see below, Commentary ad l. 20, *šaman bālti*. Similarly, and in quite the same vein that the Isin love spells feature the beauty queen of the gods (see below, fn. 34), a Middle Babylonian incantation has the client call in the heroine of the soft approach in restoring peace with the request that she orders her hairdressing maids (in the Ezida) to mollify and win the hearts of those who are angry with him: *šuprī Gazbāya likanziba zenūtīm šuprī Kanisurra lisallima šabsūtīm ina qibīt iqbū Ea Šamaš u Asalluḫi u Nanāya bēlet rāmi* "send Gazbāya (identical with G/Kazbab/wa) to allure those who are enraged into liking me, send Kanisurra to put those who are angry in a friendly mood toward me; at the order spoken by Ea, Šamaš, Asalluḫi and mistress of love Nanāya" (van Soldt 2015, No. 447). For Nanāya and goddesses assimilating with her in the first millennium see also J. Westenholz 2013, 104–135, *passim*.

25 For a digest of Edzard's groundbreaking analyses and a re-assessment of the *Love Lyrics* texts see Nissinen 2001, 123–125.

minds of the authorities and get them to decide favourably in his case and grant him whatever he may ask for, whilst his competitor is left behind empty-handed. In achieving his goal, he mimicks Ištar when she beats the odds by proving to be a match for her austere rival Šarpānītu in the art of persuasion, winning over the latter's husband Marduk Almighty. In view of these parallels, the question might be thrown up as to whether the Egalkura procedure may on occasion have actually been staged as a *ménage-à-trois* that is plotted to evolve towards the same outcome as the one we have just reviewed, with the prince as the object of the desire of two lovers who rival over him, and the rival lovers being impersonated by the client and his adversary. Despite the high frequency of spells that have the client's speech interspersed with amorous talk this question cannot be answered in the affirmative yet. What we can report, though, is an incidental case where the Egalkura-like setting would appear to have been framed as an orgiastic festival or game, enabling the client to prevail along the lines of artful play in substituting for the rules of a well-argued plea. The scene is transmitted in a late incantation ritual, as the overture of the spell.²⁶ The incantation itself is rubricized as belonging to the class of spells tagged **igi.bi húl.la.ke**, i.e. spells "for the one who sees him to be pleased," which is typically post-Old Babylonian Sumerianese translating the well-known expression *ana āmirišu ana pānišu ḥadê*, "in order that the one who sees him is pleased with his appearance (or: is well-disposed towards him)."²⁷ The affiliation of this group of spells with Egalkura is accentuated in one of the manuscripts by a citation from the *Exorcist's Almanac* that is appended to the ritual sections to clarify when and for what purpose the incantation ritual should be performed,²⁸ viz. "In the month of Araḥsamnu, 20th day, one-day term:²⁹ changing the minds;

26 Attested by three text witnesses: K: 1–20; Y: 1–10; Z: rev. 4'–15'.

27 K: 13; in point of fact K (l. 16) has in the subsequent section the Akkadian phrase, introducing an alternative procedure.

28 K: 18–20; for the source text see Geller 2014, 40.

29 I.e. the span of time allotted for completing the ritual successfully is limited to the pertinent day. The recurring expression **u₄.da.kam** probably means "of (only) a day", which the commentary on the *Almanac* (*BRM* 4 20: 45–66) has rendered *ūmu adannu* "(a/the) day is/as (its) term", "day and term coincide" (l. 45; Geller 2014, 31–35, interpreting differently as "normal time (or a fixed point in time)", translating "at the usual time" on pp. 54–57). Alternatively, though boiling down to the same result, the latter phrase might be taken as an idiosyncratic realization of *ūm-adanni*, as specified to mean *ūmū malūtu*, "expired days/time, day of expiry, deadline", in *Malku-šarru* 3: 148 (Hrūša 2010, 84–85); note that in the preceding lines **u₄.da.kam** and *ūm-adanni* are both equated with simple *ūmu*, here meaning "day/date of expiry". The opportune day is marked this way to distinguish it from lengths of time suitable for performing the ritual that stretch beyond a single day and

for the prince to remember his name favourably in his palace;³⁰ 21st day, one-day term: for the one seeing you to be well-disposed toward you and cheerful.”

which the *Almanac* defines either by the expression “from day *x* to day *y* of month *z*,” or “month *x* (and month *y*)”. The **u₄.da.kam** formula is never found in apposition to such periods of more than one day. Whenever a single calendar day is mentioned without adding the formula there is obviously no fixed expiry date. Curiously, in the *STT* 300 version those few terms for which the days of commencement and expiry are explicitly stated, have, with one exception (l. 11), been put together right at the beginning of the tablet and before the *Almanac* proper starts its calendrical scheme with the first month of the year. [It is worth mentioning that not long ago HS happened to identify remnants of what appears to be the first ever duplicate to this early first millennium recension of the *Exorcist's Almanac* in a Neo-Babylonian tablet from Sippar, which shrinks the time gap between the older (*STT* 300; Geller 2014, “precursor”) and younger (*BRM* 4 19 & 20) recensions considerably; that the former would have been transmitted down to the Hellenistic Age has been a plausible thing to assume ever since its discovery, for it evidently served as the base text for the Hellenistic scholar who reworked the menologically structured original to produce his zodiac orientated re-edition. The older and younger recensions may even have been circulating contemporaneously for some time. The artefact in question (CBS 562; photos: CDLI No. P258012; Jiménez and Adalı 2015, 162) is a mere fragment of a once much larger compilation tablet; preserved are portions of the *Prostration Hemerology* (obv. i 1'–11'; not in Livingstone 2013; now edited in Jiménez and Adalı 2015) and the *Exorcist's Almanac* (obv. i 12'–ii 9'), and a commentary with quotes from lexical and pharmacological texts (rev., worn off). Interestingly, the *Almanac* section in this duplicate starts off with the month of Nisannu (i 12' sqq.), paralleling *STT* 300: 4 sqq. and thus skips the latter's preambulatory lines. Further noteworthy divergencies: in the ITI.GUD section of CBS 562 the U₄ 21.KÁM and U₄ 13.KÁM entries have been reversed; in *STT* 300: 9–10 (Geller 2014, 48 with fn. 2) restore: ... U₄ 4.KÁM ḥUL.GIG' / U₄ 3[0.KÁM] ḥUL.GIG ..., where CBS 562: ii 5'–6' reads: U₄ 4.KÁM U₄ 3[0.KÁM] / ḥUL.GIG; in CBS 562 the month sections of *STT* 300 reappear split up by rulings into day-of-the-month subsections.

- 30 I.e., the client's, not the ruler's, indicating the government department or local branch of the palace where he is employed as a ‘civil servant’ and/or *ērib-ekalli*, or which he has business with otherwise. The suffixed form is fairly common in a variety of ritual texts that lie in the same area as Egalkura insofar as they address the problem of a man's dismissal by authorities and his being ignored by his superiors, his peers and his intercessor [*dābib ittišu* “who joins him in his speaking, his spokesman.” Cf. *SAA* 9, p. 6, Collection 1.4 Bayā: 16'–18', 30'–31': “Do not worry, Esarhaddon (viz. over Aššur's wrath), (for) I Bēl will be your spokesman ... I, Ištar reconciled Aššur with you (viz. on an earlier occasion).”], so that he fails to get any of his demands fulfilled. A case in point that leaves not a scintilla of doubt whose palace is referred to is *STT* 247: 1–2, 12–13, where part of the problem is defined as follows: *šumma amēlu* (...) / *ekallašu u šarrašu lā magiršu* / (...) *ekallašu u šarrašu* / *ana ṭābi u salāmi*, “if a man's palace and king refuse to do him a favour, (...) in order that his palace and his king become well-disposed and friendly;” see also Abusch 2002,

Another manuscript omits the rubric and concludes the ritual instruction as follows: “(you anoint your face and hands with fine oil) then you will be cleared in every lawsuit you are summoned to,” bearing out the judicial dimension of Egalkura type of rituals.³¹ Now, the opening lines of the spell read as follows:

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- 41, fn. 42, discussing the phraseology of rituals to secure a man of a favourable reception “in his palace” (*ina ekallišu*), “in the palace where he does service/has a position” (*ina ekal izzazzu*) and “in the palace where he performs services” (*ina ekal ittanallaku*). The locus *AbB* 1 15: 3: *ina ekal tattanallaku* should be understood identically: “(May your guardian angels help you reach old age) in the palace where you do services,” the asyndetic attributive clause *tattanallaku* has defining, not amplifying function.
- 31 Y: 9': [*tapaššašma ina d[īni mala tallaku tazakku*. This prediction might reflect an association with the ʿīd (*u pú*) *kù.ga* = *amēlu ina ħuršānu zukkû*, “having a man acquitted by the River Ordeal”, or even the types of sorcery called *di.bal.a* = *nabalkut dīni*, “for reversing a sentence” (Geller 2014, 32: 48, 52) and *nukkur dīnāti*, “for altering court decisions” (Abusch and Schwemer 2016, Text 3.4: 15; read *nu-kúr* DIMEŠ; the *DIŠ* that comes next is unorthodox for *šumma*, “or”, resulting from an original *šum*₍₄₎-*ma* that was misunderstood by the copyist), none of which has as yet been positively identified from textual sources. The phraseology also reminds of the unique rubric *ka'inimma di.kud gen.na.ma*, “spell for securing the compliance of the judge”, found on the Chicago Egalkura fragment A 3445: ii' 5'; its ritual involves a snake-stone to be worn around the waist and ends with the prognosis: *ana [d]īn[i] tallak dēnka innammar* (IGILĀ), “when you go to court your case will be looked into.” The incantation it is attached to is largely missing but the last line has remained intact and reads: *lā pīšu ana patē lā qinmassu ana šarāti*, “to prevent his mouth from opening, his anus from farting.” The 3rd person suffixes point to the client's *bēl-dabābi*—i.e., accuser, complainant, claimant, adversary (in court or at work)—as the one to be defeated; he is referred to with 2nd or 3rd person word forms in quite a few Egalkura texts. Throughout the vast anti-witchcraft literature he is typically staged as the enemy who has mobilized the whole gamut of witchcraft and black sorcery (*kišpū*) to bring his victim down. As a result there is a good deal of overlap in content and purpose between Egalkura on the one hand and anti-witchcraft texts on the other, esp. those whose prime target it is to repel one's *bēl-dabābi*'s intrigues and to prevail over him. For instance, in some of these blockage of the above-mentioned orifices of one's *bēl-dabābi* is ritually executed on a figurine inscribed with his name by fixing one of his hands in his mouth and the other in his anus, to be finally crushed by the client with his right heel: Abusch and Schwemer 2011, 362 (Text 8.12; also discussed by Schwemer 2007, 129–130). When rubrics are missing it can therefore be impossible to decide whether a given incantation should be reckoned to Egalkura or rather be put in the less organized group directed against one's *bēl-dabābi*. Yet, in principle the attendant ritual, if any, will suffice to disambiguate the two. If it gives instructions for harming or destroying one's adversary in effigy, the spell should be relegated to the anti-witchcraft corpus; the text just mentioned is an exemplary case in point. If, by contrast, the procedure is a non-violent one, the spell qualifies for being classified as Egalkura-related; the incantation under scrutiny (*ammēni tebāta*) illus-

<i>ammēni tebâta kîma nēši</i>	“Why are you aroused like a lion,
<i>ḥuzzuzâta kîma barbari</i>	frenzied like a wolf,
<i>puḥra puḥḥurâta kîma kurgarrî</i>	having convened the assembly like a kur- garrû?”
<i>anâku ša idû ētepuš</i>	“I who know why have taken action:
<i>ina mē (var. + nāri) amtesi qātāya</i>	I have washed my hands with water (<i>var.</i> + from the river)
<i>attapšaš šamna ṭāba</i>	I have anointed myself with fine oil ...”

The unifying factor of the three similes and the tertium comparationis of all three is a state of frenzy: the client is being asked what drove him frantic, mimicking lion, wolf, and the histrionism of a *kurgarrû*-actor.³² Each of these characters prototypically shows his frenzy in the duality of a frightening rage

trates the point: even though it takes a hostile tone not dissimilar to counter-witchcraft speech (see next fn.), the ensuing instruction prescribes the very opposite of the use of violence, viz. the anointment of the client's face and arms. Since this criterion is tacitly applied in Abusch and Schwemer 2011, Scurlock's swipe at their selection of texts is off the point (Scurlock 2013, 536). The last lines of the incantation as transmitted in KY have been touched upon by Finkel to elucidate a close parallel identified by him in a late Sippar tablet, there forming the middle part of a different incantation (Finkel 1999, 237–238, Text 14 = BM 61471); the duplicating portion only differs in having 2nd person singular suffixes as opposed to the 2nd person plural suffixes in KYZ. The incantation was hypothetically put in the group of spells against scorpions, but all the signs are now that it is anti-witchcraft, composed to extinguish the venomous speech of the client's *bēl-dabābi*; by the same token the preceding incantation ritual (BM 62886 = Text 13) needs reclassifying. The *Sitz im Leben* of the spell under discussion as constructed by Maul more than two decades ago is hard to reconcile with all these observations (Maul 1992).

- 32 Technically, it could be contended that the question is being asked by the client rather than being anonymously directed to him, which would imply that he is given the floor from the onset and not from *anâku* onward; in that case the person addressed must be assumed to be his adversary. A comparable passage several *Maqlû* spells open with could be adduced in support, which reads: *ē kaššāpti ... ša ... anâku idema attakal takāla*, “Hey, my witch ..., who (*has plotted a certain evil against me*). Being aware of it I have gained full confidence” (Abusch 2015: 6: 127’–130’, etc). However, in view of there being several more dialogues of a similar structure in the Egalkura corpus and given the aggressiveness the client displays in finishing off his opponents, it is here supposed that the client is the one being addressed in the first three lines, with his response coming promptly after; this is also consistent with the observation that he tends to narrate his appearance and behaviour in sexualizing terms. The reading *tebâta* for *ZI-ta₅* in K is safeguarded by the duplicate readings *te-ba-te Y*, *te-ba-tu₄ Z*; Maul 1992, 159 is to be corrected accordingly.

on the one hand and an uninhibited sexual arousal on the other.³³ One and the same word may accordingly have reference to both of these emotions simultaneously, in a punning play with the laws of polysemy. The best known case in point is *uzzu*, “arousal” = (1) “anger, wrath”; (2) “sexual excitement, readiness to mate”; the concept is applied here in the D stative of the corresponding verb: *huzzuzāta* (allophonic for *uzzuzāta*).³⁴ The sexual connotation of *tebû*, esp. in the stative, and its cognate *tību* has just been discussed. The latter verb as used here in connection with the *puḫru*, “assembly, court”, might as well be hinting at the third notion it can convey in an Egalkura context: “advance a claim, rise to take a stand against (in a litigation).”

13. It is something out of the ordinary to encounter a lower-ranking numen like Kusu as the client’s sole companion and guard. The normal thing is for the latter to be escorted by half a dozen of the major gods of the pantheon.³⁵ Kusu’s role in the spell is best understood as the correlate of the pure oil prescribed in

33 For the *kurgarrû*’s life-threatening potential which terrifies (*šupluḫū*) his spectators, see Maul 1992, 159; he is mentioned alongside other ecstasies capable of malevolent sorcery in *Maqlû* (Abusch 2015) 4: 89. His role in the enactment of plays with an erotic plot is the very substance of his profession (Leick 2003, 240–246). Lion and wolf figure prominently in love magic spells, and far beyond, as icons of unfettered potency and passion (Whiting 1985, 181; Wilcke 1985, 202–203; Watanabe 2002, 103–105).

34 CAD U–W 393–395 s.v. *uzzu*; see Stadhouders 2013, 315. In mapping the semantics of *uzzu* and its cognates the Isin love spells have proved instrumental: Whiting 1985, esp. 180–182 (to be re-interpreted in line with Foster 1993, 123); Wilcke 1985, esp. 202–203, 207: 78–98. For a re-evaluation of the semantics of *uzzu* in relation to Nanāya, the lion and the wolf, see now Wasserman 2016, 268–270, Text 32 with comments p. 268, and pp. 42–43, § 4.7 “Love, Desire and Anger”. For Ø, *ḫ* (and *q*) as allographs expressing Semitic ‘ayin, especially in front of /u/, see Stol 2013, 88b.

35 Two Egalkura spells may be cited to illustrate the theme:

(1) The long incantation VAT 13683 edited by Mayer 1990, 25–27, which mentions Š[amaš] (or G[ula]), Ištar and the Sebeti. Mayer identified the upper half of the fragmentary *LKA* 104: obv. as a duplicate to the spell’s final episode and gave a transliteration of it on p. 27. As he obviously did not take the lower half of *LKA* 104 (a joined piece) into account, he overlooked that this duplicate has an elaborate ritual appended to the spell, occupying *LKA* 104: obv. 7’–11’ as over against the lapidary one line instruction given in VAT 13683. Unfortunately, these ritual lines are damaged beyond legibility, save for a few scattered signs; the lucky news is, however, that the first line of the joined piece has preserved enough to restore what the subsequent ruling shows to be the ritual’s prognosticating last line; it reads: *ana IGINUN K[U₄-m]a ŠĀ NUN i-[ḫa-du-ka]*. The formulaic “You enter before the prince ...” can safely be taken as an indication that the spell it accompanies is of the Egalkura genre, an attribution which is corroborated by the observation that the rest of *LKA* 104 is Egalkura, too: after the ruling l. 12’ continues with the incantation

the attached ritual for anointing the face: not only the KÙ in his name but also the epithet *mullilu* are formally resumed in the *šamnu ellu* of the instruction.

našūninni ana dīni šupšuqi which is known from explicit Egalkura tablets, including the Istanbul tablet under investigation (see below ad l. 39).

(2) The incantation *Sîn abi ilī*, hitherto uniquely known from BM 38599: i 15–21 in the edition by Schwemer 2015, which according to the accompanying ritual is for the purpose of making “god, king, dignitary and prince not alter the word they spoke, the heart of his god and goddess relent for him, the one who answered you with a ‘No!’ answer you with a ‘Yes!’” (ll. 24–26). The spell is given here in the deviant version as transmitted in BM 77049, which was identified by HS after the small landscape-format excerpt tablet was kindly brought to his knowledge by E. Jiménez, who perceived its Egalkura-related character first; in this source a ritual instruction is not appended. Its text reads as follows:

šiptu: Sîn abi ilī illak ina imnīya
Šamaš aša[rēd ilī] illak ina
šumēlīya
Nergal dandan ilī illak ina pānīya
Ištar bēlet mātāti illak ina arkīya
ātanallak ina ekalli šānina ul iši
urrad ana tāhāzi? (‘M’È?) māḫira
ul arašši
errub ana ālima ardāt āli ḥadāni
ina qibūt Ea Šamaš u Mar-
duk u rubātu Bēlet-ilī—tē šipti
ka’inim.ma NE ŠĀ

Incantation. Sîn, father of the gods, is marching to my right; Šamaš, foremost of the gods, is marching to my left; Nergal, mightiest of the gods, is marching before me; Ištar, mistress of nations, is marching behind me.

When doing service in the palace, I have no equal; when I go to battle?, I have no rival; when I enter the city, the girls in town rejoice over me.

At the behest of Ea, Šamaš, Marduk, and queen Bēlet-ilī.

Incantation formula. Text of an incantation against a heart inflamed (with anger)?

It is somewhat obscure which genre of spells the unique classifier NE ŠĀ, if this is how the signs are to be identified indeed, is meant to designate. As it happens, a similar yet hardly less enigmatic rubric is known from half a dozen Old Babylonian incantations, all but one in the “Subarian-Hurrian” language: **ka.inim.ma NE šā.ga.(kam)**, see Cunningham 1997, 111 with fn. 6–7. These spells have generally been presumed to be concerned with love on the evidence of the one in Akkadian (VAS 17 23), because it exhibits stock phrases from the amatory vocabulary. On good grounds, then, the NE might be guessed to represent **izi** or **kūm** “fire/burning” of the heart, hinting at an ardour for making love to be aroused when it occurs with love spells, and at a fume of anger to be quenched in Egalkura-like contexts; cf. Cunningham 1997, 110; see now Wasserman 2016, 249–250, No. 24 (re-edition of VAS 17 23) and the commentary on the trope of fire (*išātu*) 248, ad 9. The parallel version of the spell would appear to corroborate our inkling, as it is embedded in a ritual to bring about the relaxation of an angry heart (BM 38599: i 25). Neither affect can feasibly be the referent of the **izi-šā.ga** mentioned in CBS 1419: iii 10’, an Old Babylonian fragment inscribed with excerpts of lists(?), where the phrase occurs in a section that seems to be dealing with miscarriages: (2’–14’) **abar?** (**KA^{bar}**) / *ḥa-ru-bu* / **sag.nu.ti.la** / *iz-bu ku-bu-um* / **sag.su.lum.sar** / *iz-bu-um* / **lib.lib.bi.si(g)** [= **lilibisi(g)**], ePSD; reference courtesy

Materially, Kusu, boasting the title of Chief Purifier of Enlil, of Anu, and of the gods at large, is in charge of purification rites, those performed with the censer (*nignakku*) in the first place, whence this cult instrument is conceived of as Kusu incarnate. The god's shining cleanness is accentuated by the material the censer is customarily manufactured in: gold or silver, elements whose written names both have the KÛ-sign as their basic component. The act of fumigation itself, *qutāru*, can be written KÛ-GI/GUR, an encryption of the idea that things and persons incensed will turn (GI/GUR = *tāru*) as pure (KÛ) as gold (KÛ.GI) as a result.³⁶ We frequently see Kusu expanding his sphere of activity, so as to include the terrains of his fellow purifiers Ningirim and Girra, taking over their jobs of cleansing with the water-basin (*agubbû*) and the torch (*gizillû*), respectively.³⁷ Apart from a shining appearance and a pleasant fragrance to attract all eyes upon him and kindle a festive mood in everybody around, the client might well be hoping for yet another effect from Kusu's cleansing: being purged of guilt and walking away acquitted.³⁸ Finally, the motive for

N. Veldhuis] / *gi-ir-gi-šu* / *izi-ša.ga* / *dilmun tur* / *ka-bi-tum qá-la-tum* / *kù.dugud.sud* / *ka-bi-tum* x x x. Are the first three pairs of entries describing an early miscarriage (*ḥarūbu*, lit. “pod” of the *ašāqu*, *Prosopis farcta*; pun on *ḥarbu*, “early?”), a midterm abortion (*kūbum*, “foetus”) and a fullgrown stillbirth/monstrum (*izbum*) respectively? Entries 7'–8' are ambiguous; the terms can refer to a skin disease that comes with boils and/or a rash; on the other hand, the word for “stork” (*lilibisig*, Akk. *l/raq/raqqu*) can have the figurative sense of “uterus, vulva”. Interestingly *girgiššu* is once equated with *izi.a.ša.ga* (see *CAD*, sub voce, lex. section), which seems to put it in the division of internal pathologies. Quite possibly then, the above-mentioned group of allegedly “Subarian-Hurrian” spells are intended to target the disease rather than to stir an appetite for having sex. Finally, the entries 11'–12' might denote the pregnant woman who is “heavy” (*kabittum*) so long as she is carrying the child but becomes “light” (*qallatum*) when she loses it or gives birth. (Note that the references to this tablet in *CAD* K 25b s.v. *kabtu*, lex. section, and *YOS* 11, p. 43, No. 65 need adapting).

- 36 Apparently, the god was not deemed worthy a lemma of his own in *RLA*; he has been given his due, however, in § 5 (p. 228) of the art. “Räucherung; Rauchopfer,” *RLA* 11, pp. 225–229. Go there for details on the deity, his job and appurtenances; an in-depth study into the nature, gender and marital alliances of Kusu by F. Simons is currently in progress. On the cultic functions of fumigation and everything it involves see also Linssen 2007, 145–147. For KÛ-metals used to enhance the purifying force of the holy water see Maul 1994, 95b with footnote 28; for KÛ and shininess: Feder 2014, 94.
- 37 For instance *Mīs pī* 3: 89–90, ed. Walker and Dick 2001, 143.
- 38 On the concept that purification rites symbolically enact clearance of any guilt or claim, acquittal, and release from any kind of bondage there exists a vast literature; summaries: *RLA* 11, art. “Reinheit,” esp. p. 295b; most insightful is Maul 1994, 61–62, 94b–96a; the dictionaries s.v. *elēlu*, *ebēbu*, and *zakû*. A fine essay that maps out the complexities of the Ancient

having the client accompanied by Kusu, of all gods, may have been the god's ability "to clear the way".³⁹

The god's epithet *mullilu* may not so much represent an entirely new title besides the more common *šangamaḥḥû* but rather be chosen with a nod towards the SANGA-logogram which underlies the latter.⁴⁰

14–15. The D-stem form *mupallisû'a* is also found in **M**; the Late Babylonian fragments **RS** have the participle in the far commoner N-stem, reading *muppalsû'a*. Although *āmīru* in Egalkura and related ambients does frequently denote one's slanderer and adversary in court (*bēl-dabābi/amāti*), having the pregnant meaning of "envier, ill-wisher", the present context is strongly in favour of rendering *āmīrû'a* in the literal sense of "those who see me". As a consequence, we should give precedence to **RS** over **MU** and read *muppalsû'a*, from *naplusu*, "to look at, to examine". The rare D-stem of *palāsu* can surely have pejorative implications, but apparently not enough to make its participle a likely synonym for *āmīru* "ill-wisher".⁴¹

16–17. *litappala*. The Gtn-stem may have been chosen to express the notion of an action being performed on a single occasion by a plurality of subjects in succession; *puḥrum* is a collective noun after all, referring to a number of people or things gathered.⁴² **M** has the unorthographic albeit not totally unparalleled writing *pu-ḥur-ru*, marking an epenthetic vowel in the penultimate

Near Eastern notions of "pure", "clean", "clear" and derivatives, and how they have developed various transferred meanings from a common root in the phenomenon of radiance is available in the recent study Feder 2014; for their figurative sense of "free of claims/guilt" see pp. 97–102, 107–108 (e.g., shiningly polished silver as a metaphor for a prisoner who is released when having atoned for his crimes).

39 A parallel instance of words for purity having this nuance is found in *Enūma eliš* 6: 155–156: *Asalluḫi Namru (...)* / *ilu ellu mullil alaktīni*, "Asalluḫi the Radiant (i.e., the Sun) (...), the pure god who clears our path." The awareness that words for light can develop the sense of "free/cleared of obstacles" has been the key to establishing the proper etymology of the noun *tawwīrtum* as a *taprist*-form grafted onto the root NW/MR: "ground where reeds, rushes or other growth have been removed; a 'clearing'" (Stol 1988, 180, pointing also to the rare noun *namāru*, "path, trail", through the marsh- and reed-lands).

40 See CAD Š/1 376 s.v. *šangamaḥḥû*, lexical section.

41 For this pregnant meaning of *āmīru*, see Stadhouders 2013, 307; cf. Jiménez and Adalı 2015, 178.

42 Kouwenberg 2010, 416, sub 3: *tan*-stem having distributive nuance that "may refer to an action that is 'spread over' a number of different participants ...," with example [28]: "šul-mānāte [ana] šarri uqṭanarrubū, '(the officials) offer presents to the king' (i.e., on a single occasion, but, presumably, one by one, each one individually)."

syllable (see below ad rev. 19'). The *-a* ending of *lītappala* is to be analysed as the ventive suffix in non-allative/dative function.⁴³

Alternatively, *puḥru(m)* could be parsed as locative case: “in the assembly”, which would leave no other candidate than Kusu to do the act of *apālu* repeatedly, i.e., by answering all accusations individually during a single protracted meeting—unless the verb were to be normalized *lītappalā*, with the plural *nišū*, “people”, as its implied subject, which is feminine gender grammatically; compare l. 18. In that case, the precative forms *lītappalā* and *lišmû* could have been given opposite gender to create a merismus.

17. *diyyānātu*. This line is perfectly legible in **M**, including its first sign, which is unmistakably **DI**. To date, the deviant spelling *di-ia-* instead of the regular *da-a-a-/da-ia-* is on record as a Middle Babylonian singularity, which makes its occurrence in a Standard Babylonian text from Ashur tablets all the more remarkable.⁴⁴ Since it can be ruled out that courts ever were presided by women, “female judges” must be meant in a non-literal way. A *da/īyyāntu* is seldom seen in the cuneiform archive and a plural is as yet not on record. The few known incidents of the feminine singular are all limited to its use as a title given to some goddess or other, which is pointless in the present context. The incongruence as to gender between *diyyānātu* and *lišmû* bars the option of linking them as subject and predicate. Neither can the former relate to the latter as its direct object, for (1) that function has already been occupied by *amâtū'a* and (2) *šemû* is not in the class of verbs that govern a double accusative complement. The only viable way out would therefore seem to interpret *diyyānātu* as a so-called predicative complement, which has a feminine plural ending in agreement with the object constituent *amâtū'a*. The predicative complement comes with reference to either the subject or the object and can often be expressed in English by a complement introduced by an “as/for”-phrase or by a circumstantial introduced by “being”.⁴⁵ This analysis of the syntax is not without

43 Kouwenberg 2010, 236, sub “Other ventives”: these anomalous ventives “typically occur in literary Babylonian” and might “represent a kind of ethical dative, underlining the involvement of the speaker and therefore conveying a certain emphasis or insistence. This agrees with the fact that many instances occur in wishes, exhortations, and questions.” Example [95], p. 237, quotes an OB case of *apālu* thus used.

44 See the dictionaries s.v. *dayyāntu* and *dayyānu*; *AHW* prefers to read the allomorph *dijān(t)u*. **M** only differs in writing the fourth sign as **TU**.

45 At least when it involves a noun. The phenomenon is also known as “praedicativum” (Classics), “predicative attribute”, “subject/object complement” and, in sundry German treatises on syntax, as “Subjektsartangabe” and “Objektsartangabe”. It is well known from, e.g., Biblical Hebrew, lucidly described in Joüon and Muraoka 1991, 455–457 (§ 126.a–e),

problems, if only because most grammars of Akkadian do not mention the predicative complement with a single word and would therefore appear to simply deny that it ever existed in the language as a distinct category of syntax.⁴⁶ Although it is the rule for Akkadian to call forth other devices of syntax to realize the same—by a variety of verbal stems; by the use of the *ana* + (pro)noun syntagm that serves as an adjunct,⁴⁷ or by a circumstantial clause with a stative or nominal phrase as its predicate—there yet remain quite a few cases where no alternative explanation seems available to save the phenomena satisfactorily other than the one proposed here. For now suffice it to present a handful of these. The first is taken from the grammar book that until recently has been the only one to give some room to discussing the topic of the predicative complement in Akkadian,⁴⁸ and is presented by the author as an extremely rare exception to the rule and reads as follows: *warḫum ša irrubam Ulūlum šanūm* *l[i]ššater*, “The coming month should be registered as second Ulūlum.” The normalization of the logographically written ⁱ⁴KIN.^dINANNA 2.KAM.MA in the nominative case and its subsequent interpretation as a predicative complement (of the subject) seems inevitable in the absence of the preposition *ana*, or *kīma* for that matter.⁴⁹ Old Assyrian yields a number of cases that demonstrate the predicative complement of the subject beyond any ambiguity,

albeit analyzed in a somewhat old-fashioned manner as “(predicative) accusative of state” by analogy with classical Arabic terminology.

- 46 Cf. *GAG*, § 147c.e (Prädikats-Akkusativ); in *GAG*, § 134g (last example) a syntactic construction that could arguably be described as an instance of the predicative complement is analysed as an “Apposition des Zweckes”.
- 47 Exceptionally, *kī/kīma* may be rendered as “as”, German “als”, rather than “like”, German “wie”, which is what it normally means, implying analogy, comparison, or conformity, not a state of being; see *GAG*, § 114.f; *AHW* 469a s.v. *kī* 3; 476b s.v. *kīma* 4. Quite plausibly, *kīma* is functioning in this rare way too in the syncretistic liturgy fragment BM 34030: rev. 1–5 (Lambert 1997), where five senior gods and goddesses are replaced in cult by their respective junior counterparts as follows: *ašib/-bat DN(F)₁* (= junior) *kīma DN(F)₂* (= senior); the editor prudently translates “DN(F)₁ is present like DN(F)₂,” commenting that in this case “like” should be taken to mean “in place of”; however, “as”, “in the capacity of”, seems worth considering as an alternative.
- 48 Buccellati 1996, 358–359: “A note on the predicative complement.” The citation is from *AbB* 2 14: 15–16, there translated by the letter’s editor (R. Frankena) as follows: “Der kommende Monat soll als zweiter Ulul bezeichnet werden,” with the following annotation to “bezeichnen”: “Wörtlich: ‘geschrieben’”. When this essay was about to go to press, a new grammar of Old Assyrian was released, where the phenomenon is dealt with at some length under the heading “Adjectives as subject or object complement”: Kouwenberg 2017, 263–264.
- 49 Regardless of whether this would have been realized syllabographically or sumerographically (by suffixing -ŠÈ or -GIM). Grammar would seem not to allow for reading the phrase

preponderately such as have the substantivated adjectives *erium*, “destitute, empty-handed”, and *wēdum*, “only, individual”, in this function. CAD E 321a s.v. *erû* 3a: *ina kaspim* 10 MA.NA *ērubma ūmam erītum ūšām*, “I (fem.) entered (the business) with ten minas of silver, and today I have quit it flat broke;” *erium attā lā tallakma libbi awīlim lā imarraš*, “Do not go away empty-handed, lest the boss get upset;” AHw 242 s.v. *erium* 1.a translates “als ein mittelloser gehe nicht!” CAD N/1 207 s.v. *nam’adu* 1: *balum awīli rabiūtīm nam’edīm wēdum awīlum ša nikkassī ana ṭupšarīm ula iqabbima šaḥir rabi ula upaḥḥar*, “Without the quorum of big men, however, a man of accounting cannot on his own order the scribe to convene the public assembly;” *wēdum* lit. “as an individual” (see the text cited l. 12’: *ippī wēdim*, “at the order of an individual/a single man”). If the predicative complement of the subject were indeed to prove valid as an item of Akkadian syntax, we might try and evade part of the controversy the first lines of the *Atraḥasis Epic* have sparked among scholars by rendering these “When gods, being human, carried out the labour...”⁵⁰

A literary occurrence of the predicative complement of the (grammatical) subject is attested in l. 19’ of the *Disputation between Palm and Vine*, where the palm extols one of its virtues in the following words: *arū’a šušāri ibbanā šipiršu*, “from my frond rope is manufactured as its product.”⁵¹

The final example relates to the predicative complement of the object and is therefore getting to the core of our problem. Being a quote from the *Standard Gilgameš Epic*, it is enshrined in the same literary vernacular as the line of text under discussion and must therefore count as a cogent piece of evidence. It reads as follows: *ammēni Enkidu (...)* *Šamḥat tananzar ša (...)* *damqu*

in the so-called accusative of state, which has been believed to be sporadically documented in Old Assyrian for adjectives only: GAG, § 147.c; see now Kouwenberg 2017, 263, fn. 34.

50 The textual variant *kī amēli/i* would appear to lend support to this analysis; most *Atraḥasis* experts have rejected it as an inferior 1st millennium reading; yet, new evidence has recently been brought forward to the effect that it might actually go back to an Old Babylonian version of the epic; see George 2016, 160–162, No. 55: 15 with fn. 2. “Gods” here refers to the Igigi class of deities, who later in the tale are granted equal rights to the Anunnaki class, their former masters, in consequence of the transfer of their toil upon the newly fashioned humans. For a review of the scholarly debate over these lines and an assessment of the many-voiced choir of opinions, see J.G. Westenholz 1996, 188–189.

51 Edition by E. Jiménez 2017, Part III; this line is discussed on p. 260, *šipiršu* being analysed as “an appositive noun to *šušāru*”. Syllabic *šú-šá-ri* is here assumed to represent a nominative singular, with *ibbanā* having either a non-allative ventive or a 1st sing. dative suffix (ethical dative or one of interest “for me”); *arū’a* is locative having ablative-instrumental function.

GIŠgimmaš tappâ ušaršûka kâša, “Why, o Enkidu, do you keep cursing Šamḥat, who let you, of all men, have for a comrade the brave Gilgameš?”⁵² Since (1) the two accusative positions which the verb *šuršû* governs are already occupied by *-ka + kâša* and *damqu* GIŠgimmaš respectively and (2) taking *tappâ* as an apposition would make awkward speech, there would appear no option left but to regard the accusative *tappâ* as a predicative complement of the object, aptly to be rendered as a complement with “for” or “as” in English.⁵³

To be wishing that in court his mere words be taken for judges might seem a daring thought for the client to cherish, making him liable to be held in contempt of the law and the judiciary, as it is up to them to pass judgement; it would mean nothing less than a reversal of rules and ranks, should the defendant be admitted as judge in his own case. The prospect of circumventing the magistrate in one’s strife for being put in the right does nonetheless recur elsewhere in the Egalkura corpus. In one spell the anomic desire is innuendoed by a climaxing one-liner that is as drastic as it is laconic: “I have passed you by, the verdict on me be mine!;” “you” is most likely aiming at the prince, with the client’s litigator as second best candidate; “mine” means “one to be pronounced by myself”.⁵⁴ Such power is believed to be vested in this magic that the client equipped with it may face his visit to the palace calmly and without fear, confident that it will make even the boldest of his wishes come true.

§3

This section is transmitted in a far less complete state by N; M has preserved it from l. 26 onward; among the duplicates line division and wording diverge, in particular towards the end of the spell.

52 Tablet 7: 134, 138, ed. George 2003, 641.

53 In accordance with CAD D 70b s.v. *damqu* 2: “who gave you handsome Gilgamesh to be your companion;” CAD R 204b s.v. *rašû* 8b contradictorily translates *ša ... tappâ ú-šar-šu-ka kâša*, “who let you (Gilgamesh) have a companion,” which is at plain odds with the context. A systematic scrutiny of Standard Babylonian literature is likely to yield quite a few more episodes that fit into the pattern. Some quotes from *Enūma eliš* that may qualify as candidates: (I: 16) *Anum tamšilašu ūlid Nudimmud*, “Anum begat Nudimmud as his likeness;” (IV: 145–146) *šamāmī / Anum Enlil Ea māḥāzīšunu ušrammā*, “he gave Anum, Enlil and Ea the heavens for their shrines to dwell in;” (V: 2) *kakkabāni tamšīlšunu lumāši ušzīz*, “he established the constellations as their (= the gods’) astral images;” (VI: 4) *ša ina libbišu uštāmū inamdīn milku*, “what he had conceived in his mind he gave as counsel;” (VI: 70) *ina paramahḫi ša ibnū šubassu*, “in the high chapel which he had built for his abode.”

54 M: i 7': *i-da-ka e-tiq at-tū-u-a lu-u di-ni = idāka ētiq attū'a lū dīni*; *idāka* is locative, dual number from *idu*, with pronominal suffix *-ka*.

20. *šaman bālti*. The ointment theme of this spell and its implementation in the ritual pose a formal link with the preceding section, the ritual of which gives directions for a facial ointment, too. On the supposition that the two unguents involved are not dissimilar in essence, the surmise made above that the “pure oil” connotes seductiveness of a mode that is the hallmark of goddesses of love gains strength from the mentioning of the “oil of pride” in the incipit of this spell, for in several other Egalkura incantations this particular unguent is explicitly said to be theirs, and naturally so because it ranks as a potent tool in the delicate skill of how to endear oneself to someone more powerful. As this subject has been discussed at length previously elsewhere (Stadhouders 2013, 314–318) there is no need to digress upon it here. What is worth noting is that the client’s concern for his *bāltu* is not restricted to spells that deal with the *šaman bālti*. On the contrary, quite a few more spells are about how to either keep or regain one’s *bāltu*, “dignity, honour, pride, prestige, status”,⁵⁵ apparently making the pursuit of honour and rehabilitation a major motif of the Egalkura texts at large and a key notion of the Egalkura mind-set. Besides other tribulations, loosing in court entails a man’s loss of face. Already the oldest known Egalkura tablet, an isolated Old-Babylonian forerunner to the mature corpus of the first millennium, touches upon this theme.⁵⁶ The first spell preserved on it, with rubric *ka’inim.ma é.gal.ku₄.ra*, evokes the client being entangled in a lawsuit over his rightful *zittum*, “share”, which has been withheld from him unlawfully. The presupposed share-sharing the wronged man had been partaking in was most likely one between business men. His valuable share is metaphorically envisioned as a virgin girl who has run away and is now on the loose having a good time playing in the streets—not unlike, so we should gather, a girl who is not living secluded yet between conjugal walls, or indeed a woman behaving

55 Being an outwardly perceived dimension of his personality, a man’s *bāš/ltu* primarily exists in the eye of the beholder; “image” might thus be proposed as yet another translation of the concept, one that would seem to cover many of its nuances, if taken in the sense of the impression someone makes on the public, like in “a celebrity’s image” and “image-building”. In this connection it is elucidating to adduce the final act of the *Maqlû* ceremony for comparison, when the client at daybreak proceeds to the last step in his renewal and purification process by addressing the image of himself he sees reflected in a bowl of clear water with the words: “You, my reflection (*šillu*), you, my *bāštu*, you, my guardian spirit (*lamassu*), you, my figure (*gattu*), you, my shape (*padattu*), my manhood (*dūtu*) ..., my self-renewing image (*šillu*)—... you are mine, I am yours” (Abusch 2015: 8: 129–132, 138 & Ritual Tablet 175–176).

56 The unpublished tablet is in private possession and was identified by I. Finkel, who kindly gave me sight of his provisional transliteration.

improperly by putting her chastity at risk⁵⁷—, whereas she ought to be housed in a place befitting her preciousness and integrity. The frustrated owner goes on with an address to his share arguing that she should come to him adorned (*tal-lakīm ina tiqnim*) and “be made to enter (*šūrubu*) our storage room (*ina kannīni*) [...] at the place where you belong (*manzāzukka*).” He concludes with a fourfold appeal to as many functionaries in charge of transport and traffic that each of them “should fetch (my share) for me onto our house (*līhuzam ana bītīni*).” The picture conjured up by the figurative speech is arguably one of wedding and marriage, with the owner (*bēl-zittim*) in the role of bridegroom and husband and his share (*zittum*) in the role of fiancée and wife, they being referred to as a twosome with the pronominal suffix *-ni*, “our”. For a woman, *erēbu* (*šūrubu*) marks the moment of her cohabitation in wedlock; *aḥāzu* can mean both “to marry (a woman)” and “to consummate marriage,” *aḥāzu* + dative, “to take (a woman) for (a man to marry her), to marry (a woman) to (a man)”. Although it is not explicitly stated that the fulfilment of these wishes will entail the return of the client’s honour, this may reasonably be inferred from what little has survived of the next incantation, viz. its opening section, which depicts the *bāštum* behaving in the very same manner as the *zittum* in the first lines of the foregoing incantation.

In a society that is anxiously keen on saving appearances and whose members are hypersensitive to being ashamed or embarrassed, few things are valued more than a man’s honour, dignity and good name. It will therefore be deemed utterly proper, even a moral duty, for a man to defend his honour at all costs and to do his utmost to regain it in the event it has been injured, by losing a case in court, by demotion in his *cursus honorum* or dismissal by authorities, either as a result of his own shortcomings or undeservedly owing to gossip and slander. Our client would become less nameless, should we assume him to mirror a character such as Šubši-mešrâ/ê-Šakkan (*Ludlul*), so vividly pictured in his desperate search for justice and rehabilitation. Whereas the latter tends to resign in his fate, piously relying on his God for salvation, the Egalkura client by contrast prefers to pull the strings himself. The following two incantations may serve to highlight the prominent role assigned to a man’s *bāltu* in Egalkura.

57 E.g., running the risk of being mistaken for a streetwalker—*sinništu ša sūqi*—for any horny man to prey on with Ištar smiling her approval: *Prostration Hemerology*, entry 35 (Jiménez and Adalı 2015, 169). See also the love incantations that address the “pretty girl/young woman, standing in the street; streetwalking girl apprenticed to Inanna, hanging around in the tavern”, edited in George 2016, 146–147 and his comment: “The topos of the pretty girl in the street emerges as a stock motif in love-related Sumerian incantations of the Old Babylonian period;” see for example Geller 2002, 129–130, 134–135.

¹⁰ *ka'inim.ma é.gal.ku₄.ra ša ħūd
pānī*

^{10–13} *Text of an Egalkura incantation of the ħūd-
pānī subtype.⁶⁰*

¹¹ *dū.dū.bi ina muḥḥi sassati ša muḥḥi
nāri šipta šalāšišu tamannuma¹² ina
kuta! uznēka tašakkan¹³ [ana pā]n
rubê terrubma rubû ḥadika*

Its use in ritual: You recite the spell three times over grass that grows on the river, fix it behind your ears, then you enter before the prince and the prince will be pleased with you.⁶¹

What these spells do also reveal is that in an Egalkura context renderings of *bāltu* as “honour, dignity, pride, prestige, status, respect, self-esteem” fall short of conveying the semantics of the concept in all its shadings. For *bāltu* appears not so much to denote the kind of dignity that shows itself in austere self-control and a grave look such as may inspire awe in less self-assured onlookers. Rather, the *bāltu* concept connotes a frolic appearance of endearing grace and

60 Closely related to, if not identical with, the *igi.bi-ḥúl.la* subtype of Egalkura incantations.

61 This hitherto fragmentarily known incantation can now be fully reconstructed from the following six sources: **B**: rev. 1–11; **G**: 1'–8'; **J**: 31–36 (by far the best manuscript, text completely preserved bar a few signs); **M**: ii 15'–26'; **N**: rev. 24–32; **Ab**: 5'–11'.

The “river-grass” may reasonably be assumed to belong to the sedge family of plants, more specifically to be a species of *Scirpus*. The River being female, the spell might be punning on *bāltu*, “pudenda”, taking the cover of water-plants allegorically for her pubic hair. The depiction of the so-called “Naked Woman/Goddess” who ostentatiously shows her nudity and pudenda (*bāš/ltu*) has arguably been interpreted as a glyph which stands for the *bāš/ltu* genius representing a person's honour/dignity/manhood/handsomeness, particularly so when she appears on cylinder seals in the company of her fellow geniuses or external souls the *šēdu*, a person's virtue/vigour/power, and the *lamassu*, his sympathy/charm; see Wiggermann 1998, esp. § 2; Steinert 2012, 410–411; 437–441. The *ušû* seeds (nuts?) and *sassatu*-grass appear jointly, too, in a simile known from *Maqlû* (Abusch 2015: 3: 174–175 and 6: 93–94), there symbolizing self-assertion vis-à-vis one's warlock and witch of the type “luctor et emergo”. In view of the present parallelism *bāltu*—*kililu* and the semantic overlap between *bāltu* and *sīmtu* (Steinert 2012, 403, fn. 113; 421, 437, 445: “Zierde”), one might consider rendering “Water, bring me your adornment.” The pair of words may additionally connote meanings in the semantic range of the *melammu* cluster, as becomes apparent from a *Maqlû* parallel that can now be restored in a fairly reliable way as follows: [*nāru* ...] *bīlī bāltaki* / [*m*]ū *gummīrāni rašubbatkunu*, “[River ...], bring your pride; Water, give me your awesome sheen in full,” Abusch 2015: 7: 172–173; correct Abusch 2015, 189, ms. O: iv 20 to: [*nāru* ...] ‘*b'i-li bal-ta-ki*’ (see photo of O = K 2950+ at <http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P394743.jpg>). The revised reading inspired D. Schwemer to restore the duplicate S₂ (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P397833.jpg>): rev. (iv) 7': [ÍD] ‘KÙ *bī'*-[*li* ... and as a consequence reconstruct the gap in O: iv 20: [ÍD KÙ] (personal communication).

beauty such as will kindle joy and merriment in everybody around and create an agreeable mood. “Good looks” seems therefore not to be a bad translation after all (*CAD* B 142). That the concept can even take on a dimension nothing short of frivolous already emerged from the observation that the *šaman-bālti* has its patentees in the realm of love, sex and seduction. Whereas it is here associated with *lalû*, it is elsewhere found in the frequent company of such partial synonyms as *dūtu*, *inbu*, *kuzbu*, *uṣu*, all of which imply a fair degree of eroticism or sex-appeal; the sexual implications of *tibā* have been pointed out above.⁶²

- 62 For a wealth of further details, see the analysis of nearly monographic substance by Steinert 2012, 405–509, where the semantics of *bāštu* and its cognates and synonyms is exhaustively discussed. The following of her findings merit particular notice for being germane to Egalkura contexts:—**The *šaman bālti*** of the Egalkura texts rendered as “Öl des guten Aussehens (d.h. Öl das gutes Aussehen verleiht)” (pp. 432–433); “Das Öl verlieh der Person gutes Aussehen und garantierte dadurch die Anerkennung hoher Persönlichkeiten sowie Erfolg in persönlichen Belangen.”—**Die Wirkung von *bāštu*** (Würde, Prestige) besteht in sozialer Anerkennung von Seiten Höhergestellten, Einwilligung in einem Anliegen, Schutz vor Anfeindungen” (427).—***bāštu***, “Würde, Ehre, Zierde” (442–445); “Würde, Ehre, Stolz” (478).—**In a greeting formula** a scholar wishes that a goddess bestows on the king everlasting *uṣu bātu ḥidātu mēlulu*, “Jubel, Glück, Freude und Heiterkeit,” instead of “*Glück*” (happiness) it is proposed to alternatively translate “Ansehen/Ehre” (445 with fn. 159).—***bāštu*, “modesty”**: “Angemessenes kontrolliertes Verhalten sorgt für die Achtung der Mitmenschen und ist deshalb eine ‘Zierde’ (*bāštu*) für die Person. (...) Ein Mensch, der seine Rede nicht kontrolliert, hat kein *bāštu*, er ist eine Ehrlose Person, die in der Gesellschaft gering geachtet wird” (461).—***bāštu*, “attraktive Erscheinung”** in tandem with *dūtu*, “Potenz, Männlichkeit” (409, 421); equation of *bāštu*, *dūtu*, and *šalummatu*, “Glanz” “... zeigt somit daß die (...) Schreiber *dūtu* und *bāštu* als Synonyme betrachteten und mit der äußeren Erscheinung, mit Glanz (Ausstrahlung) und Vitalität/Attraktivität verbanden” (413). It might be added that in Egalkura the *šaman-bālti* is obviously used to lend lustre to the client’s appearance, equipping him at the same time with the persuasive power that the goddess from whom it was procured has demonstrated to possess by employing it successfully.—**Die Assoziation mit den Termini *dūtu*** (‘Männlichkeit, männliche Potenz’) und *kuzbu* (‘Fülle, Üppigkeit’, das erotische Reize, Sexappeal und sexuelle Lust bezeichnet und mit Lebensenergie, Schönheit, Kraft, Jugend und Glanz assoziiert wird) zeigt, daß *bāštu* zur Sphäre des Körpers gehört und eine sichtbare Qualität der äußeren Erscheinung bezeichnet, die mit erotischer Ausstrahlung und Anziehungskraft verknüpft wird.—**“*Bāštu* ‘Ausstrahlung’ und *kuzbu* ‘Sexappeal’** charakterisieren Gilgameschs körperliche Erscheinung auf erotischer und ästhetischer Ebene. (...) Hier (*Gilg. Epic* I, 235–237) ist *bāštu* eine Eigenschaft der idealen Persönlichkeit und ihrer physischen Erscheinung” (414).—***bāštu* in parallelism with *gattu***, “Gestalt” (419). A telling example of these semantic interrelations is the love incantation Wilcke 1985, 202: 78–84 (re-edited by Wasserman 2016, Text 32), where the “arousal (*uzzum*) of Nanāya” which a woman in love desires to kindle in her lover-to-be is commanded to show itself

20–21. These lines possibly reflect the motif of the client having to pass through a mob of enemies who have lined up to bar him out of the palace by force of arms. This would at least appear to be hinted at by the phrases *ina birīt* and *lū šamrū*;⁶³ in any case, interpreting the signs as *lu-ú* (N: *lu-u*) *ú-ru* = *lū ūru*, from (*w*)*arū* “to lead”, is not a viable alternative, since a direct object is missing and affirmative *lū* is most unlikely to occur in our type of text.

We have failed to come up with a convincing proposal for the last sign of l. 20; what has been preserved looks somewhat like GIŠ; at any rate, attempts to restore ‘É’.[GAL] or ‘É’ [DINGIR] are bound to flounder, since both would entail that the second sign is written over the edge, which in this tablet is never done otherwise and would appear to be ruled out a priori in view of the way the signs of this line are interspaced.

22. It is hard to grasp the contextual meaning of *limquta epinnu*. Is it perhaps an idiomatic expression for stopping all work, somewhat comparable to English “to down tools”? In that case we would rather expect the verb *nadû*—N-stem *linnadi* or G-stem *liddû*—in the sense of “to stop using”. Be that as it may, U here plausibly represents an inferior text tradition that we had better

in a mood (*libbu*) that is characterized by *bāštum* like that of a wolf and by *šalummatum* like that of a lion.

- 63 A case in point worth quoting to illustrate what the motif implicates, if only for the metaphors it is shrouded in, is the following **igi.bi húl.la.ke₄** incantation of Late Babylonian date; sources **K**: 21–34; **Q**: 11’–18’.

¹*šiptu: mala 1 bērušulti Idiqlat*
ana 2 bērušulti Purattu ikkillu
²*ruqqētu ša nāri šelepputātu ša*
tābalu ana libbi nāri kakkīšina
irappisā
³*akkā’i lā taplaḥ tētiq ina būrīšina*
⁴*anāku ašḥar paššāka ašḥar*
ramkāk ⁵*ašḥar kīma našū u*
imbari lamā tikkī
⁶*šušhur ālu šušhur ekallu šušhur*
bēl dabābīyama illakū ina
arkīya—tē šipti

^{1–3}*Incantation.* Over a distance of one mile along the mud flats of the Tigris up to two miles along the mud flats of the Euphrates, clamour resounds: the river turtles and land tortoises are beating their weapons together towards midstream. “How did you dare to cross between them?” ^{4–5}“(Because) I am rubbed with *ašḥar*, I am washed with *ašḥar*, my neck is enveloped in *ašḥar* like in fog and clouds.” ⁶The city is brought round, the palace is brought round, my adversary in court is brought round so as to become my followers.
Incantation formula.

The ritual direction instructs the practitioner to crush *ašḥar* (i.e., a variety of kohl: Schuster-Brandis 2008, 400 with fn. 626) in oil, recite the spell three times over it and anoint the client with the unguent, so that “he will find acceptance wherever he applies” (*ēma illaku magir*).

reject, giving priority to the varia lectio as transmitted by N: *lim-qut* ^{gis}MÁ = *limqut eleppu*, “may the cargo ship moor!” (one instance of *maqātu* with subject *eleppu* is on record in CAD M/1 247 s.v. *maqātu* 3 “to arrive” a4’).

23–26. These lines are reminiscent of two Egalkura passages that feature the client partaking prominently in a festive meal, both of which are regrettably too elusive to be very helpful for our understanding as each of them is lacunously preserved and in only one manuscript.⁶⁴ At present, the best guess as to their gist is that the client is depicted celebrating his triumph over his adversaries after being cleared of any guilt or misdemeanour, not unlike the scene evoked in Psalm 23: 5, where the elect commensality with the supreme authority in front of one’s enemies marks the joy of victory and acquittal.⁶⁵ The dining might also have functioned as the occasion for a dispute between the client and his adversary. The minimum these “banquet scenes” do imply is that the client has been granted access to the palace and happily finds himself in the prince’s good graces, sitting at the table (as an *āšib kussê*, Ermidoro 2015, 93; 98–99). Repasts are known to be a favourite setting for those in power to make decisions and decree destinies (Ermidoro 2015, 76–82). The table companions are customarily pictured as being in an elate mood and radiating with joy, which may be expressed by saying that “their faces beam”. In retrospect then, the facial ointment mentioned in the spell’s incipit must be supposed to also have the function of bestowing on the client the splendour of joy and conviviality befitting a person who sets out for a banquet; in Ancient Near Eastern etiquette fine cloths and (fragrant) ointments underscore the festive character of a dinner (cf. Ermidoro 2015, 105 with fn. 53; 158, end of quote; 261 + *RIA*, art. “Salbung”, § 2).

25–26. It is most uncertain how to normalize the first legible signs of l. 25; N has: ¹a² -di² ¹x x ba DU_{II}-a E. The first person verb *lūrūb* (l. 26) virtually rules out the possibility, contextually an unlikely one to begin with, that the client, referred to as NN, is the one addressed, e.g. by some servant with a similar function to that of the *nāgir ekalli* as stands on duty in the Assyrian banquet

64 One is transmitted in E: rev. 1–10; in transliteration and transcription it reads: (...) ⁵ [x x x x x] ¹ra¹-ma-ni : i-di ^{gis}GU.ZA-šú [KLT]A-u-ia ⁶ [^{gis}BANŠU]R iš-ta-kan ina pa-ni-ia : TUŠ-ab nu-šit-¹ib²? NINDA KÚ [KA]Š NAG ⁷šit-ti-ma ni-il-ti ša iq-bu-ú bu²-[n]a²-šu ⁸dNin-gal iq-bu-ú DUGUD-su ⁹ina UGU ^{na4}as-ḥar ÉN an-ni-tam 3-šú ŠID-nu-ma ina DIME ¹⁰DU_{II}.DU_{II}-ma SILIM-im = [x x x x x] ramānī / rāmanni² : iddi kussēšu [šapl]ānūa / [paššū]ra ištakan ina pānīya : tišab nūšib² akala akul [šika]ra šiti / šitima² nilti ša iqbū bu[nm]āšu² / Ningal iqbū kabāssu² / ina muḥḥi ašḥar šipta annūtam šalāšišu tamannuma ina dīnāti / tadabbubma tašallim; the verbs *nūšib* and *nilti* should be taken as cohortatives: “let us sit down” and “let us drink.”

65 See the reference Stadhouders 2013, 311, fn. 19 for scholarly suggestions to that effect.

protocol tablet K 8669 (SAA 20 33; Ermidoro 2015, 166–169, cf. 181 with fn. 58); he must rather be the speaker quoted.⁶⁶ This makes an interpretation of *qé-ri-UD* as *qé-re-ta₅* = *qerēta*, “you are invited”, less than plausible, the more so because the plural DINGIR.MEŠ in *qé-r[a]* DINGIR.MEŠ, which is confirmed by N (DINGIR.MEŠ), allows of no other option than to parse *qerâ* as an imperative, be it 2nd comm. plur. or 2nd masc. sing. + ventive suffix (ruling out the option of parsing *qerâ* as stative 3rd masc. sing. with ventive suffix). M reads, incidentally, *qé-ri* DINGIR *qé-ri* LU[GAL ...]; N takes an intermediate position, reading ‘*qé-ri*’-*tú* *qé-ri* DINGIR.M[E]Š ‘x’ *qé-ri* LUGAL.

The form *qerītu* is here assumed to be in the locative, representing an *ana*- rather than an *ina*-phrase with final meaning; alternatively one could try and analyse the syntax by positing a construction with a double accusative, reading *qé-ri-ta₅* = *qerīta*.⁶⁷ It would therefore appear that what we have here is indeed the remarkable situation that the client is inviting king and gods to a banquet he is going to lay out with the foodstuffs he has just collected.⁶⁸ There is some

66 By the client himself, in point of fact. It is unlikely that the E should here be interpreted as the interjection *ē* marking the vocative, for in that case the *umma* is oddly placed after instead of before it, thereby interrupting the chain of direct speech. Since it is attested by both the extant mss. it would also seem hazardous to emend the text to *e-(nen-ni)*, “now” (haplogy), though it could of course be maintained that the error would have stemmed from a common ancestor manuscript; it would not make the syntax less awkward either.

67 Parallels to underpin the latter analysis are hard to find; an idiom that might be adduced in support is the OB *dīnam diānum* + acc. suffix, as highlighted by Mayer 2015, 208, ad GAG³, § 145d, who translates “jemandem Recht sprechen, jemanden richten,” e.g. “*dajjānū dīnam idīnūšunūti*: die Richter haben ihnen Recht gesprochen (*AbB* 11, 7: 19).” Cf. AOAT 279, 470, footnote 579.

68 It is attractive to bring the Neo-Assyrian evidence discussed by Ermidoro 2015, 150–153 to bear upon the present *qerītu* scene. Principally, a *qerītu* festivity falls in the category of *feriae conceptivae* and its date had to be settled with the help of divination; it was normally set up for one specific deity within the sacred precinct. A *qerītu*-festival could also be organized by private citizens; hemerologies disclose on which days its performance will have a favourable outcome (add *Exorcist's Almanac*, Geller 2014, 30: 31; 48: 21): “Neo-Assyrian letters attest also the existence of a type of *qerētu* performed on a smaller scale, by private citizens in temples. These were set up in courtyards, with the assistance of priests, and required the disbursement of bread, beer and at least one sheep. (...) Private *qerētu* meals served very concrete purposes, and were arranged in order to prepare the organizers for the request they wanted to present to the gods. (...) Private banquets must have been, thus, strictly bound to concrete worries and fears of common men's daily life, mostly related to health, money and family.” The supposition that the client is provider and host would appear to preclude the possibility that the description is hinting at the type of banquet described by Ermidoro 2015, 151–159 (esp. 155; see also Scurlock 2006, 46):

vacillation as to where dinner is to take place: the temple (*bīt-ili*, l. 26) the client is about to enter or the place where the *rubû* (l. 26) resides, which is the venue to be expected in the context of an Egalkura incantation (l. 28); in either case, the point that really matters is that the prince will take great pleasure in seeing him.

26–27. U's text is evidently corrupt; the lectio potior is transmitted in MN: *kī Sîn ḥidā kī Šamaš riša attā ittīya ḥadūtama lū ḥadāta*, “be as pleased with me as with Sîn, rejoice over me like over Šamaš; may you be overjoyed with me;” the person addressed can be none other than the prince. There exist a few more Egalkura spells that have the client utter the bold wish to emulate the divine luminaries in sparking joy with the prince, each of them followed by a ritual direction for the client to anoint his face with oil; tertium comparationis must be the shininess which the ointment is to cause his face to beam with, heralding glee and gladness.⁶⁹

organized by the king to celebrate the inauguration of a new palace or some other such building it was attended by a most diverse company of participants; the first to be invited (*qa/erû*) were the gods, followed by the highest officers “and often (but not always) the invitation was extended even to embassies from the regions under Assyrian control, and to the population of the city in which the residence had been built. It was, thus, a joyous and crowded party.” Yet, there are parallels: the quote from Esarhaddon (Ermidoro 2015, 157–158 = *RINAP* 4, Esarhaddon 57: vii 17–34), for instance, commemorates how the king celebrated the completion of his new armoury with a festive meal in it to which he invited (*qerû*) the gods of Ashur and after receiving their blessing “I seated all of the officials and people of my country in it at festive tables, ceremonial meals, and banquets (*qerêtu*), and I made their mood jubilant. I watered their insides with wine and *kurunnu*-wine. I had (my servants) drench their heads with fine oil (*šamnu rēštû*) and perfumed oil (*igulû*).” Regardless of who initiated it “in the Neo-Assyrian period (...) *qerêtu* pointed to an event characterized by the presence of at least one god. (...) A confirmation also comes from literary texts, in which *qerêtu* appears in the decision-making moments, when the meal coincided with the big divine assemblies and led to decisive outcomes for the organizers of the event” (Ermidoro 2015, 250–251). Cf. George 2000, 289, ad 39: “The verb *qerû* (...) is common in the language of prayer, where it is employed to invite gods to partake of offerings.” An elucidating parallel to the line under scrutiny, though in a widely different context, is found in the extispicy prayer (*ikribu*) HSM 7494 (ed. Starr 1983, Ch. 3): 5: *ina za'im qiri ili rabûtîm za'um u erênum liqriākunûti*, “(Oh Šamaš, lord of judgement) invite the great gods by means of the frankincense (saying): ‘May the frankincense and cedarwood incense invite you (all)’;” the members of the divine court enter the scene from l. 13 onward to partake in the assize-*cum*-meal solemnity. Cf. Zimmern 1901, Pl. LXIII, No. 75 (K 5408+ = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P396014.jpg>): *erênu lišdud* (written *liš-GĪD*)-*ma liqrâ ili rabûti ana dîni dâ[ni]*, “May the (smoke of) the cedarwood drift away and invite the great gods to come and pass judgement;” for the divinatory context see Maul 2013, 45.

69 E.g. the spell transmitted in B: 17–22; C: 1–6; M: v 16–20:

§4

This spell is duplicated in **O**, whose section comprising col. i' 6'–14' runs parallel to **U**: 29–34, breaking off with [*l*]i-tap-pa-la-an-ni; regrettably, the beginnings of the lines that duplicate **U**: 30–34 are lost in this manuscript as well.

¹én.é.nu.ru šummuḥanni min
 šušqānni min ²šamnu šaman
 Nanāya šaman Ea appašiška
³šamnu (var. omits) kīma Sîn liḥdā
 (var.: ḥidā) kīma Šamaš līriša (var.:
 rīša) ⁴kīma Ištar ša šērētu (...)

Enuru incantation: It has made me voluptuous,
 it has made me voluptuous, it has exalted me, it
 has exalted me. “O Oil, Oil of Nanāya, Oil of Ea, I
 have anointed myself with you. O Oil, may he be as
 pleased with me as with Sîn, may he rejoice over
 me like over Šamaš, like over the Venus of dawn
 (var.: Be as pleased ..., rejoice ...)” (...)

A slightly divergent version is preserved in **B**: 7–12:

[¹én: šušq]ānni šušqānni šum-
 muḥanni šumm[uh]anni
²[šama]n bālti šaman pūrē šaman
 Anu u An[tu]³ ³[appašiš]ka ša
 kīma Ištar ša šērēte ⁴ellēta⁷ (...)

It has made me voluptuous, it has made me volup-
 tuous, it has exalted me, it has exalted me. “O Oil
 of pride, Oil of preciousness, Oil of Anu and An[tu]², I
 have anointed myself with you, who are as pure² as
 the Venus of dawn.” (...)

Structurally this pair of spells bears a striking resemblance to the overture of the *Maqlû* incantation ÉN šamnu ellu (Abusch 2015: 7: 29–46), where the oil is dealt with in its capacity of a remedy for soothing sore body parts and is introduced with the epithets “pure” (*ellu*), “clean/r” (*ebbu*), and “bright, shiny” (*namru*). [Unlike its Egalkura parallels, this spell is in its present form not an address to the oil in the vocative; syntactically, *šamnu ellu* (etc., ll. 29–32) is in casus pendens anticipating *šaman tapšuḫti*, which in turn is governed by *uṭaḥḥidka* as a second accusative complement.] The second of the above spells conveys the notion of shininess by bringing the proverbially bright and pure heavens (Anu) into play. In a badly preserved Egalkura spell we read (**R**: 10'–14'): [*šiptu ... pa*]ššāku ... / [...]-*ma šamnu tāb*[u š²]uppuḥa pānātū[¹a] / [*a*]llakakka ... [...] / [*er*]rubakka ... [...] / [*kī*]ma Sîn melammū'a kīma Šamaš sarū[*rī*? ...] “[*Incantation*: ...] I am anointed [with ...] ... / [...] and fine oil is sprinkled² in front [of me]. / [...] I am coming to you ... [...] / [I] am entering before you ... [...] / My splendour is like Sîn's, [m]y sheen² is like Šamaš's.” See also Feder 2014, 109–110 for the relationship between (fine) oil and divine radiance, quoting the Mari prophecy A.1968 (Durand 2000, 83–84, No. 934) through which it is announced to the king that Addu has made him invincible by anointing him with the oil of his divine luminosity; [note that the Mari quote has been interpreted differently by Durand 2000, 84, with references in fn. a]. Impersonating the luminaries by employing ointments can also have the effect of exciting the beholder sexually: *amrannima* (...) *libbaka liwwir kīma Šamšim itanpuḥam k[īm]a Sîn idišam* (...) *rāmka līdiš* [... š]amnim pašāšim, “Look at me! (...) Get in a bright mood. Like the Sun, shine for me time and again; like the Moon, rejuvenate for me. (...) May your love be ever new! [...] to] anoint with oil” (love incantation Wilcke

29. Taking up two lines of text, this line appears in O (ii 6'–7') as a formal distich; from the fact that the second stich opens with the phrase [L]UGAL *a-me-ri* it is plain that É.GAL and LUGAL are on opposite sides of the caesura boundary, precluding the option that these two logograms may alternatively be resolved into the genitive chain *ekal šarri*, “the king’s palace”.

As far as the initial clause is concerned, O has been given preference over U in its omission of the *a-na*, which, though being the *lectio difficilior*, is rejected as an inferior variant that defies comprehension. The Š stative of *kapādu* (*šukpudū*) is open to various interpretations, the more so because neither a direct nor an indirect object is expressed. Since in Egalkura and anti-withcraft literature it is *gefundenes Fressen* for the client’s enemies, be they adversaries in court or envious peers at the office, to plot machinations against him, it seems a plausible thing to argue that the base verb *kapādu* is here used pregnantly, having the negative connotation of “to plot evil, to hatch a plot”.⁷⁰

1985, 198: 24–29). For the association of the concepts of light and love, see KAR 158: vii 45', now in Wasserman 2016, Text 19 and pp. 47–48, § 6.2. See Ermidoro 2015, 253–254 for the concomitance of banqueting and joy.

70 For example, in a compilation of spells and procedures for neutralizing sorceries by a man’s adversary and for a favourable reception by the superiors in his palace, strings of beads are described “for thwarting the schemes (*kipdū*) of his opponent (*bēl-amāti*)” (*SpTU* 2 22+3 85 = Schuster-Brandis 2008, Text 6: 32–37; Abusch and Schwemer 2016, Text 3.4). In real life our client was likely to have been a member of the upper class of citizens or even the ruling class of noblemen, many of whom had to frequent the palace on a professional basis as servants of the crown. There are more spells in the corpus indicating that his rivals and opponents belonged to the group of *ēribūt-ekalli*, “those who access the palace (professionally).” He might have been a courtier himself (*manzaz ekalli*, *ērib ekalli*, *manzaz ērib ekalli*); a few stone lists that arguably reflect Egalkura practices detail which beads compose charms “for a (*manzaz*) *ērib ekalli* not to be confronted with competition and slander” and “for protecting a *manzaz ekalli* and have success” (Schuster-Brandis 2008, Ketten 214–216). The client’s familiarity with the palace populace may also be deduced from texts such as Abusch and Schwemer 2011, Text 8.13, a ritual to withstand the adversary (*bēl-dabābi*), where the standard row of superiors he seeks a favourable reception with—god, king, magistrate, prince—is extended to include lower-ranking palace-dwellers, viz. courtier (*tīru*), attendant (*nanzāzu*), palace gatekeeper (*bāb-ekalli*). The functionary paramount over all the rest in taking resort to Egalkura and related magic would have been none other than the conjurer (*āšipu*, *mašmaššu*), applying a selection of these rituals on himself whenever he had got to meet the authorities or visit his palatial employer; cf. Schwemer 2013, 224, hypothesizing that the frequently observed alternation of third and second person references within the instructive and prognostic parts of the ritual sections may well be an indication that in this branch of magic client and practitioner often coincide. For all we know, these state-employed patricians would not

The Š-stem can be analysed as either having a causative function: “to incite (someone) to plot/conspire”, or being a denominal Š-stem derived from the noun *kīpdū*, “plans, intrigues”, with meaning: “to make plans, to plot machinations, to conspire”.⁷¹ If the former applies, the stative *šukpudū* must be assumed to have passive meaning: “they have been incited to plot;” if the latter, it must be an active stative whose direct object is implied and which is therefore virtually intransitive: “they have hatched a plot, they have a plot in mind, they are up to something.”⁷² The pattern of the sentence as a whole is that of a clause with stative coming first describing the circumstance in which the event of the clause coming next takes place. Although in this type of parataxis the subject of the circumstantial clause and that of the main clause usually coincide, the first clause generally referring to the state of the subject at the time of performing the action which the second clause reports, it occasionally happens that the two clauses have different subjects.⁷³ It is highly exceptional, however, for the main clause to have its verb in a volitive mood when its subject is different from that of the circumstantial clause; just a single instance is on record in Rowton’s thesaurus.⁷⁴ Circumstantial statives are often best rendered with a concessive clause, and so can the present one: “Though the dignitaries in the palace have hatched a plot, may the king who sees me rejoice over me.” On the supposition that the client chanting the spell is the target of the scheming officials, the purpose of the incantation is obviously to make the ruler remain impervious

shrink from going to court accusing or suing one another. Moreover, they would have been eager to resort to Egalkura tricks not only in order to win a case before judicial authorities, but also whenever they were summoned to their individual palaces to account for their deeds or to defend themselves against allegations by their colleagues or superiors and the yet worse intangibles of gossip and slander. In their world prone to envy and competition Egalkura and related sorceries would definitely have had a seminal *Sitz im Leben*.

- 71 Kouwenberg 2010, 332, sub 13.2.2.4: “The denominal function of the Š-stem”; the closest parallel to our case is the example “*šupšuqu*, ‘to get into trouble’, from *pušqu*, ‘trouble’”.
- 72 The absolute use of the verb in the G-stem is labeled “elliptic” in CAD K 173 s.v. *kapādu* 1c. For the stative tense often having active voice and transitive meaning see Kouwenberg 2010, 170–174, esp. 172, fn. 36. Examples of semantically comparable statives: Rowton 1962, Nos. 102–111 with p. 259 (to be re-assessed linguistically in the light of Kouwenberg 2010, 170, fn. 32).
- 73 On this paratactical pattern generally see GAG, §159.a*. A wide choice of occurrences is given by Rowton 1962, 271–278; instances of different subjects, where the subject of the circumstantial stative is not resumed pronominally in the main clause: Nos. 309–310, 312, 319, 338, 350, 359. Note that for the text corpus of Old Babylonian letters Kraus 1987, 44 (§ 40, second “Bemerkung”) posits identity of subjects as a syntactical rule.
- 74 Example 320 (*Enūma eliš* 1: 46).

to whatever gossip and slander the palatial ambient is spreading to discredit the client with his lord and patron and, instead of dismissing him or worse, show himself a model of benignancy by having everyone and everything in the palace hail the visitor with an accomodating welcome.⁷⁵

30. In *O lišallimū'inni* is replaced with *li-šá-qí-ru-nin-ni* = *lišāqirūninni*, “may they render me honour,” which from a literary viewpoint should be chosen as the lectio potior since it avoids U's less stylish repetition in l. 34.

30–32. For the image of inanimate parts of the palace joining in the welcoming compare: “Anointed with *kanaktu*-oil I am about to enter the palace. (...) Look at me, prince, be pleased with me; palace courtier, do not get satiated with my charm. Door and bolt, be glad at my appearance. May he/they from my entrance till my exit be attentive to what I have to say.”⁷⁶ A similar motif recurs in hymnic contexts, when at the inauguration of a temple its god upon entering his new abode is saluted with greetings such as: “When you, Šamaš, enter the Ebabbar temple, let the gates and pass-ways, the chapels and platforms be glad at your appearance and rejoice over you with the joy of Ayyaru.”⁷⁷

75 Accordingly, this spell quite possibly serves the purpose of neutralizing the dire effects of such rituals as are invented for the special purpose of causing someone to fall into disgrace with the palace and the crown, and which the client's rivals may arguably be suspected to have mobilized against him. The *Exorcist's Almanac* mentions procedures, in fact stratagems of an unadulteratedly sorcerous nature, “for shutting out a man whom the king loves” (*amēla narām šarri ana parāsi*, Geller 2014, 31: 35), “for removing a man from his position” (*ana amēli ina manzāzīšu nasāhi*, Geller 2014, 31: 42 // 48: 19), “for removing a man from his office” (*ana amēli ina qīptīšu nasāhi*, Geller 2014, 31: 43 // 48: 24), “for removing a nobleman from the palace” (*kabta ina ekalli ana nasāhi*, Geller 2014, 31: 35 // 49: 29). Schwemer (2007, 160–161) puts them in the category of “aggressiv stilisierte Beschwörungsrituale gegen Feinde”. Insofar as it aims at counteracting these and similar sorceries, the present incantation may be put on the same line with the rituals “for the king to mention his name in the palace favourably” (*ana šarru ina ekalli šumšu ana damiqtī zakāri*), “for the prince to mention his name in the palace favourably” (*ana rubū ina ekalli šumšu ana damiqtī zakāri*), and in particular “for a nobleman and prince not to attach credence to slander” (*ana kabtu u rubū karšē lā maḥāri*).

76 *paššāk saman kanakti errub ana ekalli (...) | amurannima rubū ḥidā | manzazi ekalli lā tašebbima lalāya | daltu u sikkūru ana pānīya lū ḥadātunu | adi errubu* (tablet: *i-ir-ru-bu*) *u uššā' ana epīš pīya lū puqqa/ā*, J: 1, 4–7; for a full transliteration of the spell see Stadhouders 2013, 316, Text 11.

77 *Šamaš (...) ana Ebabbar (... | ...) ina erēbika bābānu nērebānu pappahū u dīānu | liḥdū pānukka kīma ayyari lirīšūku*; Schaudig 2001, 393: 2.9: ii 15–17 (= VAB 4 258: ii 15–17). Possibly, the invitation implies that Šamaš is going to consummate the sacred marriage solemnity: Stadhouders 2013, 312; cf. Wasserman 2016, Text 7: 6–7: *erēbukka sikkūrū lirīšūkumma | daltum ramānīšima lippita[kkum]ma*, “(Come in, shepherd, [my] lover...) When you

34. The mention of the ovine couple could reasonably be supposed to allude to an audience gift presented by the client to gain the authorities' attention and sympathy,⁷⁸ were it not for the second half of this line which is apparently couched in the vernacular of cledonomanancy, whence it would seem a more apposite thing to surmise that the first half is likewise to be explained from the framework of that marginal soothsaying art.⁷⁹ Since it is domestic animals that along with humans populate the "soundscape" of a city and its surroundings, several species of these are found registered as a source for producing the fortuitous sounds, cries and noises that make up the omens this niche of divination is concerned with.⁸⁰ Consequently, "ram and ewe" plausibly feature here in the role of transmitters of acoustically encoded messages that upon decoding should reveal well-being and success for the client.⁸¹ The details of what is going about in this line of text are hard to pinpoint, though;

enter, let the doorbolts rejoice over you, let the door open for [you] by itself," with commentary p. 113.

- 78 Known by various names: *kadrû*, *qīštu*, *šulmānu* (*CAD* Š/3 246 s.v. *šulmānu* 3), *ta'tu* and still other.
- 79 Oppenheim 1954–1956, 54–55. Everything known today about cledonomanancy in ancient Mesopotamia has comprehensively been amassed and re-assessed in a lucid way by Rendu Loisel 2010, 452–501; the same subject is summarily dealt with in Rendu Loisel 2016a, 43–49. See also Rendu Loisel 2016b, 299–309, which includes an updated edition of the cledonomantic core text *Šumma ālu*, Tablet 95 (basically *CT* 39, Pl. 41–42). For the location of cledonomanancy within the wholesale framework of Mesopotamian divination see Koch 2017, 254, 308 with fn. 831.
- 80 Animal-*egerrûs*: *Šumma ālu* 95: 26–33; to be produced by birds in answer to an oracular query: Koch 2017, 142. The "Yes"– and "No"– *egerrûs*'s listed in ll. 3–14 may reflect human voices. For the "soundscape" (term coined by Rendu Loisel) of this divinatory technique being situated in urban environments, see Rendu Loisel 2016b, 302b: "The practice of this type of divination implies an open space, where voices can be heard from the street, or from any other public meeting place."
- 81 It may be no coincidence that in the section of the *Exorcist's Manual* which deals with oracular decisions (rev. 2; edition Jean 2006, 68) the technique of cledonomanancy comes immediately after omens from animals: "Oracular decisions (*purussû*) derived from stars, birds, cattle and flocks, *egerrû*-sounds, stones (i.e., psephomanancy), flour (i.e., aleuromancy), (in sum) every kind of divine admonition (NA.RI DINGIR DÛ.A.BI)." Jean, following other scholars, analyzes the logograms NA₄ ... DÛ.A.BI differently. For the proposed rendering of NA.RI as "admonition, counsel" to be valid, it needs to be demonstrated first that the compiler of the *Manual* could still have been familiar with this Sumerian composite. A search for corroboration ultimately led HS to the bilingual K 4809+K 4925: rev. 3'–6', where Sumerian *na.ri/de₃.ga.mu* is translated as *aširtî*, "my admonition"; see also Borger 1973, 48–49 (reference courtesy E. Jiménez).

quite possibly the client is depicted as he is going to receive propitious sounds on his way to the palace along the streets and alleys, first upon encountering a couple of ovines whose bleating bodes well, next upon hearing people's voices, part of whose utterances are then perceived as prophecies spelling his good repute.⁸²

Given the circumstance that what scanty evidence of cledonomanancy is extant in cuneiform shows it to have primarily functioned as a means to find out whether a man's petition to his god had or had not been granted,⁸³ there may be some substance in hypothesizing as an alternative that "ram and ewe" allude to a sacrifice to the gods made on behalf of the client, and that the favourable

82 It is then to be assumed that the term *egerrû* is not employed in the technical sense of an oracular utterance that the client is keen to detect in the street noise around or even seeks to provoke; Rendu Loisel 2016b, 304b: "But the term also designates the welcoming word at the entrance of a temple, and when heard in the street, without any precision regarding its origin, the *egirru* can be associated with the idea of reputation," with elucidation following (304b–305). Uncertainty as to whether the term should be supposed to mean "chance oracular utterance" or rather "repute" also exists in a case like *SpTU* 2 22+3 85: i 40, where at the beginning of the prognostic section of a ritual that, among other objectives, should make the client's palace as well as his gods agreeable to his desires it is stated: *egerrûšu iššer*, to be rendered either "the *e*-omen for him will be propitious (or: will come immediately)" or "he will become well-reputed;" the former gains credibility if it is supposed that this prognosis is meant to mirror the diagnosis as given in ll. 27–28: *itti bārî u šā'îlî dīnšu u purussûšu lâ iššer*, "when consulting diviner and soothsayer the oracle fails to produce a judgement or decision on his case."

83 *Šumma ālu* 95; the circumstances described in the protases of the first two omens—an *egerrû* answering (*apālu*) a man in response to his praying (*karābu*, *šukēnu*) to a deity—are believed to be tacitly understood in all of the subsequent omens: Oppenheim 1954–1956, 54 (last paragraph); Rendu Loisel 2016b, 301b: "... this *egirru* sign (i.e., the type *Šumma ālu* 95 deals with, HS) is ritually defined by the context of the prayer," 303b: "... the *egirru* is a ritually-defined sound, and comes from a public or open space, following a question formulated in the private sphere;" Rendu Loisel 2010, 470–471: "Le cadre de la prière individuelle." The mere use of the verb *apālu* points to the reactive character of the oracular type of *egerrû* to begin with; cf. Rendu Loisel 2016b, 296, fn. 48. See also *CT* 40, Pl. 9, Sm 772: 25 (Rendu Loisel 2010, 463): *šumma šarru* (BARA₂) *ana ilî ikarrabma egerrû ar[hiš itanap-palšu ...]* A.RA.ZU-šû [...]. There are indications that the favourable *egerrû* seems to have the "evil tongue" for its counterpart, not only insofar as the latter can represent slanderous speech with the force of witchcraft, but even more so in the cultic convention of casting spells: the set formula concluding so many a spell "Let the evil tongue step aside!" should neutralize the effects of those chance utterances, which are believed to interfere with the incantation negatively, they being perceived as bad omens portending failure of the ritual performance and indifference on the part of the gods; cf. Koch 2017, 308.

utterance (*egerrû tābu*) he hopes to pick up from the palatial phonosphere should be understood as the auspicious response telling him that his offering has been accepted.⁸⁴ On the other hand, the immediate context holds no clue, not even dimly, as to how an offering scene might feasibly fit into the narration of this section as a whole.⁸⁵

84 Cf. *SBH* 44: obv. 29–33 (Rendu Loisel 2016b, 303, following Wilcke's edition; see Rendu Loisel 2010, 473, fn. 1861): an incompletely preserved episode of the Balag composition **Enem.ani ilu ilu** (!, as established by J. Peterson 2013, corroborating Wilcke's inkling to that effect) that seems to allude to an offering to the dead in order to elicit an *egerrû*-answer (from the ghost of Dumuzi?) through the mediation of the necromancer (*ensi*, *šā'ilu*): "You being a young girl, Inanna, and not (yet?) a woman (... Akk. unclear), go to (Sum. here and in the following lines: "you who belong to/in") the house of the soothsayer. Fill (Akk.: *mul-li-ti*) a basket with barley and (go to) the house (of the soothsayer). Take along (Akk. + *ník-si* [so Wilcke¹] = *niksī*: cuts of meat as) food for the ghost (Sum.: [*ninda g*] *idim'.ma*) and (go to) the house (of the soothsayer). Not being a woman (yet?), go out of the door (Sum.: *ka.ba'* = *ká.ba*, Oberhuber 1990, 249) for an *egerrû* and (go to) the house (of the soothsayer [to have it explained?])." One might even go the length of taking the hypothetical sacrifice as an echo of the banquet scene of the foregoing incantation, to which the gods were invited as guests. However, the duplicate (O) has a completely different spell preceding the one before us; what's more, we should bear in mind that Egalkura spells and rituals were at no point concatenated in a fixed order nor did their argil vehicles ever become serialized wholesale so as to reflect a chain of consecutive acts and episodes that together make up a single comprehensive ceremony.

85 The ritual involves nothing of the sort to begin with. What's more, animal sacrifice as an act of worship by private individuals is a rare phenomenon anyhow. It is preponderately at home in Namburbû and expiatory rituals, where specific cuts of meat are selected for the divine dish, so essentially as an act of providing the gods with a worthy meal (Lambert 1993, 191–194) and/or for a burnt offering ("holocaust", yet be mindful of Lambert 1993, 194, "burning"; also 191 for the inadequacy of the term sacrifice to describe Mesopotamian animal offerings). Surveys of the dispersed references to the rite have been presented by Maul 1994, 54–59, Scurlock 2002b, 395–397 and Scurlock 2006, 40–41, 241, 246–249, 260–262. The occasional offering of a cut of meat to the spirits of one's ancestors (Scurlock 2002b, 403) as well as the presentation of a piglet or kid to infernal deities to placate them with a substitute for the sick man (Scurlock 2002a, 384–386; Schramm 2008, *Beschwörungen* Nos. 3–4) fall outside the scope of sacrificial worship. Should any sort of sacrifice be involved nevertheless, we may arguably bring extispicy to bear upon the matter—which practically is two sides of the same coin with ritual butchery (Leichty 1993, 238–239, 241–242)—, since the divinatory animal is commonly said to be sacrificed for the well-being (*šulmu*) of the client and the standard phrase for reporting a favourable outcome of the inspection of the entrails and of the animal's overall appearance and behaviour prior to and during slaughter is *šalmat* (Leichty 1993, 239–240). The precative *lišallimū'inni* might then reflect the client's wish for "good sacrificial signs" and may quite well represent a dif-

38. If a mineral name is indeed to be presumed here, the traces preclude that the signs should be restored as ¹na⁴as-*har*¹, which, in preparing unguents for the Egalkura client, is by far the most frequently prescribed ingredient.

§5

This incantation can be reconstructed from three other sources: A: 1–13; D: obv. 12–rev. 2; M: iv 15–23. Because so little of it has actually been preserved in our Istanbul tablet, its text is given here in bound transcription and translation only and nowhere illuminated by any commentary. For the Egalkura topos of foes turning into friends and adversaries into allies as they get mesmerized by the client's powerful charms, see Stadhouders 2013, 307, 310.

¹našūinni ana dīni šupšuqi

²dabābī rapaš (var.: *lemun*)

³ana rikī ša bāb ekallim ⁴ana
puḥur ša ummānī

⁵Ninkarrak šubbiti mīrānīki

⁶ina pī kalbiki dannūti idī

^{1–4}They haul me up for an agonizing trial, the guilds
of the palace district and the council of experts are
buzzing with accusations against me (var.: are upset
at my speech).

^{5–6}"Ninkarrak, keep your puppies on the leash, put a
muzzle on your mastiffs!" ^{7–8}"Be silent, tall one, do

ferent mode of divination than the *egerrū*-phenomenon mentioned next. That any type of offering, whatever its purpose, had got inextricably entangled with divination is implied in an often quoted prayer to Šamaš, when it states (Lambert 1993, 198): "The diviner brings you cedar (shavings/resin for thurifying), the widow flour, the poor woman oil, the rich man from his wealth provides a lamb;" the offerings correlate with libanomancy, aleuromancy, lecanomancy and extispicy respectively (Scurlock 2002b, 396, fn. 25). Against this line of thought it could be objected that, whereas UDU.NITA₂ = *immeru* is not uncommon in extispicy texts, U₈ = *lahru* is; it cannot be totally ruled out, however, that the signs should here and in l. 24 be considered to idiosyncratically represent a composite logogram UDU.NITA₂.U₈ for "sheep" collectively, to be read *immerū*. Lastly, it seems in place to draw attention to a hardly less obscure *Maqlū* passage that might constitute a partial parallel to the line under discussion, Abusch 2015: 1: 67–70: *lizziz ḥarrānu mārat ilī rabūti | adi āmat kaššāpīya u kaššāptīya aqabbū | alpu ipaššar immeru ipaššar | amāssunu lippaširma amātī lā ipaššar*, "May the Caravan/Army, the daughter of the great gods (= the Milky Way?), be witness while I bring forward my accusation against my warlock and witch. The ox shall annul (*ipaššar*), the ram shall annul; may their (i.e., the witches') testimony be annulled, but may my testimony not be annulled." In an annotation the editor comments: "I understand the ox and sheep here as offerings to the (divine) judge" (Abusch 2015, 286, fn. 20). Yet, neither the rest of the spell nor the corresponding instruction in the ritual tablet provide a clue as to how to contextualize the mention of the two animals. Since the beneficiary of the offering is assumed to be divine judges, accepting the hypothesis would surprisingly imply that in this particular case the animals do dual duty as a sacrifice to the god on the one hand and an audience gift to the magistrate on the other.

ḥargullu ⁷*arku sukut kurû lā*
tadabbub ⁸*mimma lā tappala*
ina dabābīya

⁹*anāku ašhar našāku ašhar*
paššāku ¹⁰*lišeshīr* (var.: *lis-*
saḥra) *bēl dabābīya līpula*
kūmū'a

not speak, short one; do not argue against anything while I am pleading!"

^{9–10}I on my part am wearing ašhar, I am rubbed with ašhar, in order that it shall cause my adversary to make a volte-face (var.: that my adversary shall make a volte-face), such that he will assume my defence.

¹¹*ka'inim.ma uzzi nuḥḥi*
¹²*dū.dū.bi ina muḥḥi ašhar*
šipta šalāšīšu tamann[u] ¹³*ina*
kišādīšu tašakkan ina šamni
tapaššašma išallim

*Text of a spell for appeasing anger.*⁸⁶ *Its use in ritual:* you recite the spell three times over ašhar, put it around his neck (in a talisman), anoint him with (it in) oil, then he will get through unharmed.

Reverse

§7

This section has hitherto been known from C only, where it occupies ll. 8–19 of the reverse. Apart from U, another unpublished duplicate has survived fairly complete in M: iii 1'–12', though most of the signs are mutilated to the point of being beyond decipherment for about half the text. The spell and its ritual were studied in a thoroughgoing way by Scurlock (1989–1990), with whose edition and interpretation the results presented here do not fully agree; rather than highlight the differences, however, we leave it to the reader to find out where our respective versions deviate from each other.

The Šudu'a (šu-du_g.a) type of magic, for the details of whose content and procedure up to Hellenistic times the incantation ritual under scrutiny is still the main source, has most probably got its name from a back-translation of Akkadian *qāta/ritta paṭāru/šupṭuru*, "to (cause to) loosen the grasp, to unclench the fist."⁸⁷ Its close affinity to Egalkura has been pointed out more than once and the new sources M and U do only reaffirm the interrelationship in that they are rubricated tablets that have the Šudu'a section embedded in a collection of spells explicitly labelled Egalkura. The frequently observed co-occurrence of the two genres, not only on the same tablet but also in external references, often in tandem with "quenching arousal/anger" magic (šur-ḥun.gá; *uzza nuḥḥu*) and, one should add, several types of love and hate magic and for

86 The rubric is no doubt meant to mark the spell as a specimen of the šur-ḥun.gá subtype of Egalkura incantations.

87 In the explanatory appendix to the *Exorcist's Almanac* šu-du_g.a.kam is translated as *paṭāri ša qāti* (BRM 4 19: 56; Geller 2014, 32, entry 49).

manipulating the course of law, is to be explained from their common *Anliegen*, which is to manipulate those who treat the client with indifference, repudiation or outright enmity into doing what he wants them to, by obtaining their favour and compliance, having them make an about-turn or, if need be, gaining dominance over them. It is the sort of self-centred magic, or indeed sorcery, which would make believe that “you can always get what you want.”⁸⁸

The very fact that Šudu’a is found to be closely bound up with Egalkura holds a clue as to whose grasp it is that its practitioner desires to have relaxed. Since the prime addressee of Egalkura is authorities set over the client, it would appear natural to assume that the grasp to be unclenched is theirs in the first place. Two texts may be quoted now to circumstantiate the assumption, both of which use the Akkadian phrase supposed to underlie the “Sumerian” *šu-du₈.a* with reference to those in power turning friendly and agreeable toward the client. The first quote is from a well-known ritual for the purpose of, among other things, finding favour with one’s superiors and achieving one’s every wish.⁸⁹ The crucial passage reads:

88 Scurlock 1989–1990, 109b–110a, 111b–112; Stadhouders 2013, 310–311; Schwemer 2007, 128, 159–161. It is worth mentioning that in April 2014 HS identified a duplicate to Sm 1379 (a mere sherd discussed by Schwemer 2017, 160 with fn. 10; line drawing p. 159) in the lower right of the reverse (= col. iv–v) of the big fragment BM 38441+, a Neo-/Late Babylonian three-column tablet with behavioural omens. Some hundred omens have been preserved completely (middle columns) and about a hundred and fifty partially (outer columns). E. Schmidtchen (BabMed, Berlin), who has identified more duplicates, published (CTN 4 79; *STT* 324) as well as unpublished, sees good reasons to suspect that these fragments represent the text of *Nigdimdimmu*, Tablet 1; he is planning an edition of the composition. For the co-occurrence of these and still other types of “grey” magic in the *Exorcist’s Almanac*, see now Geller 2014, 28–36 (*BRM* 4 20); the relevant entries can be listed as follows: 1 & 46–47 = for the judiciary to change their minds, 2 & 48 = *di-ba.la* “reversing a court decision”, 3 & 49 = *šu-du₈.a.kam*, 5–9 = *ki.ág.gá* “love magic”, 10 & 51 = *igi-nigin.na* “bringing about a volte-face”, 11 & 52 = *‘id u pú kù.ga* “being cleared by ordeal”, 12 = *é.gal.ku₄.ra*, 13 = *šúr-ḥun.gá*, 14–16 = finding favour with the authorities and one’s peers, 32 & 50 = bringing a woman in the mood for love, 34–35 & 61 = for one’s superiors to become immune to slander, 38 = *ša.zi.ga* “improving male sex performance”, 39 = “for the king to accommodate a citizen’s wish”, and the corresponding lines of *BRM* 4 19 (pp. 40–41) and of *STT* 300 (pp. 47–57, notably ll. 1, 4, 7, 9–14, 16, 21, 23, 25, 27, 30–32); see also fn. 59–60.

89 *BAM* 318: iv 13–18, edited along with its parallels as Text C by Livingstone 2000; the Istanbul tablet A 522 (*BAM* 318) has been comprehensively edited afresh by Schwemer 2013, whose edition includes the tablet portions left out by Köcher.

[šina sum]māti zikar u sinniš maḥar
 Šamaš tadānšīnāte / [il]u šarru
 kabtu u rubû ēma iqabbû kalīš
 magir / [Šam]aš dayyān šamê u
 eršetī attāma / [ritt]u dannatu ša ili
 u ištari / [šarri kabt]i u rubê šuptira
 / [zikara ana] šīt šamši sinništa ana
 ereb šamši tumaššar

You start a lawsuit against [two do]ves, a male
 and a female, before Šamaš. [Go]d, king, mag-
 nate, and prince will fully grant whatever he
 requests. “[O Šam]aš, as you are the judge of
 heaven and earth, have the mighty [fi]st of god
 and goddess, [of king, magn]ate, and prince
 unclenched for me!” You release [the male to]
 the east, the female to the west.

The second quotation is from a prayer to the Supreme Goddess in her nocturnal manifestation as the Margidda constellation:⁹⁰

šiptu: Margidda (...) / ummi ilī
 kalāma / kišir libbi Enlil tapaṭṭarī
 attā (...) / enšam tušamšê mala
 dannim (...) / inanna annanna
 mār annanna aradka alsika bēltī
 / aššu annanna mār annanna
 iziranni šumuššāku ittīšu / imšān-
 nima lā uba”ānni / ibukannima lā
 isaḥḥuranni / izirannima lā irā-
 manni yāti / terri kišāssu suḥḥurī
 pānīšu / idnī milikšu ana ardika
 yāti / šubšī amāt damiqtīya ina lib-
 bišu / šuptirī (DU₈) qāssu ina pišu
 šuškinīni kittu (...)

Incantation: O Margidda (...), mother of all the
 gods. You dispel Enlil's wrath. (...) You make the
 weak able to achieve as much as the strong. (...) I
 NN son of NN, your servant, hereby invoke
 you, my Mistress: Because NN has scoffed at
 me (*ezēru*), having a low opinion of me (Š
wiāšu/māšu) / has forgotten about me, not
 looking for me (any longer) / has repelled me
 avoiding my company, / hates me and does not
 love me—/ make him turn back and perform a
 volte-face (or: take notice of me again), / make
 him set his mind to me, your servant, / inspire
 him with thoughts of favour toward me, / make
 him unclench his hand and have him say to me
 “all right!”

ka'inim.ma šu-íl.la dingir-
 šà.dib.ba šu-du₈.a.kam / šà.zi.ga
 u é.gal.ku₄.ra.kam

Text of a Šu'illa-prayer for use in dingir-
 šà.dib.ba, šu-du₈.a, šà.zi.ga, and é.gal.ku₄.ra
 rituals.

As is plain from the parallelism in these citations between the expression “unclenching the hand (or: relaxing the grasp)” on the one hand and the phrases “granting whatever he requests” and “saying ‘all right!’” on the other,

90 SpTU 4 129: ii¹(Schuster-Brandis) 21', 26'–27', 30', 32'–40', 46'–47'; Schuster-Brandis 2008, Text 11; the Šu'illa prayer, dubbed Erequu 2, is discussed by Frechette 2012, 215–216, with a focus on how to contextualize the rubrics.

the former is meant as a metaphor for the authorities abandoning their unwillingness and refusal, thereby paving the way for the client to obtain their compliance and eager permission.⁹¹ Apparently then, it is core business for Šudu'a magic, in alliance with Egalkura, to make this happen, for in the second quote the phrase *šupṭirī qāssu* (DU₈ ŠU-su) is arguably meant to mirror the *šu-du₈.a* of the rubric. In the client's pursuit of equal power with, as alluded to with the words *enšam ... dannim*, or even dominance over those he seeks to win over, an element of insubordination may be suspected to creep in.

Significantly, in a Šudu'a specimen from Hellenistic Uruk a hand-shaped talisman that the client is instructed to have manufactured and wear on his body is described as "Anzû's sated and ample claw" (*ritti Anzî šebīti u taḥutti*).⁹² The eagle-shaped demi-god was renowned for once having stolen the charter of the universe from his master Enlil, world ruler in office, whom he used to attend as his butler. This act of rebellion entailed a reversal of roles, the servant having invested himself with the office of exerting universal hegemony up till then his master's prerogative, the latter being left powerless and ousted from kingship once dispossessed of his physical regalia. Equipped with the mythic talon that had proved itself the road to omnipotence the client cannot but succeed in "getting his every wish granted".⁹³ All this makes us better understand why the amulet which the Šudu'a spell and ritual are about is called, of all names, *dannatu rittu* "mighty hand", mirroring the name of its target: for the magic device to successfully perform the trick of unclenching its counterpart in the real world, it needs to equal it in strength at the very least. The fact that Anzû was generally considered an inglorious character, whose body and soul myth has end up correspondingly, is just one out of a great many more indications of the morally ambiguous stance germane to this and similar types of interhuman magic. Dubbed "grey magic", these practices undeniably show a tendency to slide into tabooed sorcery as they may involve doing harm to fellow humans and the violation of civic codes. Whether they do or do not deserve to be branded illicit for their often propagating an aggressive mode of operation,

91 Cf. Frechette 2012, 215: "D. Schwemer suggests translating it (viz. ŠU.DU₈.A) 'loosening the (closed) hand' or 'loosening the grip,' and explains that the hand here is that of one's superior or enemy, which is closed as a gesture of rejection or refusal, perhaps also of anger. Thus, three of these rubrics are intended to smooth relationships with personal gods, individuals at court, and superiors and enemies."

92 W: 10–20; the phrase quoted occurs in ll. 4 and 8.

93 The ritual gives the instruction (W: 19–20): *ana muḥḥi ritti anzî šipta annita sebīšu tamanuma ina qātika tašabbatma mimma terrešu inamdinūka*, "You cast the spell seven times over an Anzû-claw and hold it in your hand, then they will give you whatever you ask for."

is at bottom a matter of perspective. The person targeted by the client practising these “grey” arts would in all likelihood have felt himself a victim of noxious sorcery and forbidden witchcraft. Now, this person would normally have been none other than the client’s *bēl-dabābi*, his opponent competing with him in public and professional affairs and litigating with him in court; in Egalkura he features prominently as the prime adversary to confront. Since the warlock with his illicit sorcery is typically embodied in one’s *bēl-dabābi*, the aggressive methods which the client of Egalkura and like practices employs in countering his adversary’s stratagems may in large measure be understood as anti-witchcraft proceedings.⁹⁴ The Egalkura client would certainly have felt that it is fully legitimate for a man to use harmful magic against others when those people may reasonably be suspected of having practised witchcraft against him in the first place, thus retaliating an evil act upon its perpetrators in full compliance with common law.⁹⁵

The wrongdoings of witch and warlock are multifarious; yet, a major threat radiates from their capacity to kindle discord among kin and enmity between peers and friends, and to alienate a man from his parent gods and have him dismissed by authorities.⁹⁶ A number of Egalkura spells do in fact sketch such dire scenarios of disrupted relationships and leave little doubt that it is the client’s

94 Schwemer 2007, 72, 83–84, 127, 132 with fn. 307.

95 Schwemer 2007, 208–212, esp. the lengthy quotation p. 211; *Maqlû* abounds in passages that bear out the theme of retaliating evil magic on its practitioners by performing a type of anti-witchcraft that in every step of its procedure is an exact copy of the witchcraft to be eliminated, for instance Abusch 2015: 3: 61–76 (cf. Schwemer 2007, 113–114); the very same verb is used for performing witchcraft and countering it, viz. *epēšu*, “to ensorcell”; 5: 57–74: various forms of sorcery are returned one by one by the victim to the initiators, thus punishing them for their capital crimes with the death penalty. The type of sorcery formally called *kadabbedû*, “seizing the mouth”, often alluded to with the expressions *šibit pî* and *pâ šabātu*, is an essentially malific and therefore illicit practice that a litigant would utilize to impair his opponent’s faculty of speech so as to prevent him from arguing his case in any effective way; it is nonetheless fully legitimate for the latter, once having realized he must have fallen victim to this evil witchcraft, to strike back by performing a ritual “so that a man have his adversary (*bēl-dabābi*) contract *kadabbedû* and prevail over him in litigating against him” (*SpTU* 2 22+3 85: iv 11–12; = Schuster-Brandis 2008, Text 6; Abusch and Schwemer 2016, Text 3.4). Cf. Schwemer 2007, 163: “Das Bild des Tuns von Hexer und Hexe ist weitgehend das Spiegelbild ihrer Bekämpfung, der Unterschied zwischen Abwehr und Angriff kann zu einer Frage der Perspektive werden;” it be noted that anti-witchcraft procedures, however closely they may resemble the evil arts they should undo, are never referred to as *kišpû* (see Schwemer 2007, 159).

96 For instance in *Maqlû*, Abusch 2015: 3: 112–113; 4: 68–73.

adversary who is to be held culpable for having sown the seeds of dissension.⁹⁷ It is this anti-social intent that makes witch and warlock villains to the core and a source of evil possibly worse than any other; to pay them back in the same coin would therefore seem a just thing to do.

Being subsidiary to Egalkura at large, the Šudu'a ritual under discussion may naturally be assumed to likewise have the client's adversaries for its target alongside judge, boss and governor, in particular when their conduct has roused suspicion of attempts to ensorcell him. If and in so far as this applies, the "firm grasp" that needs to be unclenched by an equally strong hand figurine cannot but evoke the *rittu dannatu* as used in some *Maqlû* spells to designate the clutches of warlock and witch their ensorcelled victim has got into.⁹⁸

5'. *urnetu* is here assumed to be a variant of *urnatu*, which in *Maliku* = *šarru* 1: 35 (Hršša 2010, 32–33) is subsumed, along with another sixteen rare "synonyms", such as *dandannu* (34), *paglu* (37), *rašbu* (42) and *kaškaššu* (47), under the overarching explanans *dannu*, "strong". Being the opening phrase of an *Enuru* type of incantation, the lexeme might have been employed to suggest foreign origin, although a statement to that effect is lacking from the list just quoted.

The choice for lead is obviously to be explained from this metal's high specific gravity, as this property is likely to call forth the heaviness and pressure embodied in the *rittu dannatu*, both as a concept and as a figurine. At the same time, it is hard to resist the suspicion that a pun is intended on the homonym *abāru*¹¹, "clamp, clasp; grip; strength"; a poignant detail: the Sumerian equivalent of *abāru*¹¹, *lirum*, is written with the composite logogram ŠU.KAL, which combines the notions of "hand" (ŠU) and "strong" (KAL = *dannu*).

7'–8'. Across all three manuscripts the 3rd fem. sing. verbs have the prefix form *ta/te-*, which probably represents an intrusion from Assyrian (and/or Aramaic).

7'–9'. It has been decided to restore *-[ši]* rather than *-[ša]* (consistently there in C) on the evidence of the additional words M inserts between ll. 6' and 7',

97 E.g., in two spells to be spoken over a lump of salt so that disturbed relationships be restored it is said: [*ina bi*]rīt *alḫī ṭābūti zuqqupā patrū* | *ina birīt amēli salmūti šaknat nukurtu*, "[be]tween brothers who were friends, swords have been pointed upward; between gentlemen who were partners, enmity has come about" (F: 1–7 // L: 1–11 // N: 20–25); and: *ina birīt ibrē ṭābūtu mannu amāta iqbi* | *ina birīt šarrē mitgurūtu mannu iškun nukurātu*, "between close comrades, who has begun proceedings?; between kings coexisting peacefully, who has caused hostilities?" (J: 44–50).

98 In *Maqlû*, Abusch 2015: 3: 154–156: *šiptu: rittumma rittu* | *rittu dannatu ša amēlūti* | *ša kīma nēši iṣbatu amēlu*, "Incantation: Hand, hand, strong hand of humankind, which, like a lion, has seized the man."

which also make a strong case for *rittu* as the referent of all of the suffixed pronouns. The insertion reads: (*ša*) *taqabbiu išemmûši*, “what she asks they grant her (lit.: they listen to for her);” the composite suffix *-nišša* attached to the verbs in C should be considered an idiosyncratic writing for *-nišši*, to be parsed as ventive *-nim* + dative suffix 3rd fem. sing. *-ši(m)*, which is also in line with the suffix forms in l. 6'.⁹⁹

9'. The trick is of course that by casting the spell on it the charm gets imbued with a coercive power, such that those targeted will be beguiled into counting possessions worthless that are actually quite precious, thus opening the door for the client to cajole these out of them by ruse.

12'. Whereas M differs from U only orthographically by reading *lib-bu-ka la i-gab-bab*, E has a slightly different wording: *lib-ba la i-kab-ba-ab-ka*. The “scorching” of a person’s *libbu* is tentatively postulated to be an idiom for mental pain, describing an upset or irritated state of mind. More precisely it might express feelings of remorse, regret or some other notion of distress; as it happens, in Dutch, to do something “with pain in the heart” means doing it reluctantly. The epistolary enunciation *libbī mādiš ḥamiṭ* could be adduced for comparison;¹⁰⁰ it has been rendered “my heart is restless” (i.e., worried or impatient), deriving the stative *ḥamiṭ* from *ḥamātu*¹¹, “to move quickly”, on the supposition that *ḥamiṭ* is anomalous for *ḥamuṭ*, in contravention to the morphological rule which prescribes /u/ as theme-vowel for stative *ḥamātu*¹¹ and /i/ for stative *ḥamātu*¹¹, “to burn”. If the latter verb is supposed to underlie the *ḥamiṭ* of the quote after all, which should then translate as “my heart burns very much,” we have a parallel to the “scorching heart”, though it remains an ill-defined idiom, the meaning of which is hard to narrow down from context; any of such feelings as craving, being upset, irritation or jealousy may be connoted. The verb *ṣarāpu*, “to burn, catch fire”, with subject *libbu* can have the sense “to get enraged/incensed, to fume”.¹⁰¹

15'. An Akkadian loan from *šu-du_g.a* ending in *-tú*, as postulated by Scurlock, sits not very well with the mechanisms of morphology, which in a case

99 It is the post-OB standard for the dative suffixes to have the verb in the ventive, even when the verb without these suffixes never occurs in that mood: GAG, §84.c. It seems unlikely that we should follow Scurlock in taking the *-ši* (*-ša*, C) as the accusative pronoun 3rd fem. sing. with meaning “it” and the *-nim* as dative 1 comm. sing. “to/from me”.

100 *AbB* 9 40: 28 (pp. 29–30).

101 Some such psychological meaning as “despondency” has been proposed for the phrase *ṣurup-libbi*, “burning of the heart/belly”, in addition to its denoting an illness of the belly most of the time: Landsberger 1967, 146, fn. 34a, fn. 35c.

like this would rather have produced a lexeme in *-û*.¹⁰² Conceivably, the *-tú* is meant to signal that the phrase should be read all Akkadian, though it is impossible to establish the correct reading. A rendering as *qātu paṭirtu* is highly unlikely, as it would constitute an unusually phrased counterpart to the composite logogram, which we would rather expect to translate as *paṭār/piṭir-qāti/ritti*, by analogy with *ša.zi.ga = nış-libbi*. What does seem to make a viable candidate for being postulated as the Akkadian equivalent of ŠU-DU₈.A-tú is the hapax legomenon *piṭirtum*, found in the rubric of an Old-Babylonian spell which has been believed to prefigure the Šudu'a of later times.¹⁰³ However, renewed study has pointed out that the spell's tenor and theme tally with spells for love-making far more harmoniously:¹⁰⁴ the "loosening", if that is how *piṭirtum* should be understood, quite possibly hints at the male lover's wish to break (*paṭāru*) the resistance the unyielding woman offers against his yearning advances.¹⁰⁵

The rest of this line is too ill-preserved to attempt a transliteration. What traces can be discerned are hard to reconcile with the duplicates; C has: 4 ("GAR") *u₄-me GUR.GUR-ra*, M has: 4 ("ZA"?) *u₄-me 'GUR.GUR-ra x' [x x x] = erbet ūmē tuttanarra* (...), "you repeat it on four consecutive days;" some doubt is in place, though, concerning the temporal adjunct, for we would expect it to have been written U₄ 4.KÁM.

M has the spell and ritual continued by an additional section that in all likelihood represents an excerpt from a stone list for which no exact duplicates have been identified yet.¹⁰⁶ Despite the badly disfigured script most of the stone names have yielded to decipherment. The pertinent lines (iii 13'–16') read as follows:

102 After the pattern operative in *a.dé.a > edû*, *a.gi₆.a > agû*, *gá.gi₍₄₎.a > gagû*, *na.rú.a > narû*, etc.

103 IB 1554, editio princeps Wilcke 1985, 200: 53–61, giving the rubric as follows: KA-*inim-ma WE-ṭi-ir-tum*; Scurlock 1989–1990, 107–109 proposes to read *pi-ṭi-ir-tum* instead and brings Šudu'a to bear upon the spell.

104 Wasserman 2016, 264–265 (No. 30).

105 It is here assumed that the client of this spell is the male lover, who opens the tête-à-tête with an address to the woman venting his frustration over her bristling at his wooing attempts (ll. 53–56, "you" is 2nd fem. sing.), and then proceeds to fancy her inciting him with horny names to let her give him a hand-job for a start (with the implication that she thus frees him from his urge to wank himself off on her; ll. 57–60, "you" is 2nd masc. sing.).

106 See Schuster-Brandis 2008, 174–175 (Ketten 217–218) for a pair of closely related sections and their textual location in stone lists.

NA₄.ZA.GÌN NA₄.MUŠ NA₄.MUŠ.BABBAR NA₄.MUŠ.GI₆
^{na4}āba-aš-mu NA₄.x x x NA₄.MUŠ.DA.GUR₄.RA
 NA₄.DÚR[?].MI[?].NA[?] ^{na4}aš-pu-u MUŠ.GÍR DUḪ.ŠI.A
 After a ruling: 11 NA₄.MEŠ ŠU.DU₈.A.KÁM ina SÍG.ZA.GÌN.NA È-ak

= 11 *abnāt šu.du₈.a.kám ina uqnāti tašakkak*, “eleven stones for Šudu’a; you thread them on a string of blue wool.”

§ 8

This ill-preserved section cannot be reconstructed from any duplicate. What few words are legible may reasonably be taken as an indication that it would have been in the vein of Šudu’a. If so, it would be the oldest testimony of there having circulated more spells of this specific genre alongside the one of the preceding section.¹⁰⁷

At the left about a third of this and the following section has got lost by flaking off since the excavation photo was made; regrettably, in the absence of any parallel the photo is of no great help in establishing the text of this section.

§ 9

This section can reliably be restored from three other sources of Ashur provenance: E: 11–14; M: ii 1’–5’; N: 11–15. The duplicates have been particularly instrumental in deciphering the left-hand part of this section as documented by the excavation photo of U, and which is now lost. This part of the tablet was already in a deplorable condition when the photo was taken; at this point the transliteration reflects the excavation photo rather than the tablet in its current state. In point of fact, in M this section is extant from l. 21’ onward and in N it was fully intact when the excavation photo was taken, while today over two-thirds of its text is sadly flaked off, in particular on the left-hand half of the tablet, and what signs have survived are severely abraded so as to make the physical artefact in its present state well-nigh useless compared with the old photo, which consoli- tarily happens to be fairly legible at this point. Thanks to the new evidence it can now be established that the text of E, heretofore the sole witness for this section publicly known, is inferior in part to the other manuscripts.

¹⁰⁷ The only source evidencing a broader collection of Šudu’a spells is *SpTU* 2 23, which would appear to contain in extenso the ritual which the *Exorcist’s Almanac* mentions in connection with the constellation **mul.absin** (across all three versions: *BRM* 4 20: 3; 40, *BRM* 4 19: 3; 48, *STT* 300: 7; see Geller 2014, 28) and for performance on the 10th of Ayyaru (Geller 2014, 40, *BRM* 4 19: 3 [adding the tenth of the sixth month]; 48, *STT* 300: 7). The incantation *urnetu dannatu* is conspicuously absent from this Late Period tablet.

19'–20'. The remarkable spelling *du-gul-an-ni* is shared with N, whereas E has *du-gu-la-an-ni*. The latter is in line with the examples the grammar books give of how an epenthetic or a restored etymological vowel, whose insertion causes pretonic closed syllables to be opened, is expressed in writing, viz. by using a CV-sign consistently. Regardless of whether or not the pronominal suffix *-anni* has triggered the employment of a CVC-sign to render it in this particular case, the very use of this type of sign lends support to the contention that the inserted vowel was indeed pronounced, however briefly.¹⁰⁸

The restoration [*errabakka*] is based on E, where the theme vowel /a/ betrays an Assyrian tongue. N has a variant reading: *ti-ba-ka-ka* = *tibâkakka*, "I am

108 So Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 34–35; GAG, § 18.d leaves the dilemma undecided. The very same spelling *du-gul-an-ni* is found in SAA 9, p. 6, Collection 1: ii 29'. The phenomenon is by no means restricted to Assyrian dialect texts: the syllabification of *mušlālu*, "noon", as *mu-uš-šú-lal-lu* in a Babylonian Temple Ritual (George 2010, 273 with fn. 32) no doubt codifies the same anaptyctic vowel splitting /š/ and /l/ as does the [*m*] *u-šu-la-li* we encounter in the Neo-Assyrian letter SAA 10 131: 6 (Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 34). A fragmentarily preserved Egalkura spell of Late Babylonian date with a similar tenor to the present one repeats the spelling *du-gul-an-ni* three times within four lines and concludes: [*kī uri*] *gal-lum ša pāni šarri ina 1GI ummāni dugulanni y[āši]*, "watch me (standing) in front of the people/personnel/troops [like the stan]dard before the king" (R: rev. 1'–4'). Yet another Egalkura spell of the same period has: *du-gu-ul-an-ni* (T: 11'); above ad obv. 16 we already encountered the variant *pu-ḥur-ru* for the regular *pu-uḥ-ru*, which calls to mind the imperative forms mentioned in GAG, § 87.f. A few more random examples that illustrate the phenomenon: *tu-bu-qa-a-tim* for normal *tubqātim*, "corners" (van Soldt 2015, No. 446: 2); *pu-luḥ-ḥé-tum* for *pulḥētum*, "fears" ("are cowering": *kanšā*; KUB 37 106: rev. 8 [line 9 in ZA 61, p. 13]); both from Middle Babylonian sources; *biš-še-li biš-še-li* for *bišli bišli*, "burn, burn!" (Sultantepe *Maqlū* catchline, Abusch 2015, 382, h [= STT 82]: iv 20); *ib-bi-ni-ka-nu-uš* for *ibnikuniš* "he created you" (ROM 910 × 209.531). Last but not least, the so-called Graeco-Babyloniaca furnish strong evidence in corroboration of the view that the dissolving vowel does reflect actual speech. The clearest examples—to be distinguished from such as bear out the phenomenon of segolization (A. Westenholz 2007, 287)—which sundry scholars have adduced previously to demonstrate the point are: $\iota\chi\lambda\epsilon\iota\theta$ = *iklēt(i)*, $\sigma\alpha\phi\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma$ = *šapliš*, $\alpha\sigma\alpha\omega$ = *asnū*, $\alpha\zeta\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota$ = *uznēy(a)*, $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\beta\alpha\lambda$ = **mu-un-bal**; Hesychius (Chaldean): $\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\acute{\omicron}\beta\alpha\rho$ = **mul.babbar**, $\delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\varphi\alpha\tau$ = **dil.bat**; see Geller 1997, 66; A. Westenholz 2007, 285, 290–291. Most probably also Hesychius, (Babylonian) $\sigma'\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ = *šalbatānu* (see *AHW* 1077 s.v. *šalbatānu*, quoting *ŠL* 4/2 = Gössmann, *Planetarium*, No. 360). The ms. has $\beta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$; the emendation $\beta > \sigma$ as well as the identification with *šalbatānu* (Opitz 1932–1933, 46b–47a; crediting Jastrow as the first to have proposed the correction) would appear to have been generally accepted in Assyriology (*RLA* 11, 572a, on the strength of additional evidence adduced by Lambert 1996). In previous scholarship, $\beta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ had been taken for the Babylonian variant of $\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\alpha\tau$, which Hesychius puts in the list of Chaldean words, the initial β being held for either the result of scribal error or a touch of Dorian (*Pauly-Wissowa* III, 1 [1897], Sp. 199).

approaching you (for getting a favourable decision in my case).” This verbal form is noteworthy for its utterly rare, if not unique, occurrence; for, although (active) statives connoting a directional meaning can have ventive and/or dative suffixes as a matter of semantic principle,¹⁰⁹ the combination of a 1st person stative with either of these is not on record in any of the current grammar tools.¹¹⁰

Whereas the *tan*-stem *itaplisanni* makes good sense in l. 20' (restored from EN), it does less so in l. 19' where N has the imperative in this stem, too, as over against the more preferable *naplisanni* of U; a gap makes E's reading inconclusive. The way the Gtn-stem is used in l. 20' nicely illustrates its distributive potential as described by Kouwenberg (2010, 416, sub 3).

21'. The reading *ki-i* TÚG.GÚ.È-*ka* is shared with M; a better text may have been transmitted in EN, though: *ki-i* (E: [ki]-*ma*) TÚG.GÚ.È *ša* (N: *šá*) *muḥ-ḫi-ka*, “like (on) the cloak that covers you.”

The phrase *itaddâ lētē/ika* has been restored from N (*i-ta-ad-da-a le-ti-ka*) and M (*i-t[ad-d]a-a TE.MEŠ-ka*); it is omitted in E. The lexeme *itaddi* is well attested and normally to be parsed as stative Gtn “he/it is covered with (something: acc.) all over” (AHw 708 sub Gtn 13.b–c; episodically its meaning is: “is stretched out/situated”). If this were to apply here as well, “your cheeks” would have to be taken as the subject of *itaddâ* (< *itaddiā*). While the logographic TE.MEŠ-*ka* in M would allow for a reading in the required nominative case *lētāka*, the interpretation as a subject is precluded by the spelling *le-ti-ka* in N (see GAG, § 63.h, end), unless one were to play down the import of the latter, theorizing that an inadvertent scribe might have disambiguated the logogram of his original wrongly by transcribing it in the oblique case. A far graver objection to such an analysis, however, is that it offers no feasible way to embed the phrase in the line as a whole that is both meaningful and syntactically valid. It would therefore appear that we can exit the aporia only by assuming that *itaddâ lētē/ika* represents an instance of the idiom *lēta nadû*, “to incline one's cheek” = “to pay close attention, to heed” albeit an anomalous one for having

109 A few examples will illustrate the point: *našû*: Kouwenberg 2010, 173, ex. (44) *naš'akkum*, “he is on his way to you with/carrying;” Rowton 1962, 285–286, Nos. 401–405 [No. 403: *naš'ikum*]; see also AHw 764 sub d.γ, e.β, g; *tebû*: AHw 1342 sub 3.a *tib'amma*, *tib'ānimma*; sub 7.b–c: *te/ibûni*; Rowton 1962, 257, No. 180; *rakābu*: Gilg. 6:169 [ed. George 2003; Rowton 1962, 269, No. 250] *sūqa rakbūni*, “they drove down the street;” *qerēbu*: AHw 915 sub 2.a–b *qerbakkum*, *qerbam*; *sadāru*: CAD S 12 sub b.1 *šulum ekallim ana šērīya lū sadram*; *teḫû*: CAD T 77 sub 1.e.1' *kakki imittim ... lā teḫiam*.

110 GAG, p. 8*, Verbalparadigmen 6, fn. 7 + § 82.d: “Im Stativ gibt es besondere Ventivformen nur bei der 3. Person.”

the object in the dual instead of the singular number (see CAD L 149–150 s.v. *lētu* 1.a.3'.a"); *itaddâ* is accordingly to be parsed as Gtn imperative 2nd masc. sing. + dative suffix *-a(m)* from *nadû*. The Gtn-stem may have been used to express continuous action or "a kind of intensity or carefulness" (Kouwenberg 2010, 415). However, if we take the text for what it says and suppose that its composer put the object in the dual number intentionally, we should contemplate the possibility that the Gtn-stem connotes a distributive nuance, here too, and render paraphrasingly: "Pay attention to me whether I find myself at your right or your left," or: "... each time I visit you," or: "... to my each and every request". Considering that the expression *lêta nadû* is tantamount to a verbum sentiendi, the interpretation here proposed is perfectly in tune with the utterances in the imperative mood of the preceding lines. If seen correctly, the new manuscripts would thus appear to contain the first occurrence ever of an imperative Gtn of *nadû*.

The bold physicality of the images this spell employs to visualize what client-patron and ruler-subject relationships ideally look like may be less palatable to the taste of literary gourmets and considered an outlandish hyperbole. What really counts, though, is the effectiveness of the metaphors in establishing the desired intimacy between the client and his superiors so as to have the latter grant the former's every whim and wish. In the mind of the ancient conjurer and his Egalkura client spells couched in such bodily imagery were obviously a most opportune stratagem to implement for the purpose, as has amply been argued hereinbefore with reference to the eroticism the Egalkura corpus is pervaded with. It seems therefore appropriate to conclude this essay with requoting a specimen of Egalkura language reverberating with amorous talk and which mirrors U, § 9 in its overall structure.¹¹¹ The text of the incantation has been established from the following sources: B: rev. 16–21; E: 15–19; M: ii 6'–14'; N: 16–19.

šiptu: nēbeḥ bālti raksāku nēbeḥ
tabarr[i r]aksā qablāya amuranni
bēli tibāma išqanni dugul p[ā]n
šēpēya libbaka lūbila ana yāši

Incantation: I am girt with a girdle of pride, a
 red-woollen girdle is tied around my hips. "Look
 at me, my lord, stand erect and kiss me; relish
 my arrival and yearn for me."

111 Cf. RLA 6, 377, art. "Kuss", § 12: "As a sign of approval from a superior to an inferior, we find kisses and blessings by Marduk and Šarpānitu in a ritual commentary, and an incantation for a favorable reception by a ruler has the petitioner say, 'See me, lord, get up, kiss me!';" the quotation is from this very incantation, suggesting little short of a reversal of roles.

ka'inimma é.gal.ku4.ra

Text of an Egalkura spell.

dù.dù.bi: šipta annitam šalāšišu
ana muḫḫi nēbehika tamannuma
ana pān rubê terrub rubû iḫaddika

Its use in ritual: You recite this spell three times
over your girdle, enter before the prince and the
prince will be pleased with you.

It remains a subject for future investigation to find an answer to the question of how the Egalkura picture of a citizen having such a frank way with the crown and its executives should be assessed vis-à-vis the submissiveness, not to say byzantinism, claimed to be rather more characteristic of the way ancient Orientals used to approach their ruler and cross palatial thresholds.¹¹²

112 Sallaberger 2012, 14–17 (§3.3), esp. the citation from the *Counsels of Ur-Ninurta*: 65–71, which are summarized as follows: “Einsatzbereitschaft und Demut (‘humility, submissiveness’) charakterisierten den Untertan, auch seine Haltung vor dem König war vorgeschrieben. Es erfolgten Gesten der Unterwerfung, er soll das Haupt gesenkt halten und geziemende Kleidung tragen.” Steinert 2012, 500–504, bringing Bedouin code of honour to bear upon the concept of *bāštu* and its cognates, argues that *bāštu* can express the notion of “modesty, humility” besides “honour, pride”; rather than opposites, these are complementary virtues that interrelate dialectically: “Die Ehre der Schwachen besteht in der freiwilligen Unterordnung unter die Höherstehenden in der Hierarchie” (p. 502, fn. 382). The epitome of the submissive mode of approaching the powerful has often been seen in the act of prostration, which the Greeks considered a subservient gesture of respect and worship of the barbaric East (Persia), calling it *προσκύνησις*. Although it is generally held that the verb *προσκυνέω* is a composite of *κυνέω*, “to kiss,” there have been those who speculated that it derives from *κύων*, -*νός*, “dog,” so as to evoke the position the animal will typically adopt to show total obeisance to his master by lying stretched out on the ground; be that as it may, to underpin their argument they might have adverted to cuneiform letters to the king in which the sender expresses his self-disparagement by referring to himself as a dog, see CAD K 72 s.v. *kalbu* 1j. However, according to Sallaberger caution is in place as to whether *ki-za.za* = *šukênu* (and *labān appi*, for that matter) is fully equivalent to what we would call “prostration”: “Auch Briefe der altbabylonischen Zeit verweisen darauf, dass man sich vor dem König ‘prosternieren’ (*šukênum*) solle. Welche Geste darf man sich darunter vorstellen, denn es könnte ein Sich-Niederwerfen, ein Fuß- oder Kniefall oder eine Verbeugung gemeint sein.” He also remarks that customs may have varied depending on time and place: seal impressions show the owner entering before the ruler in an upright posture. The once widely shared opinion that at the Neo-Assyrian court prostration would have been observed as a mandatory part of audience etiquette was already contested by Seidl in *RIA* 11, 11–12, art. “Proskynese”, pointing out that sculptural “prostration” scenes depict foreigners demonstrating submission to their overlord; see also *RIA* 6, 378, art. “Kuss”, §§ 9, 16, 18.

**Appendix: The Istanbul Egalkura Tablet A 374 (LKA 107a)—
A Provisional Transliteration**

A 374 (exc. photo LKA 107a) = N

Although the A-side is the flat and the B-side the convex one, the placement of the colophon and internal logic¹¹³ indicate that the latter represents the obverse and the former the reverse.

Duplicates

Obverse = B-side

- ll. 1–11 // **M:** v 1–5 // **U:** obv. 20–28;
 ll. 12–15 // **M:** v 6–11;
 ll. 19–23 // **M:** i 10'–16';
 ll. 24–32 // **B:** rev. 1–11 // **G:** obv. 1'–8' // **J:** obv. 31–36 // **M:** ii 15'–26'.

Reverse = A-side

- ll. 1–5 // **O:** “v” 1'–6';
 ll. 6–10 // **A:** rev. 19–26 // **O:** “v” 7'–15';
 ll. 11–15 // **E:** obv. 11–14 // **M:** ii 1'–5' // **U:** rev. 19'–22';
 ll. 16–19 // **B:** rev. 16–21 // **E:** obv. 15–19 // **M:** ii 6'–14';
 ll. 20–24 // **F:** obv. 1–7 // **L:** obv. 1–11;
 ll. 25–29 // **M:** iii 17'–23';
 ll. 30–33 // **B:** rev. 12–15; **K:** obv. 36–43.

For a key to the sigla see above.

Transliteration

B-side = Obverse

1. ÉN Í+GIŠ *bal-ti ap-šu-^ruš^r pa-ni-ia ú-ša-a* [*a-na x x ina bi-rit su-qí u su-le-e*]
2. *ina bi-rit GAL.MEŠ u TUR.MEŠ ina bi-rit GIŠ.GIGIR u* [*a-ri-di-šá*]
3. *lu-u šam-ru-ma ^rlim^r-qut GIŠ.MÁ UDU u A.DAM li-*[*la-a ma-la GÁL-u*]

¹¹³ E.g., the first ritual of the A-side having been truncated by the repetition marker K1.MIN.

4. *e-pi-tu lid-di-na a-kal-šá LÚ.ṚGÍR¹.LÁ lid-di-na* [UZU UDUNITA₂ U₈]
 5. *Ṛšá¹-qu-u lid-di-Ṛna¹ ka-Ṛsu á²-dí² x x ba DU₁₁-a E N[ENNI A NENNI um-ma]*
 6. *qé-re-tú qé-ri DINGIR.MEŠ qé-ri LUGAL lu-[ru-ub É DINGIR]*
 7. *ki-i Ṛ^dsin¹ ḥi-da-a ki-i ṚUTU ri-Ṛi¹-šá*
 8. *at-ta KI-ia ḥa-du-ta-ma lu-[u] ḥa-[d]a-ta*
-
9. KA.INIM.MA É.GAL.KU₄.RA
-
10. DÙ.DÙ.BI *ana UGU Ì+GIŠ DU₁₀.GA ŠID-nu-ma IGI.MEŠ-ka EŠ-aš-ma*
 11. *ana IGI NUN KU₄-ub-ma* [NUN ḤÚL-ka]
-
12. [ÉN] Ì+GIŠ *bal-ti pa-áš-šá-ku Ì+GIŠ Ì.S[AG] Ṛpa¹-nu-u-a pa-áš-šú*
 13. *man x x x na-ka Ì bal-ti pa-á[š]-šá-ta Ì+GIŠ Ì.SAG pa-nu-u-ka pa-áš-šú*
 14. Ì+GIŠ *bal-ti šá Ṛna-na-a Ì+GIŠ Ì.SAG šá Ṛ^dzer-pa-ni-tum*
-
15. DÙ.DÙ.BI ÉN *an-ni-tam ana UGU Ì DU₁₀.GA ŠED-nu-ma pa-ni-ka EŠ-aš-ma KI.MIN*
-
16. too abraded for a coherent transliteration
 17. too abraded for a coherent transliteration *pu-ú²-su-us lib-bi NUN x x x*
-
18. DÙ.DÙ.BI ÉN *an-ni-tam ana UGU ZABAR ŠED-ma ana IGI NUN tu-sap-paḥ KI.MIN*
-
19. ÉN UR.MAḤ *ra-Ṛi-bu UR.MAḤ ḥa-ba-ri UR.MAḤ ina a-bi x x x*
 20. too abraded for a coherent transliteration IGI¹¹-šú *ana da-ga-li-ia*
 21. too abraded for a coherent transliteration
 22. *at-ta a-na É er-ba-am-ma ŠÀ* too abraded for a coherent transliteration
-
23. [DÙ.DÙ.BI *ana x x x ÉN 3-šú*] ŠID-ma *ina ḥi-in-di šá TÚG.GÚ.È-ka GAR-an KI.MIN*
-
24. ṚÉN *mu-ú bal¹-ta-ku-nu bi-la-a-ni A.AB.BA ki-li-la-a-ki šuk-ni-ni*
 25. Ṛki-i is¹-ḥu-un-na-ti NUMUN GIŠ.ESI *ki-ma Ú.KI.KAL šá UGU na-a-ri*
 26. *a-mir-šá la-la-a ra-Ṛšú-š¹ a-me-ri la-la-a li-ir-šá-a*
 27. Ṛru-Ṛu¹-ub-ta-šú¹¹⁴ *liḥ-du-u pa-Ṛnu-šú¹-nu ked-re-te liš-qa-a re-šá-šú-nu*

114 Dubious; var.: *ra-Ṛi-bu-tu*.

28. ¹ru-²u¹-ub-ta-šú le-¹mut-ta¹-šú lu ina qaq-qa-ri-im-ma

29. [šu-u]h-šú lu-u KI-ia TU₆.ÉN

30. [KA].INIM.[MA É.GAL]-¹KU₄.RA šá¹ hu-¹ud pa¹-ni

31. [DÙ.DÙ.BI ina] UGU Ú.KI.[KAL šá UG]U ÍD ÉN 3-šú ŠID-nu-ma

32. [ina ku-tál GEŠTUG¹¹-ka GAR-ma ana IGI NUN KU₄-ub-ma NUN HÚL-ka]

A-side = Reverse

1. []

2. [x x x x x x x] x x x a-ma-tú lu-u KÙ.G[I]

3. [x x x x x x x] x x x man²-nu ina ŠU¹¹ a-*ha*-mi[š]

4. [x x x x x x] x ina IGI DINGIR u MAN IDIM u NUN LÚ T[U₆] ÉN

5. [DÙ.DÙ.BI ÉN a]n-ni-tam 7-šú ana UGU GIŠ.IG ŠID-nu-ma KI.MIN

6. [ÉN ⁿ]a⁴?sa²-ma-a-ta rak-sa KUŠ.TAG[?].BIR[?] sa-an-da al-ma-a MURU₂-a-a

7. ¹na-gi-ru¹ ki-i at-ta-za-ru *ha*-za-nu ki-i at-ta-za-ru

8. ¹KÁ.GAL ki¹-i ap-tu-ú LÚ.KÚR ki-i ú-še-ri-ba

9. šá[?] i-ni šá EN-ia ki-i šá mim+ma la e-pu-šú

10. [DÙ.D]Ù.BI ÉN an-ni-tam ana UGU TÚG.GÚ.È-ka ŠID-nu-ma KI.MIN

11. [ÉN] al-la-ka-ka du-gul-an-ni ti-ba-ka-ka i-tap-li-sa-an-ni

12. du-gul-an-ni ki-i GABA-ka i-tap-li-sa-an-ni ki-i ŠU.SI.MEŠ-ka

13. ki-i TÚG.GÚ.È šá muḥ-ḥi-ka i-ta-ad-da-a le-¹t¹-i-ka

14. la te-šeb-ba-a la-la-a+a

15. DÙ.DÙ.BI ÉN an-ni-tam ana UGU TÚG.GÚ.È-ka 3-šú ŠID-nu-ma KI.MIN

16. ÉN né-bé-eḥ bal-ti rak-sa-ku né-bé-eḥ ta-bar-ri MURU₂-a-a rak-sa

17. am-ra-an-ni be-lí ti-ba-am-ma iš-qa-an-ni

18. du-gul IGI GÌR¹¹-ia lib-ba-ka lu-bi-la ana ia-a-ši

19. DÙ.DÙ.BI ÉN an-ni-tam ana UGU né-bé-ti-ka ŠID-nu-ma KI.MIN

20. ÉN *ul-tú ú-^rri¹ še-le-tú ul-tú qaq-qa-ri na-ku-ra-a-ti*
 21. *ina bi-rit ŠEŠ.MEŠ-e DU₁₀.GA.MEŠ zu-qu-pa GÍR-^rru¹.MEŠ*
 22. *ina bi-rit LÚ.MEŠ-e SILIM.MEŠ šak-na-at nu-kúr-tú*
 23. *er-bi MUN dib-bi ʔi-ib-bi dib-bi [ʔi]-ib-bi TU₆.ÉN*
-
24. [DÙ.DÙ].BI ÉN *an-ni-tam ana UGU LAG MUN ŠID-nu-ma KI.MIN*
-
25. ^rÉN *ana man¹-ni ra-a²-ba-ta ana man-ni ha-za-ta ana man-ni hu-zu-za-ta*
 26. ^rana man¹-ni [x x] GÍŠ².BAR *ina e-re-bi sip-pu li-iš-bat x x*
 27. KUN₄ *li-x-x-ka sip-pu u KÁ² SISK^rUR¹ A.MEŠ SED.MEŠ ina² U[GU² x x]*
 28. ^rp¹u²-ú-su-us ru-ub-ta-^ršú¹ *ina KI TU₆¹ ÉN*
-
29. DÙ.DÙ.BI ÉN *an-ni-ta[m a]na UGU pi-i ŠID-nu-ma maḥ-r[i x x x x]*
-
30. ÉN *šak-na-ku KUŠ.E.SIR ina GÌR¹¹-ia ina IGI-k[a áš-ba-ku]*
 31. a-^rša¹-aḥ-^rḥi šu¹-uḥ ḪILI IGI¹¹-a-a r[a-^ri-mu-ía]
 32. *ana-ku ši-nu-tú-ma šá-[niš] ši-qa-ma m[im-ma ma-la DU₁₁.GA-ka še-e-ḥi]*
-
33. DÙ.DÙ.BI ÉN *an-ni-tam ina UGU-ḥ[i KUŠ.E.SIR-ka ŠID-nu-ma x x x x x]*
-

Bottom Edge

34. GIM SUMUN-šú SAR ^rÈ¹ [] IM x x x x x x []

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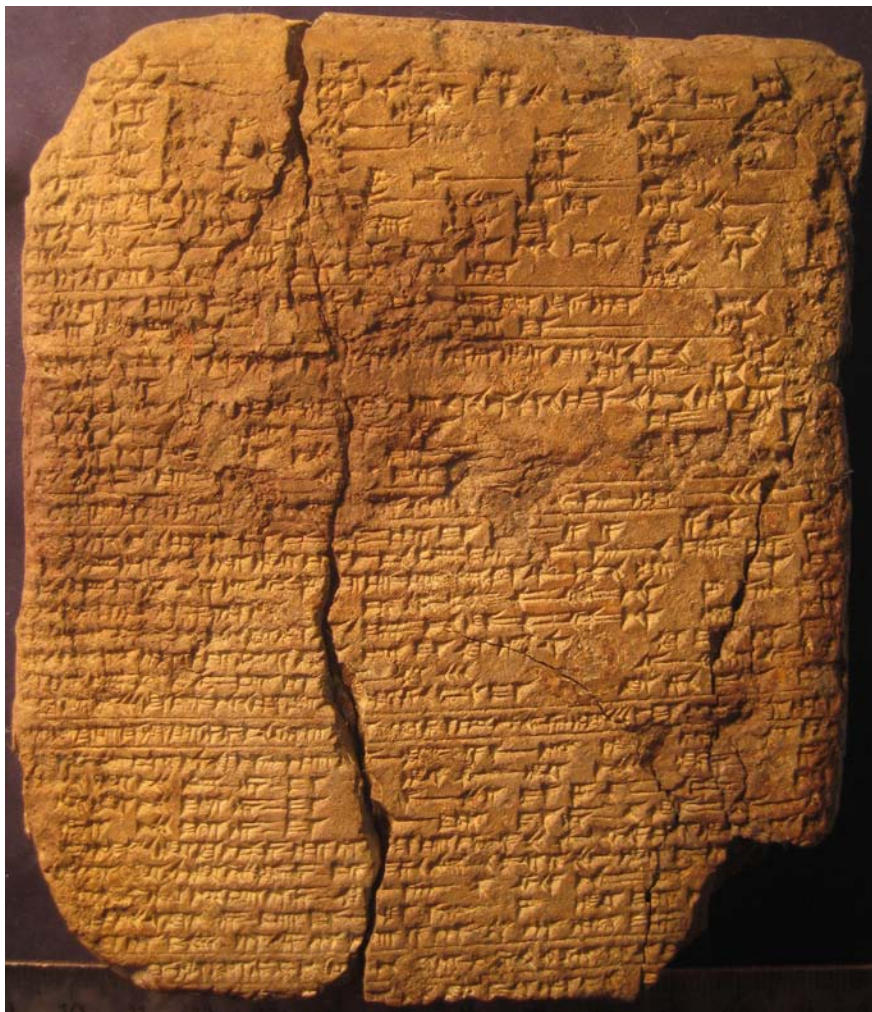


FIGURE 27.1 *A 373, obverse*

PHOTO S.V. PANAYOTOV

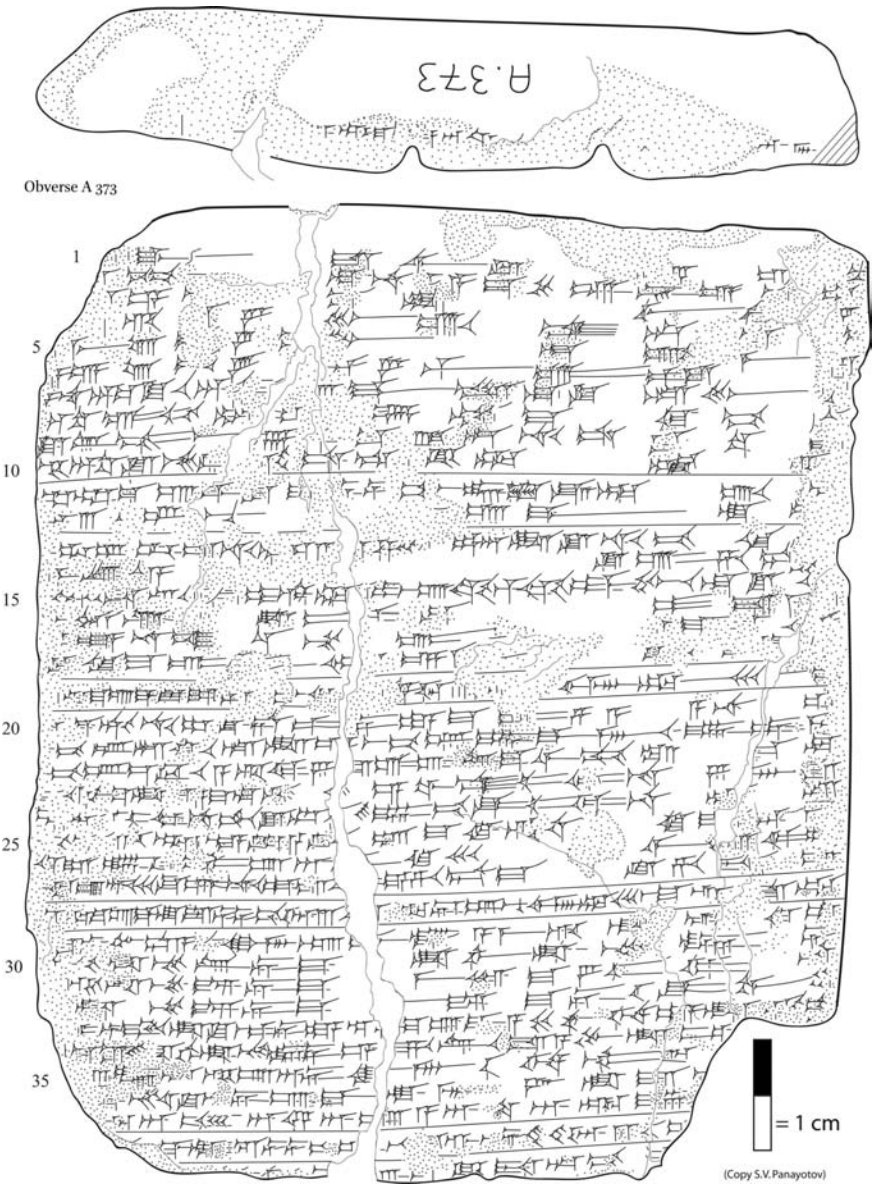


FIGURE 27.2 A 373, obverse
COPY S.V. PANAYOTOV

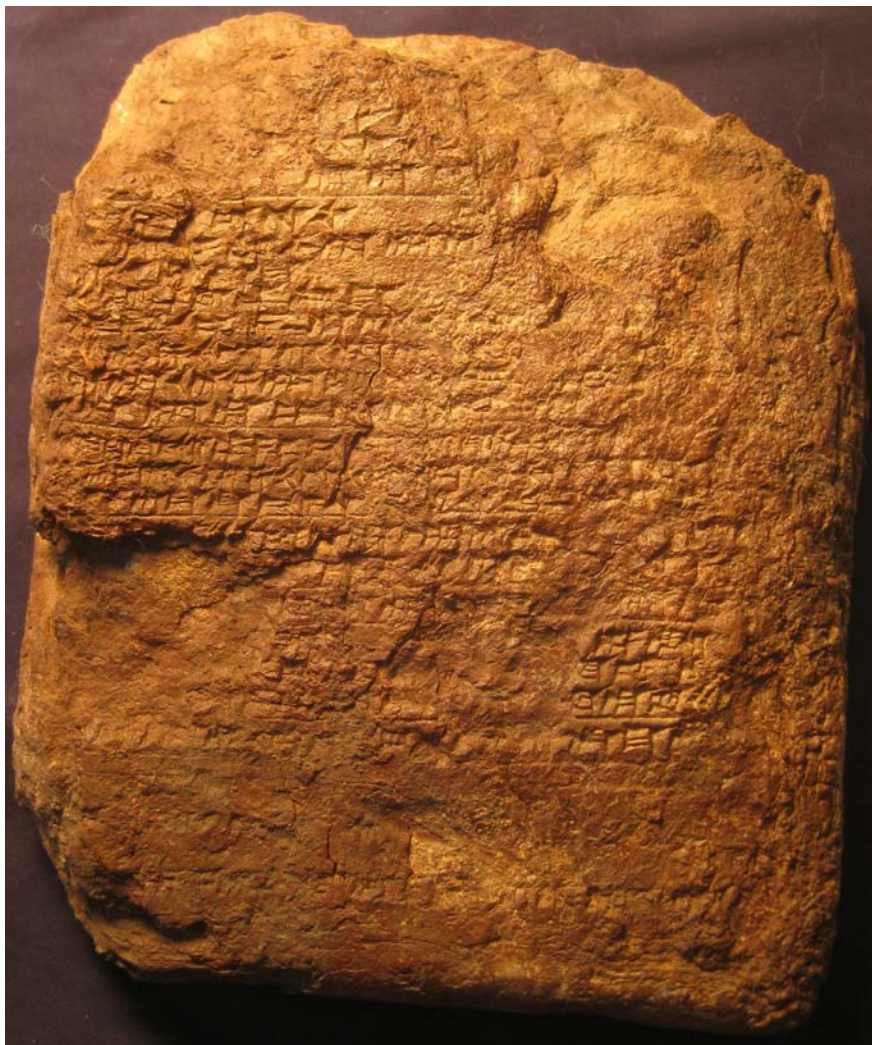


FIGURE 27.3 *A 373, reverse*

PHOTO S.V. PANAYOTOV

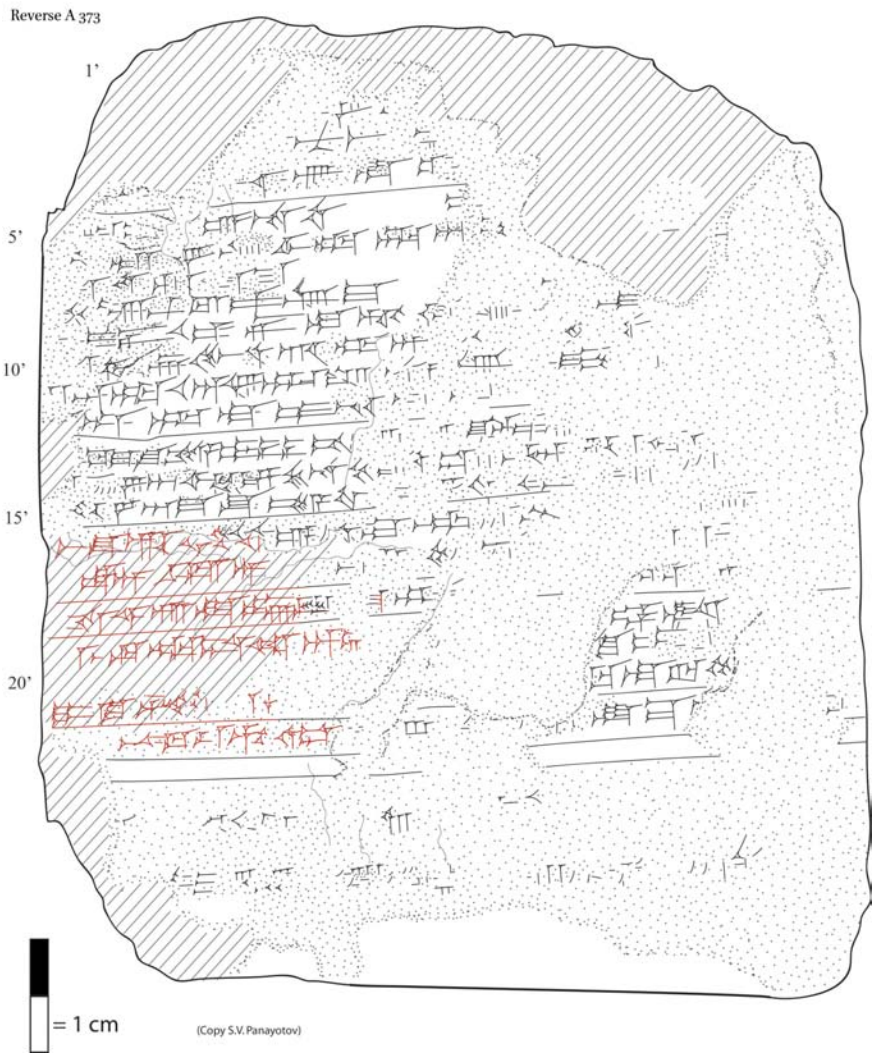


FIGURE 27.4 *A 373, reverse*
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BM 92518 and Old Babylonian Incantations for the “Belly”

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A student calls out to his mentor Mark:
“My mentor, I do not know what this means!”
Mark answers the student:
“My student, what do you not know
and what could I add for you?
Whatever I know, you should know too,
whatever you know, I should know as well.
In any case, let’s have a discussion.”



The tablet under study (BM 92518; Bu 88-5-12, 51; *CT* 4 8a) belongs to the corpus of Old Babylonian incantations for digestive disorders. In the following, we offer a revised edition of the tablet and discuss its relation to Old Babylonian therapeutic incantations for internal ailments as well as textual parallels found in later 1st millennium BCE texts. We would like to dedicate this study as a modest token of gratitude to Mark Geller who has contributed much to the scholarly exploration of 2nd and 1st millennium BCE Mesopotamian incantations,

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but also sparked his enthusiasm for these texts in everyone who had the privilege of working with him.

Although quite well preserved and often cited in the literature, BM 92518 has not been subject to detailed analysis so far and therefore merits closer attention. The provenance of the tablet remains uncertain, but it most likely comes from Sippar.¹ Although a copy of the text by T.G. Pinches was first published already in 1898 in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part IV*, only several decades later Brian B. Sullivan offered the first edition in his dissertation on Old Babylonian bilingual texts (1979, 131–134, text No. 17). Still a few years later, Benjamin R. Foster included a translation of the bilingual incantation (lines 1–21) in the first and second editions of *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (1993, 1996, No. II.19), but the incantation does not feature in the third edition of the book from 2005.² Recently, Michael P. Streck and Nathan Wasserman have provided an updated transliteration, translation and brief commentary on the tablet in the online corpus *Sources of Early Akkadian Literature* (SEAL: <http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de>, text 5.1.4.1).

BM 92518 bears some peculiar features (including occasional errors and sandhi-writings), which may indicate that it presents the work of a student or young scribe, although the handwriting is not that of a beginner.³ One of the highly unusual features is the ruled-off rubric (colophon) on the upper edge stating that the tablet contains 2 KA *ša li-ib-bi*, which must be a shortcut for 2 KA.INIM.MA *ša libbi*, “two incantations for the inside/belly”.⁴ This abbreviated notation is highly unusual, and we do not know any other such instance.

1 See Leichty, Finkelstein and Walker 1988, xiv–xvii. The group Bu 88-5-12 was purchased by E.A.T. Wallis Budge during his mission to Mesopotamia in 1887–1888; the majority of the Old Babylonian texts in this group can be shown to have come from Sippar. See also the catalogue entry (with photographs) at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx (enter 92518 in the search field; accessed 5 June 2017).

2 Extracts from the incantation were also translated and discussed by Marten Stol (2006, 114), Barbara Böck (2014a, 120–121) and recently by Andrew George (2016, 7). Jerrold S. Cooper (1969, 21) provides a short philological comment on the text in his dissertation on bilingual (Sumero-Akkadian) literary texts.

3 Cooper 1969, 21; Sullivan 1979, 47. The scribe used a chipped stylus which produced what appear as doubled wedge imprints in a number of signs on the tablet, e.g. in ll. 3 (ur), 4 (gin₇), 10 (pú), 15 (zu), 17 (hé), 19 (ki). Those are not indicated in the handcopy.

4 Because mimation is lacking, it is also possible to interpret the form as plural *libbī* “insides”. However, the subject of the incantation is phrased as a singular entity within the two compositions on the tablet (see lines 1 ff. and 25). Since in the Akkadian text of the spells, mimation is only rarely used (ll. 2 and 9 *nārim*, l. 14 *mīnam*, l. 17 *awilūtum*, l. 23 *qablātīm*, l. 24 *šūšam*; cf.

Nonetheless, a few hints indicate that this is what the scribe meant to say and that the tablet indeed features two incantations, although this detail has not been fully recognized in previous discussions.

The bilingual incantation in BM 92518: 1–21 is inscribed in pairs of lines (with one line of Sumerian text followed by the interlinear Akkadian translation), separated from each other by a ruling (cf. Krecher 1976–1980, 124–125) which is doubled in most of the lines. In the last three lines 19–21, the scribe noticed that he had only little space left on the tablet and switched from writing line pairs to single lines with the Sumerian and Akkadian text following each other without a *Glossenkeil* separating them. Lines 19 and 20 are divided by a ruling, and there seem to be slight traces of a ruling between lines 20 and 21. After line 21 on the reverse, the scribe again drew a ruling and inserted what appears to be a short rubric, after which he added another block of four more lines of text in Akkadian (lines 22–25), all written in smaller script. The rubric following line 21 is positioned in the center, on the level of the ruling. It reads: *ši-pa-at pî(m)*(KA) [(...)], “incantation for the opening/mouth [(...)”], and may refer to the preceding spell or to the following lines 22–25 which we interpret as an independent Akkadian incantation.⁵

Streck and Wasserman tentatively pointed into this direction by translating the final line and rubric of BM 92518 as “Two(?) incantations(?) of the insides”, but were in doubt about this interpretation. In fact, ever since Sullivan’s edition and Foster’s translation, BM 92518 has been described as one composition comprising a bilingual incantation followed by a prescription in Akkadian. This view was accepted by Graham Cunningham (1997, 148, No. 311) who classifies the tablet as a single bilingual incantation against constipation. In their online edition, Streck and Wasserman also held up this interpretation, regarding the phrase *ši-pa-at pîm*(KA)⁶ in line 21 as “a rubric separating the bilingual incantation and the Akkadian prescription”, but noted in their commentary that this contradicts the final statement “two incantations” on the tablet. Similar to Sullivan (1979, 134) who translated the phrase 2 KA as “two portions(?)” (i.e. of a text), Streck and Wasserman suggest that this designation may refer to the fact that the tablet was bilingual. The opinion that the tablet indeed contains

also ll. 5 and 12 *irrubūšum*), we assume that *ša/libbu* is a singular designating the inside of the body, more specifically the belly/digestive tract.

5 A similar case of rubrics written in smaller script on top of the ruling separating individual compositions is found in another Old Babylonian tablet of incantations in the Schøyen Collection (George 2016, 47, No. 29, pl. LXXVIII–LXXXIX: ll. 10, 16, 19). Here, the rubrics follow the composition in question.

6 They suggest a reading *ši-pa-at-ka*, “your incantation”, however.

two incantations, and that 2 KA means exactly this was first expressed to us by Irving L. Finkel, and this seems to us the most convincing explanation for the preserved text.

Below, we offer a new reading of BM 92518: 22–25 which thus adds another example to the Old Babylonian spells for the belly in Akkadian. This short text is unusual and contrasts with the bilingual composition preceding it which follows the traditional compositional pattern of Sumerian therapeutic incantations designated as the “Marduk-Ea-type” (Falkenstein 1931, 44–67; cf. Cunningham 1997; Sanders 2001; Rudik 2011, 46 ff.), consisting of: a) description of the problem (introduction)—b) Marduk-Ea-formula (dialogue between Asalluḫi and Enki)—c) ritual (embedded therapy) and d) conclusion. According to our reading of lines 22–25, the Akkadian spell addresses a personified disease agent “wind” which has entered the body and is trapped in the belly, while in the preceding bilingual composition the illness is described as an impersonal process in the body which happens *by itself* and is seen in parallelism to processes in the environment—illness seems to be perceived here as an inherent capacity or inclination of the body.⁷

A Short Survey of Incantations for the Belly

The two incantations of BM 92518 belong to the comparatively small group of Old Babylonian spells for the “sick belly” (Sum. šà-gig, Akk. *libbu maršu*). Within the category of Old Babylonian incantations concerned with the digestive system we can differentiate sub-genres and groups of texts marked either by specific rubrics or by a recognizable focus on a defined topic, although the majority of texts do not feature a rubric and can only be attributed to the belly incantations in a general way.

Incantations for digestive trouble are quite well represented already in the 3rd millennium BCE material, featuring some motifs and therapeutic elements continued in 2nd and 1st millennium traditions. The Early Dynastic belly spells are typically found on multi-text and multi-column tablets, while many OB examples consist of tablets with only one composition. Manfred Krebern timer (1984) identified four Sumerian texts from Fara and Ebla as related to the context (No. 7, 9–11; cf. Cunningham 1997, No. 1, 14, 21, 29; Ceccarelli 2015, 195–196).

⁷ This impersonal model of illness processes contrasts with incantations for digestive disorders which address the “Belly” as a personalized agent. See Collins 1999, 83–87, 152–164 and the discussion in Steinert 2012a, 529–530 and *passim*.

One of these texts ends with the rubric *lú zé* (“for the man [suffering from] bile”), but all four mention the sick belly/gut (*ša-gig*; *ša-gi*; *libiš-gig*). Andrew George (2016, 119 ff.) lately published two Early Dynastic tablets in the Schøyen Collection containing compilations of incantations which include Sumerian spells for the sick belly (*ša-gig*).⁸ In addition to these texts, two tablets from the Ur III period contain Sumerian spells for the belly (Sigrist 1980, 159: col. i; Waetzoldt and Yıldız 1987).⁹

1) *Incantations for the “Sick Belly” (ša-gig / libbu maršu)
Bearing the Rubric ka-inim-ma ša-gig-ga-(kam)*

Although the rubric in the last line of BM 92518 is abbreviated, it places the two incantations on the tablet within the thematic group of spells for the sick belly, even though the Akkadian incantation in lines 22–25 is also linked to the group of spells against “wind” (see sub 2). The bilingual incantation in lines 1–21 actually opens with the phrase *ša-gig / libbu maršu*. Spells for the “sick belly” are largely concerned with intestinal and digestive trouble marked primarily by abdominal pain. The incantations describe the illness in varied ways: “sick belly” can feature as a personified (quasi-demonic) agent acting on his own accord to be dispelled by the divine power residing in the spell, but we also find “naturalistic” or “empirical” etiologies which attribute the ailment to the ingestion of a plant which causes the trouble (cf. below) or to an impersonal bodily process which is compared with processes in the environment. The most common therapeutic approaches to relieve intestinal trouble alluded to in the spells

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- 8 Spell No. 1g (MS 4549/1: vii 5–ix 2) presents a close parallel to Krebern timer 1984, No. 11: here, *ša-gig* and *libiš-gig* are described as a wild ram (cf. below for “goring” as a metaphor for stomach pain). Spell No. 1h (MS 4549/1: ix 3–x 5) offers a variant version to a spell on a tablet discovered in a lavatory drain at Abu Salabikh (Krebern timer and Postgate 2009, 11, IAS 549; George 2016, 121–122). Another ED spell for the sick belly is found on tablet No. 3 (George 2016, 28 and pl. IV–VII, MS 4550: ii’ 5’ff.). Recurring elements shared by these early incantations are that the illness either acts as a personified agent or is inflicted on the sufferer through a curse/spell. Some of the incantations use a precursor to the well-known Marduk-Ea-formula, in which a deity (Ningirima?) sends a messenger for advice to Enlil who answers the call for help. Cf. the discussions in Krebern timer 1984, 211–225; Rudik 2011, 46 ff. on the messenger formula and Ceccarelli 2015 on Enlil’s role in early incantations. The short therapeutic ritual is usually embedded as an instruction in the deity’s reply.
- 9 The first one of the spells speaks of *ša-gi₄* (for *ša-gig*) within the composition itself and as rubric, without preceding *ka-inim-ma* (Sigrist 1980, 159: i 1, 7 and 12). The second incantation, found on a tablet from Umma published by Hartmut Waetzoldt and Fatma Yıldız, was written over an administrative text and concludes with the rubric ‘KA-inim’ *ša-gig* (Waetzoldt and Yıldız 1987, 293 and 298: rev. 3).

themselves or in the medical recipes consisted of drugs administered orally and boosted by the spells, mostly effecting evacuation via the mouth or the anus.

Until recently, only a few Old Babylonian belly spells identified by the rubric *ka-inim-ma šà-gig-ga-(kam)* were known, but Andrew George’s (2016) publication of the incantation texts in the Schøyen Collection now adds numerous new texts to the genre. Thus, it seems in order to briefly review the material currently available in comparison to the two compositions in BM 92518.

The two Old Babylonian Sumerian incantations with the rubric *ka-inim-ma šà-gig-ga-kam* known from earlier publications do not bear any close resemblance to the Sumerian text of BM 92518: 1–21.

YOS 11 91 (Cunningham 1997, No. 308) is a short two-line spell reading:

- 1) šà-gig la-ba-an-gur?
- 2) si-sá ṛal¹-tu-ra
- 3) ka-inim-ma šà-gig-ga-kam

Sick belly shall not return?!

Straight is what is ill!

Recitation for the sick belly.

The aim of “straightness” (*si-sá*) expressed here may imply a notion that has been described as the “hydraulic model” of digestive processes which is based on the image of the digestive tract as a canal with liquid flowing in it in a downward movement (Steinert 2016). Since in medical texts the expression “straight inside” (*šà si-sá*) usually stands for “diarrhoea” and forms a contrast to the normal “coiled” state of the bowels, the underlying analogy seems to be that normal movement of the bowels is of regulated speed like the flow of water in a meandering river, while diarrhoea is like the speedy flow of water in a drainpipe.¹⁰ YOS 11 91, however, may refer to a contrasting physical problem, namely lack of motion and cessation of digestive processes: straightness here signifies motion and evacuation.

10 Note that spells against diarrhoea are only rarely attested among Old Babylonian and earlier incantation texts. Cunningham (1997, No. 439 = YOS 11 21: 31–33) lists merely one example of an OB spell in an unidentified language with the rubric ŠÀ.SI.SÁ. This genre of incantations, which is explicitly mentioned in the “Exorcist’s Manual” (*KAR* 44 and duplicates, line 18; Geller 2000, 245–246; Jean 2006, 67; Geller 2018; there, however, we find a variant rubric ŠÀ.SUR.KU₅.RU.DA “to stop diarrhoea”), may thus have been developed later than other Sumerian/Akkadian incantation genres, i.e. in the course of the 2nd and 1st millennia BCE.

While *YOS* 11 91 is based on the idea of the “sick belly” as a personified disease agent, the single spell on *OECT* 5 20 (Cunningham 1997, No. 163) seems to attribute the patient’s belly trouble to the ghost(?) of a certain Lú-sukkal, son of Gudea, who died of drowning(?). Since we are not informed about the *historiola* or the person Lú-sukkal from other sources, the context of the incantation remains mysterious.

One Akkadian incantation on an OB tablet from Sippar (IM 95317c: 32–40) bears a rubric similar to BM 92518 but with a 1st person suffix: *šipat lib-bīya*(ŠĀ.MU), “incantation for my belly”.¹¹ The rubric reflects the perspective of the composition, since here the patient speaks in the 1st person singular, comparing his intestinal pain with the sensation of being stabbed by a dagger and “gored as by an ox”; the gut is described as “inflamed” (*napāḥu*), its “riverbanks” eroded as by a flood, evoking the image of the intestines as a river/canal also found in BM 92518. Two Sumerian versions of this spell have lately been edited by Andrew George in his publication of incantations in the Schøyen Collection (George 2016, 125–127, No. 7j // 8l; *VAS* 10 202: 11’–14’ // 203: 17–21).¹² The two OB manuscripts with the long version stem from multicolumn tablets containing incantations for various purposes, and in both cases the spells are found among a group of spells against bile (cf. below) and spells for digestive problems, marked by the rubric *ka-inim-ma šà-gig-ga* (George 2016, Nos. 7k–p, 8e–j).¹³ Some of the belly and bile incantations in the two compendia partially duplicate each other or form alternative versions to texts previously known from other Old Babylonian tablets or from later textual material. Other texts in these OB compendia present compositions not previously known. Moreover, George’s book contains two more multi-column and one single-column tablet with spells for digestive problems, thus adding immensely to the corpus of OB belly incantations (George 2016, Nos. 10d, 25a, 30a–b). The texts are diverse in terms of language, with Sumerian and Akkadian examples

11 See Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1994, 82–85; Collins 1999, 164–166; Foster 2005, 185; Wasserman 2003, cat. No. 149; *SEAL* text 5.1.4.2; George 2016, 126–127. The tablet features three more spells, against dogs and Lamaštu.

12 Since in all texts preserving this incantation the rubric is either fragmentary or missing, the exact purpose is not entirely certain (either bile or “sick belly”). The imagery of “goring” pain and riverbank eroded by a flood is used repeatedly in bile incantations (see below sub 3; Geller and Vacín 2017).

13 In a number of instances, the texts are followed by the rubric *ka-inim-ma šà-gig šapārum*, which may be an error for *pašārum*, i.e. “to relieve the sick belly” (George 2016, No. 71 // No. 8e, No. 7m // No. 8f, No. 7n, see sub I1.E.6–I1.E.7).

represented beside texts in unidentified languages as well as occasional multilingual compositions.¹⁴

George's edition of incantations also offers a new Old Babylonian version of one of the best known Akkadian spells for intestinal trouble, the so-called “Heart Grass” spell, which has come down to us in multiple versions from both the OB and 1st millennium sources. The designation “Heart Grass” spell was coined by Erica Reiner (1985) who first edited the Neo-Assyrian version(s), but we prefer the title “Belly Plant” spell. While Reiner believed that the incantation was concerned with the disorder *kīs libbi*, “constriction/bond of the belly”, one of the OB manuscripts of the “Belly Plant” spell published by George (2016, 129–132, No. 70 // 8i) preserves a rubric marking it as an incantation for the sick belly (No. 8i: iii 37, rubric [ka-inim-m]a ʾšà¹-[gig-ga]). The two duplicating manuscripts of the spell are preserved on collective incantation tablets within a group of spells for the sick belly.

All of the incantations about the “Belly Plant” follow the compositional principle of the “chain” analyzed by Niek Veldhuis (1990; 1993) and feature recurring motifs: the sun god Šamaš (in a variant Šamaš and Šin) picks up a plant on a mountain and brings it down to the plain. Because of the sun god's action, the plant first “seizes” his belly, and then infects the bellies of the moon god, the belly of the earth and finally those of various animals and humans.¹⁵

Four Old Babylonian versions of this incantation are now known:

YOS 11 11: obv. 1–17, “Heart Grass A”: *Šamaš šammam ištu š[adīm] ušēbiram[ma]*, “Šamaš brought a plant over from the mountain.”¹⁶ This version features the so-called *mannam lušpur*-formula, introducing the motif of the healer sending a messenger to the god Ea for help (“Whom shall I send to the one who dwells in the great Apsû?”). The incantation on the obverse is only fragmentarily preserved; the badly damaged reverse contained ritual instructions.

YOS 11 12: 1–15, “Heart Grass B”: [*Šamaš šammam š[a libbim [ina šadīm is]suḫam*, “[Šamaš] pulled up the belly [plant on the mountain].”¹⁷ In this spell,

14 See e.g. the mixed Sumerian-Akkadian spell No. 25a (George 2016, 127: 1–14), a long variant version of the Sumerian spell No. 71 // 8e.

15 The popular motif of the plant that is picked up by a deity and then brings illness to mankind was further adapted and transformed into a spell against toothache (see George 2016, 138, No. 26c sub II.E.13).

16 See Farber 1990, 308–309, No. 27; Veldhuis 1990, 27 ff., 42–43, text A; Veldhuis 1993, 50–51, text D; Foster 1996, No. II.28; Foster 2005, No. II.25a; Cunningham 1997, No. 383; Collins 1999, 140–142; Wasserman 2003, cat. No. 236; *SEAL* text 5.1.11.1.

17 Veldhuis 1990, 28–29, 42–43, text B; Veldhuis 1993, 51–52, text E; Cunningham 1997, No. 384; Collins 1999, 142–145; Wasserman 2003, cat. No. 237; *SEAL* text 5.1.11.2. The incantation is

the healer addresses the plant directly to release the belly of Šamaš and Šin, as well as the belly of an ox, sheep and a human patient.

YOS 11 13; this fragmentary spell resembles the “Belly Plant” spell in a few phrases.¹⁸

CUSAS 32 70 (MS 3097): vi 9–41 // 8i (MS 3085): ii 40'–iii 37 (George 2016, 129–132); contains the most extended OB version of the spell. No. 8i, MS 3085: ii 40'–41' offers a variant opening line restored by George as [šamm]um ša li[bbim šūs]um damāq[šu], “The plant for the belly, [fair] was [its] beauty.” This version of the spell presents an extended chain of beings (domesticated animals and humans) whose bellies are “seized” by the plant. The duplicate No. 70: vi 27 ff. continues with an address to a messenger similar to the introductory formula in Old Babylonian letters: “Speak (pl.) now to Asalluhi, son of Enki, that he [may release] the belly of ...!” (*annum ana Asalluḫi mār Enki qibiāma libbi ... [līwaš-šir]*).

A number of 1st millennium incantations provide close parallels to the Old Babylonian “Belly Plant” spells, discernible in the continuity of the structural patterns and motifs.

STT 252: 1–15: *šamme l[ibbi ina šadī ašī]ma*, “The plant for the belly was growing on a mountain,” is found on a small excerpt tablet in landscape format with three incantations for the belly.¹⁹ Erica Reiner argued that the incantations on this tablet were directed against *kīs libbi* in particular, but the tablet does not contain rubrics.²⁰

followed by a short ritual (lines 16–17) and by three more spells for a different purpose. A fragmentary spell in the Schøyen Collection may represent a version matching YOS 11 12 (George 2016, 36, No. 7n [MS 3097]: vi 1–3).

18 Cunningham 1997, No. 387; Wasserman 2003, cat. No. 240; SEAL text 5.1.11.3.

19 Reiner and Civil 1967, 191–192; Reiner 1985, 94–100; Veldhuis 1990, 36 ff.; Collins 1999, 148–151. Reiner read *šam-me k[i-is lib-bi]* etc.] instead.

20 The second composition on this tablet (lines 16–20), the belly incantation *mīna malū lib-būka*, “What are your insides full of?”, is also attested in a manuscript of Tablet 1 of the therapeutic series Suālu (*BAM* 574: ii 47–48 (+) *BAM* 577: 1'–4', duplicating *BAM* 508: ii 4'–8' // *AMT* 45/5: obv. 2'–6' // *BAM* 509: i 2'–6'; cf. below). The last spell in *STT* 252: 21–26 (// *BAM* 509: i 10'–14' // *BAM* 574: ii 52–56 (+) *BAM* 577: 6'–10') seems to address a similar problem, although Niek Veldhuis (1990, 39–40) suggested to understand the *libbu* which is accused of “eating” (*akālu*) and “breaking” (*hepû*, i.e. hurting) the “heart/belly” of the lonely young man and woman literally as the broken heart in matters of love, but Collins' reading of *STT* 252: 26 seems to indicate that the spell relates to a simile at home in the belly incantations: “May it come out (*lišā?*) like wind through the anus, like a ‘wine snake’ through the rear!” (*kīma šāri ana šuburri kīma šerri karāni ana arkati 'lišā?*”; cf. Collins 1999, 161–162; Johnson 2018). Gliding out like a “wine snake” is a phrasing also found in birth incantations

STT 252: 1–15 is almost identical with the spell *šammu ša libbi ina šadî ašîma* known from several Nineveh library tablets with collections of incantations and remedies for digestive disorders, one of which has been identified as Tablet 1 of the series *šumma amēlu suāla maruṣ*, “If a man suffers from cough (and it turns into constriction of the belly)” (Suālu), which is largely concerned with intestinal conditions.²¹ Both “versions” (or quasi-duplicates) are characterized by a switch to the first person after the introductory sentence: “I picked it (the plant) up, and it seized my belly. I spoke to Šamaš and it seized (*iššabat*) his belly ...” The speaker finally talks to Asalluḫi (var. Ea) who will release the belly of everyone involved including the patient. In one line, the plant is explicitly designated as belonging to Šamaš, which links the two texts to their Old Babylonian precursors.

The preceding incantation in Suālu 1 (*BAM* 574: iii 23–31) is a slightly differing, “elaborated” version of the “Belly Plant” spell.²² It begins *libbi Šamaš ina šadî [x x] maruṣma*, “The belly of Šamaš was sick on the [...] mountain,” and likewise uses the chain composition involving a series of parallel sentences about the plant “seizing” various beings and places. Neither of the spells in *BAM* 574: iii 23–39 bears a rubric.²³ Collins (1999, 77–78, 83–87) treated all Akkadian belly incantations, including those in Suālu 1, as spells against *kīs libbi* (the main topic of *BAM* 574: i–ii), regarding it as a general cover term for digestive illness. In the light of the new evidence provided by the two Old Babylonian “Belly Plant” spells published by George, which are grouped as spells for the sick belly (šà-gig-ga), it could be that the 1st millennium versions of the “Belly Plant” spell in Suālu 1 as well as the other incantations in Suālu 1: iii–iv without a specific rubric were still essentially regarded as recitations for the sick belly (*libbu*) in general.²⁴

(addressing the baby), see e.g. Michel 2004, 395–420, kt 90/k 178: 18–20; Barjamovic 2015, 74; cf. Stol 2000, 68–69.

21 *BAM* 574: iii 34–39, duplicating *AMT* 30/6+: rev. 8–9 // *AO* 7765: rev. 8–14 // *BAM* 576: ii 2’–12’; see Reiner 1985, 94–100; Veldhuis 1990, 36 ff.; Collins 1999, 145–148; Cadelli 2000, 82–83. Only *AO* 7765: rev. 15 gives a rubric for this incantation: [KA.INIM.MA DIŠ NA]*ib-bu i-re-du-šu*, “Incantation for the case that the belly ‘pursues’ a man.” For *AMT* 30/6+ and *AO* 7765, two duplicating fragments of a collection with treatments for the belly differing from Suālu 1, see also the Excursus below. *BAM* 576 is a fragment of a two-column library tablet. According to Reiner (1985, 100, n. 2), one more Nineveh fragment K 19455 (see <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P404281>) contains still another version of the “Belly Plant” incantation.

22 Veldhuis 1990, 37–39; Collins 1999, 137–140; Cadelli 2000, 81–82.

23 The next preserved incantation rubric on *BAM* 574 is “for (the case that) the belly seizes him” (iv 41: KA.INIM.MA ÉN šá ŠÀ DAB-šú).

24 For an edition of these incantations see Collins 1999, 124–176 and Johnson 2018 for discussion.

First millennium BCE therapeutic incantations belonging to the genre of KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KÁM occur especially in Tablet 1 of the series Suālu. In one such example, in the spell *mīna malû libbūka*, “What are your insides full of?”, the belly is depicted as a silted up river/canal that has to be dug open so that excrement and the “whirlwind inside him may come out” (*ašamšūtu ša libbīšu lišâmma*).²⁵ Both of these motifs (river and wind) likewise occur in BM 92518, and wind as a causative agent of intestinal illness is the main topic of the following sub-genre of belly spells.

2) *Incantations Concerned with Removing TU₁₅, “Wind,” (or Flatus) from the Body/Digestive Tract*

A few incantations against intestinal ailment bear rubrics that mark them as spells concerned with “wind” (*tu₁₅ / šāru*). Many of these spells tend to characterize “wind” as a cosmic power (rather than a body substance) and as a personified agent associated with the gods. This is also the case in the Akkadian incantation in BM 92518: 22–25, although it is designated together with the preceding bilingual text as a spell for the “belly/inside”. In belly incantations and beyond we often find the idea that wind having entered the body causes the illness and is consequently urged to leave through different orifices (mouth or anus).²⁶ In a number of belly incantations, however, we encounter images suggesting a different underlying idea, namely that “wind” (or air) develops during the processes of digestion (which are compared with fermentation), but has become trapped in the intestines, because its gateways (mouth and/or anus) are closed up.²⁷ This imagery and model is also typical for spells against

25 *BAM* 574: ii 46–48 (+) *BAM* 577: 1’–5’ // *AMT* 45/5: obv. 1’–10’ // *BAM* 508: ii 1’–11’ // *BAM* 509: i’ 1’–9’ // *STT* 252: 16–20; see Collins 1999, 135: 6–8; Farber 1990, 319–320. For a complete score of duplicates see Collins 1999, 134 ff.; see also Farber 1990, 319–320; Reiner and Civil 1967, 192 (for *STT* 252: 16–20) and the discussion in Stol 2006, 115; Böck 2014a, 121; Johnson 2018. Note, however, that the rubric is only preserved in the sources *AMT* 45/5: obv. 10’ and *BAM* 508: ii 11’ (both of which belong to tablets focusing on diarrhoea). The series tablet of Suālu *BAM* 574 itself does not preserve any instances where the rubric KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KAM is appended to an incantation.

26 First millennium BCE examples of incantations addressing wind in the intestines were likewise integrated in the therapeutic series Suālu, see e.g. *BAM* 574: iii 43–45 and iii 56–57 (Suālu 1; Cadelli 2000, 83–84, 102–103, 119–120; Collins 1999, 125–127; Foster 1996, No. IV.35). For wind as a disease agent, see also Steinert 2016.

27 See e.g. the incantations *BAM* 574: iii 41–42 and iii 54 (Suālu 1; Collins 1999, 128, 130–131; cf. Cadelli 2000, 83–84, 101–102, 119–120), and also the OB incantation *PBS* 7 87: 1–2 (Collins 1999, 129–130; Stol 2006, 115, n. 109), equating the belly with a fermenting vessel (*namzītu*) and “wind” with the fermenting mixture (*billatu*).

kīs libbi, “bond of the belly”, which may suggest that closed-up “wind” was one of the main symptoms associated with digestive disorders (sick belly) and with *kīs libbi* in particular.²⁸

One OB Sumerian spell, *OECT* 5 23 (Cunningham 1997, No. 168; Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1995b, 191; George 2016, 119), bears the rubric *ka-inim-ma tu₁₅-a-kam*, “recitation for the ‘wind’”. It describes how the wind blowing from the “upper/lower sea” and from the “horizon” brought the “sick belly” and “sick gut” (*ša-gig, libiṣ-gig*) to mankind, seizing the belly of the patient. The incantation features a short dialogue between Asalluḫi and Enki and presents an ending similar to BM 92518: 19–21, articulating the wish that the wind/illness may leave the body via the anus. *OECT* 5 23: 17 probably should be restored: [*še₁₀-gi*]_{n7} *ḫé-dúr-re bu-lu-úḫ-gin₇ ḫé-si-il-e*, “May it break wind like excrement, may it burst forth like a burp!,” following the Sumerian bile incantation *zé-àm ú-šim-gin₇ ki mu-un-dar* (see Michalowski 1981, 16: 16–17, and below).

The OB single text tablet *OECT* 11 3 with an Akkadian incantation has been treated several times in the literature; its rubric reads *K[A.INIM.MA ša-a-r]u-um*.²⁹ This short spell displays the compositional principle of the “chain” (Veldhuis 1993), in this case consisting of a repeated imperative addressing the disease agent (*šī šārum*, “Depart, wind!”), combined with a range of body parts (head, eye, mouth, ear, anus), which are envisaged as routes for the wind leaving the body (cf. Collins 1999, 78–82). The incantation concludes with the wish that the patient may calm down (cf. similarly BM 92518: 24).³⁰

Lately, George (2016, 133–134, No. 8d [MS 3085]: i 45’–ii 16’) has discovered an Akkadian spell with the rubric “recitation for a bloated ox or sheep” (*KA.INIM.MA GU₄ UDU.NÍTA emrum*) in an OB incantation compendium which attributes the disease condition to “evil wind (and) evil poison of the belly” (ii 2’–3’: *šāram lemnam imtam lemuttam ša libbim*). The incantation is followed by an intriguing therapeutic instruction (*kikkittum*) to have the animal drink a saline solution with the effect that the illness is flushed out via the anus, a treatment likewise encountered in therapies against bile and intestinal disorders in human patients.

28 Collins 1999, 78; for examples from 1st millennium therapeutic texts, see e.g. *BAM* 574: i 26 ff.; Cadelli 2000, 70–71, where bloating and wind in the belly feature as symptoms of *kīs libbi*; cf. further below sub 4.

29 Farber 1981, 54, n. 3; *OECT* 11, 21–22; Foster 1996, No. II.18; Veldhuis 1993, 52 ff., text F; Cunningham 1997, No. 354; Collins 1999, 124–125; Wasserman 2003, cat. No. 113; *SEAL* text 5.1.4.3.

30 *OECT* 11, 21: 9–10: *li-ip-ša-a-[ḫ a]-‘wī-lum / li-ip-[x x] x ni x x*; differently Farber 1981, 54, n. 3: *li-nu-úḫ?* [...] *x ir ‘ša-a-ru’-[um]*.

3) *Spells Concerned with the Overproduction of “Bile” (sum. zé, akk. martu)*

Discussions of the imagery of the bile incantations and their place within 1st millennium BCE medical compendia concerned with digestive ailments have elucidated that bile was conceptualized as an “acidic substance in liquid form” (Michalowski 1981, 9) closely associated on the one hand with the intestines (the belly/inside), and on the other hand with liver diseases such as jaundice.³¹ The recurring link between bile and belly in Akkadian/Sumerian expressions referring both to bodily complaints as well as to emotional trouble shows further that the digestive system with its associated organ liver/gallbladder is the focal point of Mesopotamian understanding of internal bodily processes (Stol 1993, 27–32; Böck 2014b, 111–118). This link between bile and digestive disorders is further strengthened by Old Babylonian incantation compendia which gather spells against bile and spells for the “sick belly” in close proximity (George 2016, No. 7h–i, l–p; No. 8e–j, l).

The best known OB bile incantation in Sumerian, zé-àm ú-šim-gin₇ ki mu-un-dar “It is bile—it broke through the earth like a plant” (Michalowski 1981, 4: 13 ff., texts A–E; Alster 1972, 350–351), is attested in three OB and three 1st millennium sources. One of the latter manuscripts constitutes Tablet 3 of the therapeutic series Suālu (*BAM* 578: ii 29–38).³² Another somewhat extended OB version of this spell has recently come to light (George 2016, 123 ff., No. 7i). This spell contains a prominent motif associated with the disease agent bile. It is depicted as a goat (because of the yellow colour of its eyes) and as a snake “on burnt ground” spitting venom, alluding to the burning sensation caused by bile in the digestive tract.³³ Notably, bile is adjured to “extinguish” by itself “like a fire in the rushes”.³⁴ The last lines of the incantation (13–18) resemble BM 92518: 18–21, presenting a common therapy against bile and digestive disorder used by Mesopotamian healers, the “flush therapy” (cf. George 2016, 6 ff.): salt is to be

31 See the discussion in Collins 1999, 96–98; Böck 2014a, 122 ff.; Böck 2014b, 105 ff.; cf. Steinert 2014.

32 Ms A (BM 47859: 1–18; Alster 1972, 357) bears the rubric ka-inim-ma zé-kam. Cf. also Cunningham 1997, No. 103; Cadelli 2000, 196–198; Böck 2014a, 122–123; Böck 2014b, 105 ff.

33 The variant version of the spell in George 2016, 123 ff., No. 7i: iv 23'–24' compares the bile with a water-snake and with a snake in the bedchamber, the latter of which seems to draw on a comparison between the belly and the inner chamber of a house. For similar metaphors (house and aquatic domain) describing the womb cf. Steinert 2017.

34 The same comparison is already encountered in the Early Dynastic belly incantation published by George 2016, 121–122, No. 1h (x 1–3).

taken and placed in the patient’s mouth (BM 92518 mentions salt and “thyme”), and the illness will be expelled from the body like a flatus and a burp:

lag mun-na šu ù-me-ti / nam-šub ù-me-sì / ka-ka-na ù-me-gar / še₁₀-gin₇
 ḫé-dúr-re / bu-lu-úḫ-gin₇ ḫé-si-il-le / tu₁₅-gin₇ gu-du-ni-ta ḫé-em-ma-ra-
 du (ms. A; var. ḫé-em-ma-ra-e₁₁-dè)

When you have taken a lump of salt in your hand, when you have cast the spell, when you have placed (the salt) in his mouth—may (the bile) come out (lit. break wind) like excrement, may it burst forth like a burp, may it go out from his anus like wind!³⁵

Two more Old Babylonian incantations against bile known to us are preserved on single text tablets. The first, VS 17 25 is an OB tablet with a spell that seems to be a condensed variant version of the incantation zé-àm ú-šim-gin₇ ki mu-un-dar (Alster 1972, 352, text C; Cunningham 1997, No. 247, with the rubric [tu₆ én-é-nu-ru] ka-inim-ma zé-kam).

The second one, VS 17 24 (Alster 1972, 352; Stol 1983, 304; Cunningham 1997, No. 246) is a small single text tablet with the rubric ka-inim-ma zé-kam. Andrew George has lately published an edition of the text together with a longer version of the spell found in an OB incantation compendium (George 2016, 122–123, No. 7h, likewise with the rubric ka-inim-ma zé-[kam]). The beginning of the short version in VS 17 24 is very similar to the incantation zé-àm ú-šim-gin₇ ki mu-un-dar. The treatment alluded to in the last line of the spell also involves salt, designated as “mouth-opener of the gods”:

- 1) zé-a ú-šim-gin₇ ki in-dar
- 2) edin-na ba-àm-mú
- 3) lú-ulu₃ pap-ḫal-la lú-ulu₃ nu-zu-a
- 4) tu₆ im-gaz lú-ulu₃ šim-gin₇ mu-un-da-an-ti
- 5) sig₄-gin₇ mu-un-da-si
- 6) ninda nu-gu₇-e a nu-na₈-na₈
- 7) ḏasal-lú-ḫi igi im-ma-an-si
- 8) mun ka-du₈-a dingir-re-e-ne ù-me-du₈
- 9) ka-inim-ma zé-kam

35 In the variant version (George 2016, 123 ff., No. 7i: v 3 ff.), Enki instructs Asalluḫi to have the patient drink the salt lump dissolved in one litre of beer. The application of a potion containing a salt solution remains a popular form of therapy against “bile” in 1st millennium medical texts, see e.g. *BAM* 578 (Suālu 3): i 17, 24; George 2016, 8.

It is bile! It broke through the earth like a plant,
 it grew up in the steppe.
 The troubled man, the unwitting man—
 broke the spell. It has made the man live like a plant (i.e. lying flat on
 the ground?).
 It has filled him like a brick.³⁶
 He does not eat bread, he does not drink water.
 Asalluḫi saw him:
 “May salt, the ‘mouth-opener of the gods’, loosen it.”
 It is a recitation for bile.

As George (2016, 6 ff.) has shown, the image of bile as a plant breaking through the earth corresponds well with the envisaged therapy employing salt which draws on an experience from agriculture: just as salt is deadly to plants, this substance is bound to remove the poisonous bile from the patient’s body, by opening the body orifices.³⁷

Further, VS 17 1, an Old Babylonian tablet containing a collection of incantations in four columns, features a different short Sumerian spell against bile (without rubric) in col. iv 13–17 (Cunningham 1997, No. 212; George 2016, 8). As in the preceding compositions, bile rising up from the belly is compared with a plant coming out of the earth. Notably, this text explains the curative power of the therapeutic agent salt against bile:

zé-a ḫuš-a zé-a šúr-ra / zé šà-bé è-a zé šà ki è-a / zé šà lú-ulu₃-lu-ke₄ lú-ulu₃
 erasure -^rra²/-ke₄²¹ / ù-zu àm-e₁₁-me-en / mun šim an ki im-mi-i[n]-ḫu-
 luḫ-ḫa

O furious bile, angry bile, bile going forth into a belly, bile coming out of the earth, bile in the human belly whom mankind knows?; you are about to depart, for salt frightens the plants of heaven and earth.

36 Following Stol 1983, 304 and George 2016, 123, notes on ll. 6’–7’. The patient is unable to ingest food because his belly feels as if filled with a brick. The preceding lines seem to imply that the sufferer unwittingly unleashed the power of the plant by “breaking a spell” (possibly by picking up the plant in the steppe?).

37 Notably, the plant metaphor also involves colour symbolism, since green as the colour of vegetation and yellow as the colour of bile are designated by only one colour term in Sumerian/Akkadian (sig₇; [w]arqu).

One Old Assyrian tablet (kt 90/k 178: 24–34), found at Kaneš (Kültepe) in a house containing the business archives of an Assyrian merchant, features an early Akkadian example for a spell against bile (together with a birth incantation preceding it): its incipit reads *erqum eriq eriqtum erqat*, “The yellow one (masc.) is indeed yellow, the yellow one (fem.) is indeed yellow!” (Michel 2004, 398 ff.). The spell invokes the image of bile as a yellow goat grazing on a “meadow” irrigated by canals (*miřirtum*) and chased away by “throwing” at it beer-dough, salt and thyme (cf. below). This spell forms a close forerunner to a 1st millennium incantation found in Suālu 3 (*BAM* 578: iii 45–49).

In the 1st millennium therapeutic series Suālu, Tablet 3, the spell zé-àm ú-řim-gin₇ ki mu-un-dar discussed above is followed by two Akkadian incantations against bile (*BAM* 578: ii 39–44 and ii 45–49). They elaborate on the imagery of the Old Babylonian incantations. In the first composition, bile (*martu*, *pāřittu*, “destroyer; bile liquid”) is described as a yellow heron (*igirû*-bird) that “looks at” people eating bread and drinking beer, associating biliary dysfunction with the ingestion of food: “When you eat bread, when you drink beer, I will fall upon you and you have to belch like an ox!” (*BAM* 578: ii 43–44).³⁸

The following incantation *enzum arqat mārša aruq*, “The she-goat is yellow, its offspring is yellow” (*BAM* 578: ii 45–49), is explicitly devoted to *pāřittu*-disease (ii 50: K[A.INIM.MA ř]a pa-řit-ti). It develops the image of bile as a yellow goat and the connection with food (the goat eats yellow grass from a yellow meadow, it drinks yellow water from a yellow canal, i.e. the digestive tract).³⁹ Like in the Old Assyrian precursor of this spell kt 90/k 178, the illness/goat is chased away by “throwing” a mixture (*billu*) of thyme and salt at it (ii 48), which reminds us of the incorporated instruction in BM 92518: 18 to add salt and thyme (to the patient’s food) and have him ingest it (see commentary below).

4) *Incantations Focusing on Painful Digestive Disorders, Concerned with “Constriction/Bond of the Belly”* (řà/libiř-gig // kīs libbi)

The motif of the belly as a closed-up container encountered in BM 92518: 1–21 presents a link to the illness *kīs libbi*, “bond of the belly”, treated prominently within Suālu Tablet 1, cols. i–ii. In bilingual incantations and in the lexical tradition, Akkadian *kīs libbi* can be equated with the Sumerian terms libiř-gig,

38 See Collins 1999, 230–231; Cadelli 2000, 198. Barbara Böck (2014a, 123 ff.) discusses the association of bile with jaundice in the context of Suālu 3 (*BAM* 578), where treatments for jaundice follow those against bile in col. iii–iv; see also Collins 1999, 96–98.

39 Collins 1999, 231–233; Böck 1999, 420–421; Cadelli 2000, 198; Foster 1996, No. IV.30; Böck 2014a, 123–124; George 2016, 7.

“sick inside”,⁴⁰ or šà-gig, “sick belly”,⁴¹ which shows that especially in 1st millennium texts šà and libiš tend to overlap in meaning.⁴² In Old Babylonian Sumerian or bilingual texts, however, libiš-gig sometimes follows šà-gig in enumerations of illnesses, which suggests that šà denotes the belly/stomach and libiš the bowels/gut.⁴³

Spells against the condition *kīs libbi*, “constriction/bond of the belly”, are not attested in the OB period through an Akkadian rubric where belly spells are consistently designated as KA.INIM.MA šà-gig-ga-kam or KA.INIM.MA ša libbi(m). The rubric KA.INIM.MA LIBIŠ_x(ÁB.ŠĀ), “recitation for the gut”, is found for two short OB spells in Akkadian on a four-column tablet with incantations (George 2016, 134, No. 30a–b sub II.E.11). One of the spells (No. 30b: i 11 ff.) reads: “Wood belongs to god, waterskin belongs to man. Let the wood stand, let the waterskin (*nādum*) be broken (*liḥḥepi*)!” This composition describes a contrast between the divine body (statue) made of solid wood and the human body envisaged as a container enveloped by skin and filled with fluids, a metaphor that is otherwise used to describe the womb in a Neo-Babylonian incantation against gynaecological bleeding (Steinert 2012b).

Many 1st millennium BCE incantations for intestinal trouble, e.g. in the series Suālu, refer prominently to the belly that is “seized” (*šabātu*), “bound” or constricted by a “bond/knot” (*kīsu/kasû*; *kişru/kaşāru*; cf. Cadelli 2000, 363 ff.).

40 See e.g. šà-gig libiš-gig = *muruş libbi kīs libbi* in CT 44 32+33: i 1'–v 6' // (Borger 1969a, 1–2, 4 § 5; ll. 23–24, 13 § 25; ll. 248–249; Borger 1969b, 174–175, 248–249); OB Udug-ḫul: Geller 1985, 58–59: 650–651 (Mss. B, F, J, E); cf. the 1st millennium bilingual versions: Geller 2016, 83: 68 (Tablet 2); 230: 56 (Tablet 6); 250: 4; 255: 23 (Tablet 7); 332, n. 47; 418: 103 (Tablet 12). See also the lists of diseases in lexical series, e.g. Antagal e: 5–6 (MSL 17, 249): [šà]-gig = MIN (*muruş libbi*) / [libiš]-gig = *kīs libbi*; Ḫḫ 15: i 1 (MSL 9, 92): *kīs libbi* as the first disease term heading the list.

41 See e.g. ABRT 1, 18, DT 48: 5–6 //; var. KAR 41: 5 (Böck 2007, 184: 3); Cohen 1988, 127: 65–67 equating both libiš and šà with Akk. *libbu*; ibid. 224: a+17: šà-gig = *kīs libbi*. Note also CT 17 19: i 17–18 equating šà-dab-ba, “seized belly”, with *kīs libbi*. For šà-gig and libiš-gig see also CT 4 3 (OB Sumerian incantation against the curse; Cooper 1971, 12–13, text A: libiš-gig beside šà-dab₅-ba).

42 For discussion see also Böck 2014a, 25–26, 105; Böck 2014b, 102–104.

43 See Böck 2014b, 104, citing the OB Udug-ḫul incantation Ni 630 (Geller 1985, 144, 148: 142'–147'; Geller 2016, 543–544) which presents the following array of body part terms *de capite ad calcem*: gaba (“chest”), ḡeš-gaba (“breast bone”), šà (“belly”), libiš (“abdomen”), saḡ-libiš (“epigastrium”), ka-kéšda libiš (“intestines”). For these body part terms, see also Couto-Ferreira 2009, 263–268, 275–276. Note further the enumeration of [Š]Ā.GIG LIBIŠ.ŠĀ.GIG ḫ[īp Š]Ā.GIG (ll. 46–47) in the appended recipe on the OB school tablet with bile incantations published by Geller and Vacín (2017).

But since most of these spells do not bear a rubric, they may be assigned to the genre of spells for the sick belly (šà-gig); cf. above sub 1.

Within the therapeutic corpus of the 1st millennium, the ailment *kīs libbi* seems to have been the focus of the first two columns of Suālu 1, which is indicated by its recurring appearance in symptom descriptions and purpose statements.⁴⁴ Characteristic symptoms associated with this illness are constriction (closure) of the belly (in particular its openings—mouth and anus), bloating, abdominal pain, retention of excrement and “wind”/flatus in the belly, sometimes accompanied by various additional symptoms such as fever (Collins 1999, 77–78; Cadelli 2000, 362 ff.). One incantation in *BAM* 574: ii 21–27 is designated specifically as a spell for *kīs libbi* (ii 28: KA.INIM.MA *ana kīs libbi tamannu*; Collins 1999, 166–168; Cadelli 2000, 77; Johnson 2018). It describes the stomach as twisted (*zīr karšu*), the intestines as “knotted together” or “tied up” (*tīrānu kušsurū*), and attributes the problem to “wind of the steppe” having blown (*šār šēri edip*) into the patient (ll. 21, 23).

The symptomologies connected to *kīs libbi* may possibly represent a more specific form of digestive disorder, although the characteristic symptoms of *kīs libbi* such as abdominal pain and wind recur throughout the genre of belly incantations.

44 See *BAM* 574: (//) i 1, 4, 11, 21, 26. Note the use of the verb *kasû* with *libbu* in ii 10, 15, 17, 33, 43; Cadelli 2000, 60 ff., 361 ff. In the Assur Medical Catalogue, the key word *kīs libbi* is found beside *kišir libbi*, “knot of the belly”, in the summary section for the series Suālu (STOM-ACH) among other words and phrases listing key topics covered in this compilation (see Beckman and Foster 1988, 12, No. 9b: 18'; for an edition see Steinert 2018).

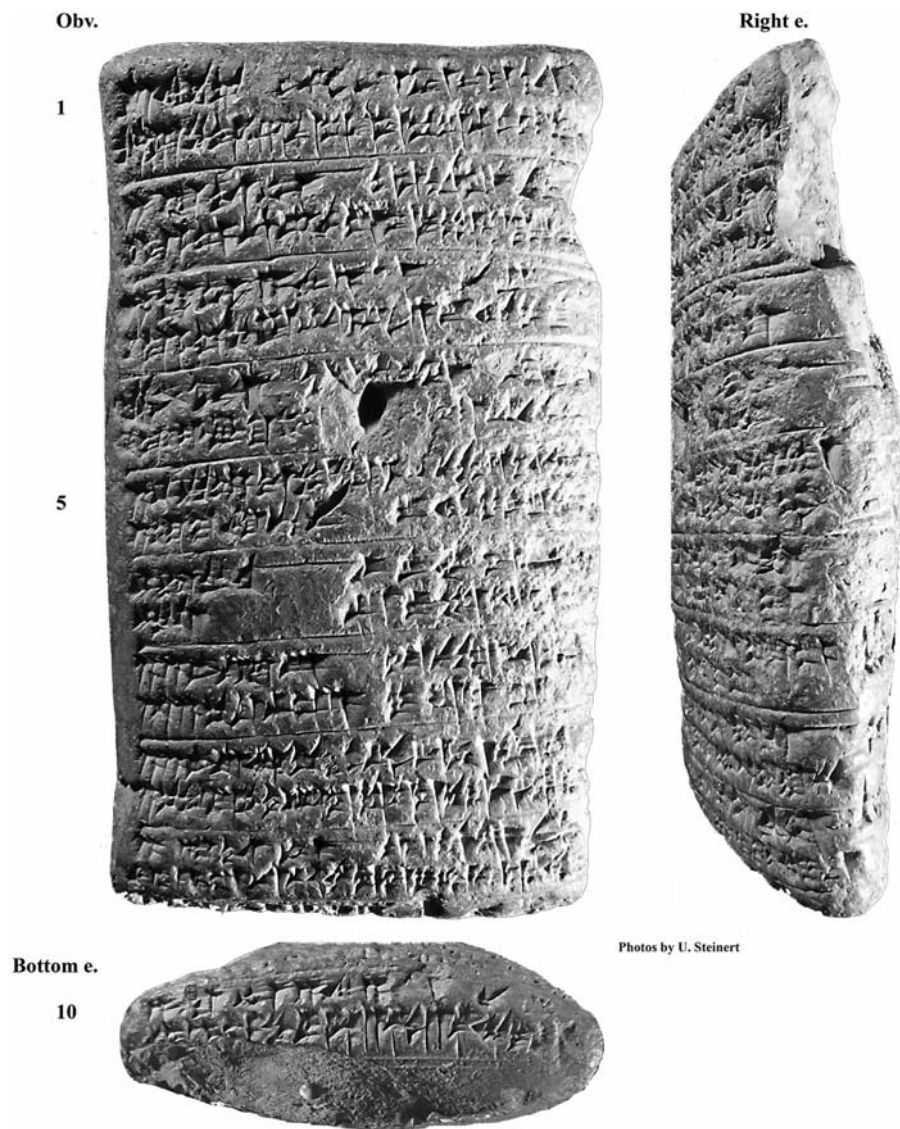
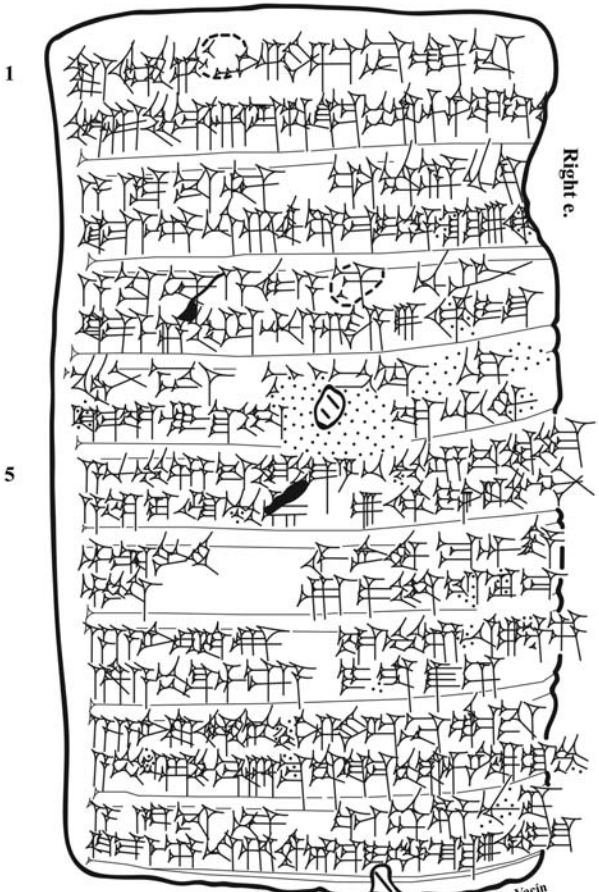


FIGURE 28.1 *BM 92518 (CT 4 8a), obverse, right edge, and bottom edge*
PHOTOS U. STEINERT

Obv.



Bottom e.



FIGURE 28.2 BM 92518 (CT 4 8a), obverse and bottom edge
COPY L. VACÍN

Rev.

Right e.

11

15

20

Top e.

25

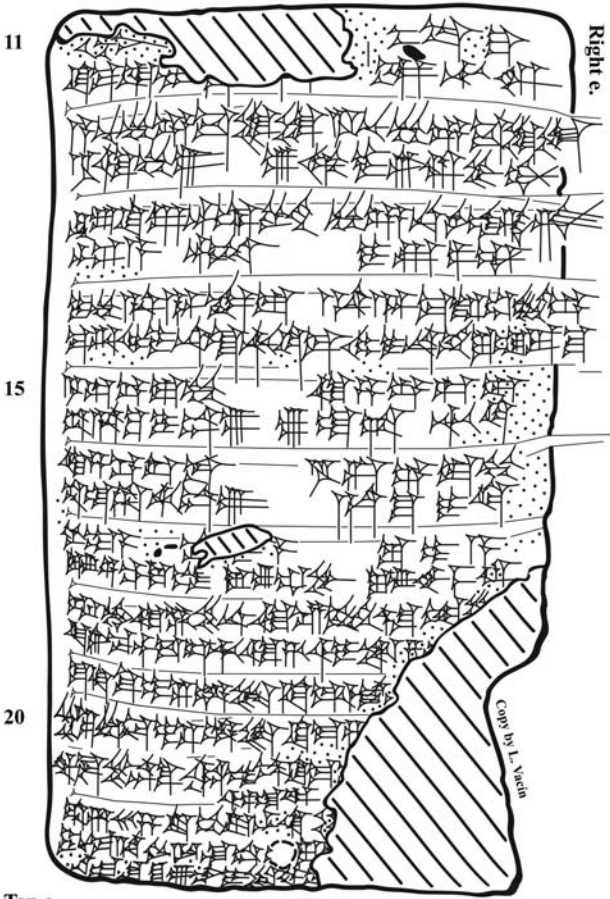
Colophon



Photos by U. Steinert

FIGURE 28.3 *BM 92518 (CT 4 8a), reverse, right edge, and bottom edge*
PHOTOS U. STEINERT

Rev.



Top e.

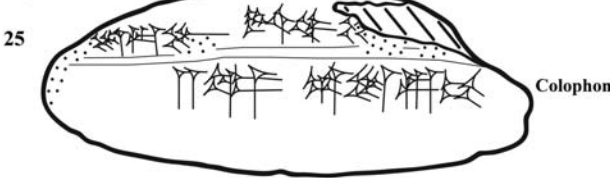


FIGURE 28.4 BM 92518 (CT 4 8a), reverse and bottom edge
COPY L. VACÍN

Edition of BM 92518

Transliteration

Obverse

- 1) šà gig-ga <<ʿinʿ>> (over erasure) ḡpisan¹-gin₇ kéš-da
li-ib-bu ma-ar-šú ša ki-ma pí-ša-an-ni ka-at-m[u]
- 2) a i₇-da-gin₇ al-du-un nu-zu
ki-ma me-e na-ri-im e-ma i-il-la-ku ú-ʿulʿ [i-dī]
- 3) a pú-gin₇ a-ḡe₆-a (erased GIN₇) nu-tuku
ki-ma me-e bu-ur-ti a-gi-a ú-ul i-šu
- 4) gakkul₃-gin₇ ʿka-biʿ ba-dul
ki-ma ka-ak-ku-li [pi-šu] ka-ti-im
- 5) a nu-mu-un-da-ku₄-ku₄ ninda nu-mu-un-da-ku₄-ku₄
a-ka-lu ù mu-ʿúʿ ú-ul i-ir-ru-bu-šum
- 6) ᵈasal-lú-ḫi igi-ni im-ma-an-sì
ᵈmarduk ip-pa-li-ís-sú-ma
- 7) a-a-ni ᵈen-ki-ke₄ ḡu mu-un-na-dé-e
a-na a-bi-šu ᵈé-a i-ʿša¹-ás-si
- 8) a-a-ni šà gig-ga <<ʿinʿ>> ḡpisan¹-gin₇ kéš-da
a-biʿ ʿliʿ-ib-bu ma-ar-ʿšúʿ ša ki-ma pí-ša-an-ni ka-at-mu
- 9) a i₇-da-gin₇ al-du-un nu-zu
ki-ma me-e na-ri-im e-ma i-il-la-ku ú-ul i-dī(ŠU)

Bottom Edge

- 10) a pú-gin₇ a-ḡe₆-a (erased GIN₇) nu-tuku
ki-ma me-ʿeʿ bu-ur-ti a-gi-a ú-ul i-šu

Reverse

- 11) ʿgakkul₃ʿ-[gin₇ ka-b]iʿ ba-ʿdulʿ
ki-ma ka-ʿak-kuʿ-[l]i p[i-šu] ka-ti-im
- 12) a nu-mu-un-da-ku₄-ku₄ ninda nu-mu-un-da-ku₄-ku₄
NINDA ù mu-ú ú-ul i-ir-ru-bu-šum
- 13) ᵈen-<(líl)>-ki-ke₄ ᵈasal-lú-ḫi mu-un-na-ni-íb-gi-gi
ᵈé-a ᵈmarduk i-ip-pa-al
- 14) dumu-ḡu₁₀ a-na-àm nu¹(NE)-zu a-na-àm ma-ra-ab-daḫ-e
ma-ri mi-i-na la ti-di-ma mi-i-na-am lu-ši-ib-šu
- 15) níḡ ḡe₂₆-e zu-ḡu₁₀ ù za-e ḡá-zu
ša a-na-ku i-du-ú <<ú>> at-ta ti-di

- 16) ù za-e ḡá-zu níḡ ḡe₂₆-e zu-ḡu₁₀
ša at-ta ti-du-ú a-na-ku i-di
- 17) lú hé-a 'gu₄ hé-a' udu hé-a
lu-ú a'(E)-wi-lu-tum lu-ú al-pu lu-ú im-me-ru
- 18) lag mun ù ḡa'-še-na ù-un-daḡ ù-bí-i[n-x-(x)]
ki-ir-ba-an ṭa-ab-ti ù ḡa-ši-i uṣ-ša-a[b? x x x]
- 19) še₁₀-(gin₇) ki-še hé-si-il-le ki-ma ši-it-t[im li-id-di?]
- 20) bu-lu-uḡ-gin₇ hé-si-il-le ki-ma g[i-šu-tim li-ig-šu?]
- 21) tu₁₅-gin₇ gu'(ŠE)-du-še è-ib-ta ki-ma š[a-ri-im li-še-ši?]
ši-pa-at pîm(KA) ([x x x x x])
- 22) *ša-ri éz-za libbi(ŠÀ-bi) libbi šamê (u) eršetim(ŠÀ AN.KI) t[u-la-ap-pa-at?]*
- 23) *i-nu-ma a-na LÚ qáb-la-tím'(text: -túm erasure) lu-l[a-ap-pi-it a-na pi-šu?]*
- 24) [i]-na-ad-di šu-šam^{am?} i-le-em-m[a x x x x x x]

Top Edge

- 25) *li-ib-bu i-na-aḡ l[i-x-x x-x-x]*
 Colophon: 2 KA.(INIM.MA) *ša li-ib-bi*

Translation

- 1) The sick belly is closed up like a basket,
- 2) like the waters of a river it does not know where it should go,
- 3) it has no flow like water of a well,
- 4) its orifice is covered like (that of) a fermenting vat,
- 5) no food and drink can enter it.
- 6) Asalluḡi-Marduk has looked into it,
- 7) and he calls out to his father Enki-Ea:
- 8) “My father, the sick belly is closed up like a basket,
- 9) like the waters of a river it does not know where it should go,
- 10) it has no flow like water of a well,
- 11) its orifice is covered like (that of) a fermenting vat,
- 12) no food and drink can enter it.”
- 13) Enki-Ea answers Asalluḡi-Marduk:
- 14) “My son, what do you not know and what could I add for you?
- 15) Whatever I know, you know too,
- 16) whatever you know, I know as well.”
- 17) Be it a human, be it cattle, be it sheep:
- 18) When he has added? a lump of salt and thyme [...],

- 19) May it burst on the ground like dung.
 20) May it burst out like a burp.
 21) Come out like wind from the anus!
 Incantation of/for the “opening” [(...)].
 22) O angry wind of the belly, yo[u strike?] the belly of heaven and earth!
 23) When into(?) a man (you enter saying): “The hips let me g[rasp]!” Into his
 mouth(?)
 24) he (the man)] should put licorice(?), he should eat it and [...].
 25) The belly will calm down, the be[lly ...].
 Colophon: Two incantations concerning the belly.

Commentary

Line 1

The sign IN within the phrase in ^gpisan-gin₇ seems superfluous, but oddly, the scribe repeated it also in the parallel line 8. Unless regarded as a scribal error, one could speculate whether it represents a muddled “phonetic” spelling for níĝ, which would correspond to the relative pronoun *ša* in the Akkadian version.⁴⁵

The analogy between the belly and a “covered” basket (^gpisan-gin₇ kéš-da // *ša kīma pišanni katmu*) is also found in other incantations. Thus, in an OB incantation against witchcraft the physical effect of the sorcery that entered the patient’s body via bewitched food is compared with a basket that is firmly closed:

ša ^gpisan-gin₇ ki-ši-da (= kéš-da) ħé-du₈ / níĝ-AK pisan-gin₇ ki-ši-da-ni
 (var. kéš-da-ni) ħé-du₈ / ú é¹-a-gin₇ (var. a è-a-gin₇) ú ħé-si-le (var. ħé-si-il-le)

The belly (is) like a basket—may the “knot” be untied! The machinations (are) like a basket—may his “knot” be untied! May the (bewitched) food burst forth like gushing water!⁴⁶

Also in the Sumerian version of BM 92518: 1, the belly is “tied” (kéš-da) rather than “covered” (*katmu*) as in the Akkadian translation, which makes an unusual

45 As another alternative, but fanciful explanation it could be suggested that the scribe intended the sign IN as a part of the determinative for pisan “box; basket”. Sumerian in corresponds to Akkadian *pû*, “chaff, straw” (*CAD* P 471), which together with *gi* “reed” would have expressed the composite material of pisan.

46 Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1995a, 24, MA 34–35 (// *CT* 58 79 // *CT* 44 34 // *UET* 6/2 149).

equation, since one would expect the verb *kašāru* instead—in accordance with the condition *kišir libbi*, “knot of the belly”, encountered in later medical texts.⁴⁷ The use of *katāmu* may stem from the image and properties of the basket which is typically covered with a lid rather than tied by a string.⁴⁸

The analogy between the interior of the body and a closed container refers here to the stopping of digestive processes, but in other cases the container metaphor involves similar analogies linking digestion to fermentation (cf. also the comparison of diarrhoea or bleeding with a leaking [fermenting] vessel; Steinert 2013; Steinert 2016). Thus, the first lines of BM 92518 show certain similarities to the beginning of an OB Sumerian incantation against bile (Geller and Vacín 2017, 86–87):

- 1) [g]ú-bi níĝ-ge pisan-gin₇ [...]
- 2) ʾaʾ i₇-daʾ-gin₇ ba-du₇ nu-[du₁₀-ga]
- 3) a pú-gin₇ a-ĝe₆-a nu-d[u₁₀-ga]
- 4) ka gakkul₃-àm saĝ-ĝá dab₅-[dab₅]
- 5) ú udun-ʾke₄ sar-sarʾ a ʾudun-ke₄ sar-sarʾ

Something [*has ...-ed*] its rim like (that of) a basket,

It “gores” like water of the river—it does no [good].

Like well water in a flood—it does no go[od].

The “mouth” of the fermenting vat is affected at the top,

The foodstuffs in the oven are burned, the beverages in the oven are boiled away.

This incantation uses the same key words as BM 92518: 1 ff. (basket, river water, well water, flood, fermenting vat) to describe the belly affected by bile, but

47 E.g. *BAM* 575: iv 37 // (Suālu 2; Cadelli 2000, 145): DIŠ NA ki-ʾširʾ ŠĀ GIG-ma NINDA u KAŠ ʾŠĀ-šú la IGI-šú ina KA-šú GUR.GUR ʾTÜN-šú iʾ-sa-ḫal-šú, “If a man is sick with ‘knot of the belly’, so that he cannot keep down bread or beer, but keeps regurgitating it through his mouth (and) his stomach (lit. ‘bag’) hurts him.” Note the variant *kiširte libbi* GIG in *BAM* 575: iv 11 (Cadelli 2000, 144). Cf. the body part term ka-kešda libiš in Ni 630: 147ʾ referred to above, which would correspond to *kišir libbi* in Akkadian (the latter is only known as an illness, however).

48 The “covered belly” also occurs as a metaphor in the context of emotions in bilingual lamentations. Here, the god Enlil who “covered” (šú / *taktumu*) his “belly/inside (šà / *libbu*) like a basket” has turned away in anger from his country and as a consequence his inner intentions/feelings have become impenetrable to the human worshipper (*SBH* 131/1: 52; see Cohen 1988, 155: a+24–29; *CAD* P 421 lexical section).

here the imagery evokes a different situation. The digestive processes taking place in the belly are compared with cooking of foodstuffs in an oven which the bile causes to get burned, i.e. it causes a burning sensation in the belly as if bile was regarded as the heating substance fueling the “cooking” process of digestion (the model of cooking for digestion was likewise known in ancient Greece). The “mouth” of the “fermenting vat” is affected by the bile, depicted as rising up from the belly like a flood of river water. The end of the spell uses the common motif in belly/bile incantations: the expulsion of the illness-substance from the body, namely via the rear end. See also below *ad* BM 92518: 19–21.

Lines 2–3

The characterization of the patient’s problem now turns to a simile comparing the digestive tract to a river and a well which has no flow/current; the disorder is characterized by a lack of movement in the body/intestines and a cessation of digestive processes, which is regarded as a consequence of the body-container being closed up. This type of environmental analogy involving a description of the inner body, its channels and processes in terms of watercourses and processes associated with them (flooding, movement, silting up) is very common in Mesopotamian conceptualizations of digestion, bleeding and reproduction (conception/gestation) encountered in incantations.⁴⁹ Thus, in the belly incantation *mīna malû libbūka*, “What are your insides full of?,” integrated into Suālu 1, divine helpers acting as “canal-inspectors of the inside” are urged to open up the “canals” with their spades and shovels so that the faeces and the “whirlwind of the inside” can escape.⁵⁰

Lines 4–5

Here the imagery returns to the metaphor of the body as a container, comparing digestion to fermentation and the belly to the fermenting vat (*gakkul*₃

49 See Stol 2006, 114ff.; Böck 2014a, 120–128; Steinert 2013; 2015; 2016; 2017. The overlap in metaphors can be explained on the one hand through the polysemic meanings of *ša* / *libbu* denoting the inner body with its various organs (including the digestive tract and the womb), depending on the context. On the other hand, the use of the same metaphors for digestive processes and gestation reflects a common understanding of transformative processes within the body.

50 *BAM* 574: ii 47–48 (+) *BAM* 577: 1’–4’ // *BAM* 508: ii 4’–8’ // *AMT* 45/5: obv. 2’–6’ // *BAM* 509: i 2’–6’ // *STT* 252: 16–20; Farber 1990, 319–320; Collins 1999, 134–137; Stol 2006, 115; Böck 2014a, 121; Johnson 2018.

/ *kakkulu*).⁵¹ The characteristic of fermenting vessels making them a suitable object of comparison is that they have an opening at the top and bottom. Direct equation of the belly with a *namzītu*-fermenting vessel is made also in a belly incantation in Suālu 1 (*BAM* 574: iii 54; Collins 1999, 128 ff.; Stol 2006, 115: *libbu namzītu bilassu šāru*) and in the Old Babylonian incantation *PBS* 7 87: 1–2 (Collins 1999, 129, using the term *irtum*, “chest”, instead of *libbu*).⁵²

The statement in line 5 that no food and drink can enter the body reminds us of repeated statements in medical texts on digestive disorders, such as *kīs libbi*, that the patient’s belly “does not accept bread and beer”.⁵³

Lines 6–16

As is well known, the characteristics of the Marduk-Ea-formula was first described by Adam Falkenstein (1931, 53–58) who also coined the term. Seth Sanders (2001) has analyzed the function of the formula as part of an “introductory historiola” which describes the mythological origin of an illness or problem and provides its ritual solution, while at the same time giving divine legitimation to the ritual procedure accompanying the incantation. Lately, Nadezda Rudik (2011, 46 ff., 59, 61 ff. sub DME.311) has offered a detailed discussion of the structural principles and variants of the formula in incantations from the Early Dynastic to the Old Babylonian period. Since other deities can occur in the formula as well, Rudik suggests a broader designation for it, namely “consultation formula” and “communication formula”, the latter of which she restricts to instances where a junior deity consults a senior one via direct contact, not through a messenger.⁵⁴

Coincidentally, the scribe wrote ^den-⟨(lil)⟩-ki-ke₄ in line 13, which is an interesting error, given that in a number of early incantations Enlil appears in Enki’s

51 Sometimes the term used is *namzītu*; for the metaphor see also Maul 1992, 393; Maul 1994, 104; Civil 1964, 84; Collins 1999, 80–81.

52 See further three OB Akkadian incantations (without rubric) published by George (2016, 135–138, No. 32a–c, sub E.II.12) that are concerned with problems affecting the brewing vessel *namzītu*, which Andrew George interprets as a metaphoric description of the digestive system and suggests a medical function for the three spells at home within the belly incantations.

53 See e.g. *BAM* 574 // (Suālu 1): i 26: DIŠ NA *ki-is* [ŠÀ GIG NINDA *u* KAŠ] ŠĀ-šú NUIGI-*ḫar-šú* (Cadelli 2000, 70); *ibid.*: ii 29; Cadelli 2000, 75: DIŠ NA [ŠĀ-šú *e-t*] *a-na-šá-áš* NINDA *u* KAŠ *la i-maḥ-ḫar*; *BAM* 575 (Suālu 2): iii 4, 6, 16; Cadelli 2000, 135–136: DIŠ NA ŠĀ-šú NINDA (*u* KAŠ) *la i-maḥ-ḫar*.

54 For a discussion of the large number of variant spellings of the Marduk-Ea-formula in Old Babylonian incantations, which may be attributed to oral transmission and limited language competence in Sumerian, see now George 2016, 3–4.

role of advisor (cf. Kreberník 1984; Cunningham 1997; Rudik 2011; Ceccarelli 2015; George 2016).

In line 13, *mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi-gi* obviously stands for *mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄*. In line 14, one would expect the form *lūšibkum*, “(What) could I add for you?,” instead of *lu-ši-ib-šu* (with 3rd sg. pron. suff. in the acc.).

Line 17

Noteworthy is the inclusion of cattle and sheep beside the human patient in the embedded therapy, which reminds us of recipes to treat *kīs libbi* in horses in a medical compilation from Assur (*BAM* 159: v 33–47; Stol 2011, 387–399; Maul 2013, 18) and of a medical series devoted to horses and cattle in the Assur Medical Catalogue (Steinert 2018). See now also the OB incantation for bloat in oxen or sheep (George 2016, No. 8d sub II.E.10), in which the pathogenic wind in the animal’s belly is to be expelled via the anus after having it drink a salt solution.

Line 18

The restoration of the verb and the gap at the end of line 18 is not entirely certain. Andrew George (2016, 7) reads somewhat differently: *ù-bi-’in’-[šub] : us-ḥa-[am-ma]* and translates “(After you put together a lump of salt and thyme) and make (the sufferer) [hurl it away],” interpreting the expression as a symbolic action parallel to an Old Assyrian incantation against bile, in which the practitioner claims to have scared away the goat personifying the bile by throwing beer-dough mixed with salt and thyme at it (Michel 2004, 398, kt 90/k 178: 32–33: *a-dī-ši-im ba-pi-ra-am ḥa-šu-a-am ù [tā]-áb-tám*). This spell is very similar to a spell against bile in Suālu 3 (*BAM* 578: ii 45’–49’), where a mixture of salt and thyme is thrown at the “goat” (ii 48’: *issukši billi ḥašê u tābti*), after which bile dissolves “like fog”. The Akkadian imperative form *uṣḥamma* reconstructed by George in BM 92518: 18 (2016, 7 with n. 1) may be interpreted as a corrupt spelling for *usukma* (parallel to *nasāku* in *BAM* 578: ii 48’). However, since BM 92518: 1–21 does not develop a personified image of the illness comparable to the goat in the bile incantations, we rather expect that in this belly spell the lump of salt and thyme was given to the patient to eat by “adding” (*wašābu*) it to his food, even though we cannot offer a literal parallel for the phrasing of line 18. Strong support for this interpretation comes from the 1st millennium monolingual version of the spell (*AMT* 30/6: obv. 6’–7’ // AO 7765: obv. 8’–9’) which instructs to take salt(?) and thyme and put it into the patient’s mouth (see below).

The spelling *ḥa-še-na* in the Sumerian version has to stem from the Akkadian plant name *ḥašû*; although one may have to connect this particular spelling with the derivative plant name *ḥašānu/ḥašiānu*. This is peculiar, since *ḥašû* is

usually matched with the logogram ^uĪAR.ĪAR in later medical texts.

The 1st millennium monolingual variant version of the incantation (*AMT* 30/6+: obv. 6' //) likewise inserts the plant name in Akkadian (^uḫa-šu-ú). The identification of *ḫašu* with “thyme” is not certain; possibly it should be translated literally as “lung-plant”.

As discussed above, the internal use of salt is a common feature of belly incantations and often occurs in OB spells against bile (e.g. George 2016, 6 ff., 124, No. 7i: v 3–6; Michalowski 1981, 4, 13 ff.: 13–18, texts A–E). For related treatments involving salt or the ingestion of drugs by sucking on them, see Suālu 1, our commentary to BM 92518: 24 and the fragments *AMT* 30/6+ // in the Excur-sus below.

Lines 19–21

The reconstruction of lines 19–21 follows George’s reading (2016, 7). The Akka-dian equivalent of Sumerian bu-lu-^uḫ-gin₇ ḫé-si-il-le in line 20 is not entirely certain, however. Bendt Alster (1972, 354–355) and Sol Cohen (1976, 103) sug-gested to restore *ki-ma g[i-lit-ti ...]*, based on the lexical equation of [bu-l]^{bu-}^{lu-}^uḫ with *gi₅-li-it-tum*, “fear; shiver” and *ga-la-a-tum*, “to fear; to tremble” in the lexical list Izi Boğazköy B (*MSL* 13, 143 ff.; *KBo* 1 32: 12–13). However, the context of BM 92518: 19–21 makes it more than likely that the expression buluh–sil has to do with bodily secretions.⁵⁵ Cohen (1976, 98–103) further proposed that both Sumerian words buluh and sil could have been borrowed from Semitic verbal roots with the meaning “to split; to divide”, and he reconstructed for buluh–sil a literal meaning “to split a splitting”, while bu-lu-^uḫ si-il-si-il would mean “to divide (into) pieces”, because this phrase occurs in connection with crumbling and eating bread.⁵⁶ *PSD* B (167–168) differentiates two homonymous words buluh, “belch, burp” and buluh, “fright”/“to quiver; to become frightened”, and assumes the meaning “to produce(?) a belch” for bu-lu-^uḫ, with an iterative or intensive nuance in the reduplicated form (to belch constantly).

Given the parallelism with the emission of wind and excrement in BM 92518: 19–21, it is tempting to restore *kīma g[i-šu-tim li-ig-šu]* “may he belch it up like a belch” (with *PSD* B 168; Stol 2006, 114 and George 2016, 7), although lexical

55 Cohen assumes the nuance “like an ejaculation(?)” for Akkadian *kīma gilitti*, because *galātu* can mean “to have a premature emission” (*CAD* G 11). However, such a meaning is not attested for the noun *gilittu*.

56 The verb sil itself is equated with Akk. *s/šalātu*, “to split; to tear apart” (*CAD* S 94–95 lex-ical section) and with *nesû*, “to be distant” or *duppuru*, “to go away; to drive away” (written zil or sil₇; *CAD* N/2 86 lexical section).

confirmation for this equation is lacking.⁵⁷ This interpretation rests on the context and on parallels in medical texts mentioning breaking wind and belching as concurring illness symptoms; e.g. *TDP*, 66, Tablet 7: 67' (Scurlock 2014, 58: B rev. 11); *TDP*, 168, Tablet 17: 101 (Scurlock 2014, 171).⁵⁸

For a similar chain of parallel phrases note further the 1st millennium belly incantation *libbu libbu ekil*, “The belly, the belly is dark” (*BAM* 574: iv 27 ff. = Suālu 1; Collins 1999, 153–154; Cadelli 2000, 88) which also refers to the patient finding relief through burping:

[*ki-m*]a šá-a-ri a-na šu-bur-ri ki-ma gi-šu-te a-na ZI.MEŠ
[*i-n*]a zu-u'-ti ú-pa-ṭi u di-ma-ti ka-la SU-šú na-šal-li-la-ni

[Like] wind through the anus, like belch through the throat,
slither out (pl.) to me through his entire body in sweat, mucus and tears!

Therapeutic use of evacuation via mouth and anus is actually described in Suālu 1 (*BAM* 574: i 31) in a remedy for *kīs libbi*, here induced by having the patient drink different kinds of salt in beer (Cadelli 2000, 72: *ina KA-šú u DÚR-šú SI.SÁ-ma*).

Line 21

The meaning of *ka / pû* in the rubric *ši-pa-at KA* [(...)] is not entirely clear, neither can we say decidedly whether it specifies the first or the second incantation on the tablet, but the fact that it is written in smaller script just like the following lines could speak for the latter option (although a rubric usually follows the composition rather than precedes it).

57 The *ePSD* connects *buluḥ*, written *buru₈* (HAL), with Akk. *arû* “to vomit” and *gešû* “to burp” (see <http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd/nepsd-frame.html>). But there are to our knowledge no lexical equations for *buru₈/buluḥ* = *gešû*, “to burp”, although the pronunciation *bu-lu-uḥ/úḥ* for *buru₈* is attested (Proto-Ea: 143, *MSL* 14, 37; Sa: 91, *MSL* 3, 21). Lexical equations for *arû* bearing a pronunciation gloss for *buru₈* usually render it *bu-ru* (see *AHw* 72, e.g. Ea 2: 266, *MSL* 14, 258; Alan).

58 For parallels to lines 19–21 in OB incantations against bile (Michalowski 1981, 4, 13 ff., texts A–E) and wind (*OECT* 5 23) cf. above. Note also *CT* 4 4: 3–5 and 16 (incantation against headache), featuring the nominalized compound *bu-lu-úḥ-si-il-lá-gig*, “... belching-sickness”, in parallelism to *saḡ-gig*, “head-illness” and *gú-sa-gig*, “neck muscle-illness” (cited in *PSD* B 168a sub 3).

In the present context, *pû* could refer either to the mouth or to another body opening (CAD P 469 s.v. *pû* A 9a). According to our reconstruction, the word *ka* / *pû* figures in BM 92518: 4 and 11, designating the “opening” of the belly, which is closed up like a fermenting vat. In this regard it cannot be excluded that KA in the rubric of line 21 was followed by another word lost in the gap, forming a genitive phrase, e.g. *pī libbi*, “mouth/opening of the belly”. Thus, in 1st millennium medical texts we find the designation *pī karši*, “mouth of the stomach”, referring to the opening of the stomach leading to the duodenum. For instance, the Late Babylonian medical text *SpTU* 1 43: 7–18 identifies the “mouth of the stomach” (*pī karši*) as the organ of origin of various ailments including intestinal disorders and biliary dysfunction (cf. Stol 2006, 106–107, 111; Geller 2014, 3 ff.; Steinert 2016). An alternative restoration for a word specified by KA in BM 92518: 21 could be a metaphorical term for the belly (e.g. “spell for the opening of the ‘fermenting vat’”).

The rubric in BM 92518: 21 is somewhat similar to the rubric/incipit of a Sumerian incantation on the OB tablet *TIM* 9 76: *én-é-nu-ru KA lú-ulu₃ tùr-gin₇ ì-a-dab₅*, “Incantation spell: The mouth(?) of a man(?) is seized like a sheep-fold,” which is also cited in an Old Babylonian catalogue of incantations (Cunningham 1997, No. 196; Wilcke 1973, 14–15, No. 5: 18).⁵⁹ Due to its fragmentary state it is not certain whether this spell is related to the topic of digestive disorders addressed in the two incantations on BM 92518, but the mention of beer and food (*kaš*; *ú*) and the simile “seized like a sheep-fold” may suggest a relation to the belly spells. The simile also reminds us of the parallel metaphor of the animal pen to designate the womb in body part terminology and gynaecological texts (Steinert 2017).

Lines 22–25

Our reading of the Akkadian spell in lines 22–25 is tentative and a suggestion developed from the context. In lines 22–23, the wind trapped in the belly is addressed as a personalized agent, similar to other incantations against

59 Tentative readings: *én-é-nu-ru* / *KA lú-ulu₃ tùr-gin₇ ì-a-dab₅* / *uzu a-gin₇ niġin₂-na a-^rdab₅²¹* / *a šà lú zi-da x (x) x / en nu-mu-un-da-[...]* / *^dasal-lú-ġi in²-x [...]* / *šu im-ma-ni-[...]* / *ka gu₇ ka a [naġ²]* / *ka ì-dab₅ / ní/tu₁₅-ta x x [...]* / *kaš ú(-)^rú¹ an k[i ...]* / *šu um-me-[ti²]* / *^rka¹-inim-ma ^ršà²-kam¹ / x-bi-ke₄ áb x [...]* / *x x ^rkun¹ [...]* / *broken / broken / x x nu² [...]* / *^rur¹ šul x [...]* / *a-na-aš x [...]* / *a-rá 2-me[š² (...)] / èn-[è]n-bi-me[š² (...)] / ^rka¹-inim-ma K[A]*. Possibly, the phrase *^rka¹-inim-ma ^ršà²-kam¹* above should be understood as a rubric as well, which would confirm that the first lines of the tablet represent a belly incantation. If this suggestion is correct, *TIM* 9 76 would feature two spells summed up at the very end by the rubric *^rka¹-inim-ma K[A]*.

“wind” discussed above. The expression *šāri ezza libbi*, “furious wind of the belly/inside”, can also be loosely compared with incantations inscribed on Pazuzu heads which address the personified “furious wind” as illness-bringing force wreaking havoc.⁶⁰

As mentioned above, wind plays a considerable role in 1st millennium medical texts as a disease agent and was associated with various problems such as skin ailments, eye diseases, and respiratory diseases. Wind trapped in the body is otherwise described as a prominent disease agent in connection with ailments of the digestive system (see Steinert 2016). Thus, the phrase *šāru ezzu* also brings to mind the reference to *šāru eslu*, “locked-up wind”, in a 1st millennium prescription in the context of rectal ailments which states that through the effect of the remedy “the locked-up wind will come out”.⁶¹ A section in *BAM* 575 (Suālu 2) is concerned with the “locked-up belly” (iii 1 and 3: *libbu esil* / *KA.INIM.MA LÚ esli*), characterized by the symptom that the patient cannot ingest food.

Medical texts also speak of wind rumbling in the belly, e.g. in connection with *kīs libbi* (e.g. *BAM* 574 [Suālu 1]: i 27, 31). A few recipes in Suālu 2 are specifically concerned with wind in the belly (*BAM* 575 // iii 25, 27, 28, 30, iv 48).⁶² Furthermore, the problem of bloating because of wind (*nikimti/nikmat šāri*) is also addressed in texts related to the series Suālu.⁶³

Line 23

According to our reconstruction, the wind that has “affected” (*lapātu* in the D-stem has the meanings “to touch; to strike; to attack”, but also “to infect [with illness]”) the “belly” of heaven and earth, has turned to the patient’s hips (*qab-lātu*), understood broadly as the middle region of the body. The scribe seems to have worked hastily, as indicated by the erasure following *qáb-la-túm*, which we amend to *qáb-la-tím* for grammatical reasons (possibly the scribe meant

60 Heeßel 2002, 103–104, Pazuzu head No. 91: 3–4; *ibid.*, 106–107, No. 106: 1–2; *ibid.*, 108, No. 109: 6–7: *šāru ezzu ša tibušu nanduru šamru ezzu ša šamriš illaku*, “Furious wind, the rising of which is terrifying, violent and fierce, which sweeps along violently.” Cf. for the deified and angry winds *CAD* E 433–434 sub 1c; *CAD* Š/2 135 ff.; Wiggermann 2007.

61 *BAM* 152 // iii 4 and 7: *TU₁₅ es-lu Ê-a*; see Geller 2005, No. 21: 4 and 7; cf. also *CAD* E 329–330 s.v. *esēlu*, “to be stopped up” (said of the belly/intestines or anus).

62 In *BAM* 579: iv 34 (Suālu 5) this symptom is associated with rectal disease (DÚR.GIG); see Cadelli 2000, 267–268.

63 See e.g. *BAM* 168: 2 ff. // *BAM* 88: 17’–19’ // (Scurlock 2006, No. 191; cf. Geller 2005, No. 34: 1–2); *BAM* 52: 72 // *BAM* 403: rev. 7. For *šibiṭ šāri*, “wind blasting”, see *BAM* 146: 56’; *BAM* 579 (Suālu 5): ii 54’, iii 18.

to write *qáb-la-tím*[TUM]).⁶⁴ We interpret line 23 as an abbreviated sentence introduced by *inūma* lacking a verb, of which *šāru* is the implicit subject, followed by a 1st person precative verbal form, which we interpret as direct speech of the disease agent wind.

We could not find textual parallels for *lapātu*, “to touch; to affect”, in the D-stem with wind as the subject/agent, but *lapātu* is predominantly used in connection with the attacks of demons, animals and illnesses, imagined as the transfer by touch and direct contact and often associated with the idea of defilement or infection. Sometimes *lapātu* D-stem, “to strike”, can refer to gods inflicting illness (cf. *CAD* L 88–89, 91).

Line 24

The reconstruction rests on the verb *ilêmma*, “he shall eat”, which seems to indicate a therapeutic instruction. The preceding *šu-šam^{am}* may be another erroneous spelling for *šu-ú-⟨ša⟩-am*, “licorice”, which makes a suitable simple remedy, comparable to the salt and “thyme” in the preceding incantation.⁶⁵ We interpret *šūšam* as the direct object of the reconstructed phrase [*ana pīšu / i*] *naddi šūšam*, “He puts licorice [into his mouth].”⁶⁶ Comparable expressions can be found in Sumerian incantations, e.g. the OB spell against bile *zé-àm ú-šim-gin₇ ki mu-un-dar* discussed above (Michalowski 1981, 4, 13 ff.: ll. 13–15): *lag mun-na šu ù-me-ti / nam-šub ù-me-si / ka-ka-na ù-me-ġar*, “When you have taken a lump of salt in your hand, when you have cast the spell, when you have placed (the salt) in his mouth ...” Cf. also *AMT* 30/6+: obv. 6’–7’ // *AO* 7765: obv. 8’–9’ below.

Putting the drug in the mouth is reminiscent of instructions encountered in 1st millennium medical texts that have the patient “suck” (*muzzuqu/munzuqu*) the remedy in his mouth, which is sometimes found in the context of treatments for intestinal ailments. Notably, this treatment was used in combination

64 Note also the incantation on a Pazuzu head (Heeßel 2002, 107: 12): *ēmid ardata qablaša iddi*, “(The wind) came close to the girl and struck her hip/middle.” Cf. *CAD* Q 10–11 for *qablu* in medical texts.

65 For *šūšu* as a drug in the context of intestinal disorders, see e.g. *BAM* 574 (Suālu 1): i 17, ii 42, iv 33 (root of *š.* in potions for *kīs libbi*); *BAM* 575 (Suālu 2): i 29, 45, ii 46 (twigs of *š.* in bandages/potion against “sick belly”); *BAM* 578 (Suālu 3): i 23 (bark of *š.* as a drug for gall—*Ú mar-ti*—to be drunk in beer), i 26 (root of *š.* in potions for gall), iii 15, 25, iv 18, 30, 41, 42 (potions for jaundice); *BAM* 393: 5 (OB, root of *š.* in a potion against jaundice).

66 For the verb in penultimate position as a feature of literary style see Buccellati 1996, 394; Groneberg 1987, 175–179 (in hymnic literature); Hecker 1974, 120–138 (epic texts); Izre’el and Cohen 2004, 87–88.

with belly incantations in *AMT* 30/6+: obv. 9', rev. 3, 7 // *AO* 7765: obv. 12', rev. 3, 7. The recipes in *AMT* 30/6+: rev. 7 // *AO* 7765: rev. 7 and *AMT* 52/1: 16–17 present variants of the same treatment, combined in all three texts with the incantation “Šakkan's belly binds him in the steppe” (*AMT* 30/6+: rev. 4–6 // *AO* 7765: rev. 4–6 // *AMT* 52/1: 10–14, 15 (rubric); Collins 1999, 169ff.). In *AMT* 52/1: 16–17, the patient sucks on a lump of salt LAG MUN (*kirbān tābtī*), which is also reminiscent of *BM* 92518: 18–21. In *Suālu* 1 (*BAM* 574: i 16; Cadelli 2000, 87), a recipe against *kīs libbi* prescribes that the patient should suck salt and *nuḥurtu*-plant in his mouth. In all cases, a spell is recited over the drug before application.

A phrase such as “the wind will go out” or similar can be presumed in the gap at the end of line 24.

In the gap of line 25, a verb parallel to *nāḥu* such as *pašāḥu* is expected (e.g. *libbu ināḥ* [libbu ipaššah]).

Excursus: A Monolingual Variant Version of *BM* 92518: 1–21

A 1st millennium abbreviated Sumerian version of the incantation *BM* 92518: 1–21 was identified already by Adam Falkenstein (1931, 10, 57) in the Nineveh fragment *AMT* 30/6 (*K* 2510): obv. 2'–7', now joined to *K* 20273 (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/P394477>). This text is duplicated by another Neo-Assyrian fragment, *AO* 7765: obv. 4–11 (Nougayrol 1979, 69; Stol 2006, 114, n. 103). Both of these fragments belonged to (2-column?) library tablets with therapeutic prescriptions for digestive ailments. We are appending a transliteration of the two fragments for convenience. The incantation is recited over a drug (possibly the *ḥašū* plant) which the patient should suck on and later also drink in beer. The two fragments show that a monolingual Sumerian version similar to *BM* 92518: 1–21 was incorporated into 1st millennium therapeutic collections, which is highly unusual given that the OB forerunner is bilingual. But can these two fragments be placed in a specific medical series? Notably, the portions preserved on the reverse of *AMT* 30/6+ and *AO* 7765 run largely parallel to each other:

AMT 30/6+: rev. 1–2 // *AO* 7765: rev. 1–2: Sumerian incantation

AMT 30/6+: rev. 3 // *AO* 7765: rev. 3: prescription

AMT 30/6+: rev. 4–6 // *AO* 7765: rev. 4–6 // *AMT* 52/1: 10–14 // *AMT* 45/5: obv. 11'–15' // *ABRT* 2 11 (*K* 4609a): obv.¹ ii' 27'–31': belly incantation “Šakkan's belly binds him in the steppe” (rubric in *AMT* 52/1: 15: KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KÁM; see Collins 1999, 169–171)

AMT 30/6+: rev. 7 // *AO* 7765: rev. 7 // *AMT* 52/1: 16–17: prescription
AMT 30/6+: rev. 8–9 // *AO* 7765: rev. 8–14 // *BAM* 574: iii 34–39 // *BAM*
 576: ii 2'–12' (= *Suālu* 1): incantation *šammu ša libbi ina šadî ašîma*,
 “The plant for the belly was growing on a mountain” (rubric only in
AO 7765: rev. 15: [KA.INIM.MA DIŠ NA l*ib-bu i-re-du-šu*, “[Incanta-
 tion for the case] that the belly ‘pursues’ a [man]”)⁶⁷
AO 7765: rev. 16–17: prescription (differs from the therapy in *BAM* 574: iii
 40)

In *BAM* 574 the spell *šammu ša libbi ina šadî ašîma* appears in a section flanked by prescriptions and incantations for *kîs libbi* (ii 43) and sick belly (iv 41: KA.INIM.MA ÉN šá ŠÀ DAB-šú; iv 51: DIŠ NA ŠÀ-šú GIG).

Since the two fragments *AMT* 30/6+ and *AO* 7765 differ in their contents from the Nineveh tablet *BAM* 574 and duplicate only one incantation found in the latter text, they do not seem to represent copies of the Nineveh recension of *Suālu* 1. However, the text material on *AMT* 30/6+ and *AO* 7765 focuses on digestive disorders (i.e. sick belly, diarrhoea), and may present either a varying compilation of material belonging to or overlapping with topics contained in the series *Suālu* (Tablets 1–5). Further, in the so-called Assur Medical Catalogue listing the incipits of the therapeutic corpus in an organized sectional arrangement, the series *Suālu* (STOMACH) is followed by another therapeutic series concerned with the belly/digestive system (EPIGASTRIUM, DIŠ NA SAG ŠÀ-šú *na-ši*), which has also been identified in Nineveh texts/incipits (cf. Steinert 2018 for discussion), and which may also contain material related to *AMT* 30/6+ and *AO* 7765. We may one day be able to place these two fragments in the therapeutic corpus, once these series have been reconstructed and their contents become better known.

AMT 30/6+ and *AO* 7765 are duplicates with an identical arrangement of text sections on the tablet, and in the incantation parallel to BM 92518: 1–21 both fragments use the division marker to indicate a new line in the original. This shows that one of the tablets was very likely a copy of the other or that they were two copies of the same original. This makes it probable that *AO* 7765 (whose provenience is unknown) comes from Ashurbanipal's library just like *AMT* 30/6+.

67 See Collins 1999, 145–148; Cadelli 2000, 82–83. See further *STT* 252: 1–15 (Reiner and Civil 1967, 191–192; Reiner 1985, 94–100; Collins 1999, 148–151; Veldhuis 1990, 36 ff.).

Transliteration of AMT 30/6+ and AO 7765

AO 7765: obv. 1')	[.....] x x [...]
AO 7765: obv. 2')	[.....] TI- ^r x ^r
AMT 30/6+: obv. 1')	[ÉN ... <i>ina</i> UG]U [?] LI.DUR Š[ID- <i>nu</i>]
AO 7765: obv. 3')	[..... D]UR ŠID- <i>nu</i>
AMT 30/6+: obv. 2')	[..... : šà-gig-ga ^g]i ^r pisan ^r (É)-gin ₇ kés-d[a]
AO 7765: obv. 4')	[.....] x-gin ₇ kés-da
AMT 30/6+: obv. 3')	[...-tu]ku : a pú-gin ₇ a-ĝe ₆ -a nu-t[uku]
AO 7765: obv. 5')	[..... ĝ]e ₆ -a nu-tuku
AMT 30/6+: obv. 4')	[... t]uku : ú nu-ku ₄ -ku ₄ a nu-ku ₄ -k[u ₄]
AO 7765: obv. 6')	[..... n]u-ku ₄ -ku ₄
AMT 30/6+: obv. 5')	[...-n]e: ^d asal-lu- ^h i igi : níĝ ĝá-e : ĝen-na dumu-ĝu ₁₀ ⁶⁸
AO 7765: obv. 7')	[.....]- ^r e ^r : ĝen-na dumu-ĝu ₁₀
AMT 30/6+: obv. 6')	[...-n]e-ke ₄ : ù ^u ha-šú-ú šu u-me-ti
AO 7765: obv. 8')	[.....] šu u-me-ti
AMT 30/6+: obv. 7')	[... nam-šub [?] u-m]e-ni-sì : lú-ulu ₃ ^{lu} dumu diĝir-ra-na ka-bi-ta u-me-ni-ĝar ⁶⁹
AO 7765: obv. 9')	[..... k]a-bi-ta u-me-ni-ĝar
AMT 30/6+: obv. 8')	[...]x-re bu-lu ^h -gin ₇ <<(ri)>> ħé-en-si-il-e : tu ₁₅ -ma ⁷⁰ gu-du-a-ni-ta ħé-em-ma-ra-è
AO 7765: obv. 10'-11')	[..... ħ]é-en-si-il-e / [..... ħé-em-ma-r]a-è

68 For this highly abbreviated form of the Marduk-Ea-formula see Falkenstein 1931, 57.

69 See similarly Michalowski 1981, 4, 13 ff.: ll. 13-15: lag mun-na šu ù-me-ti / nam-šub ù-me-sì / ka-ka-na ù-me-ĝar, "When you have taken a lump of salt in your hand, when you have cast the spell, when you have placed (the salt) in his mouth ..."

70 tu₁₅-ma seems to be a mistake for tu₁₅-gin₇ found in the OB parallels.

AMT 30/6+: obv. 9')	[...] x ÉN ŠUB- <i>di</i> <i>ina</i> KA-šú <i>ú-man-zaq-ma</i> <i>ina</i> KAŠ NAG- <i>ma</i> <i>ina-eš</i>
AO 7765: obv. 12')	[..... <i>ina</i> KA]Š NAG- <i>ma</i> <i>ina-eš</i>
<hr/>	
AMT 30/6 bottom of tablet (cavet)	
AO 7765: obv. 13')	[.....] x GIG bottom of tablet
<hr/>	
AMT 30/6+: rev. 1)	[..... k]éš-bi h́é-du ₈ -a
AO 7765: rev. 1)	[..... k]a- ^r kéš-bi ^r h́é-du ₈ -a
AMT 30/6+: rev. 2)	[..... ^d as]al- ^r lú-ḫi dumu ^r eridu ^{ki} -g[a-k]e ₄ [?] ka-kéš-bi h́é-du ₈ -a
AO 7765: rev. 2)	[.....] ka- ^r kéš-bi ^r h́é-du ₈ -a
<hr/>	
AMT 30/6+: rev. 3)	[..... ÉN] 7-šú ŠID- <i>nu-ma</i> <i>ina</i> KA-šú ^r ú ^r -[<i>man</i>]- <i>zaq-ma</i> <i>ina-eš</i>
AO 7765: rev. 3)	[.....-š]ú <i>ú-man-zaq-ma</i> <i>ina-eš</i>
<hr/>	
AMT 30/6+: rev. 4) ⁷¹	[ÉN ^d GÌR <i>ina</i> EDIN <i>lib-ba-šú</i>] <i>ka-su-šú-ma</i> SAḪAR <i>pa-pa-ta ma-l</i> [<i>a-a rit</i>]- ^r ta ^r -[šú]
AO 7765: rev. 4)	[..... p]a-pa-ta <i>ma-la-a rit-ta-šú</i>
AMT 30/6+: rev. 5)	[<i>ul um-mu pe-ta-a</i>]t pa-ni-šú <i>ul a-ḫa-tu mu-š</i> [<i>e-qa-at</i> <i>re-ši-šú</i>]
AO 7765: rev. 5)	[..... a]-ḫa-tu mu-še ² -qa ² -at <i>re-ši-šú</i>
AMT 30/6+: rev. 6)	[^d nin-giš-zi-d]a na-ši pat ^r -r[i TU ₆ ÉN]
AO 7765: rev. 6)	[..... na-š]i pat-ri TU ₆ ÉN

71 For a complete score of duplicates including AMT 52/1: i 10–14 // AMT 45/5: obv. 11'–15' // ABRT 2 11 (K 4609a): obv.¹ ii' 27'–31', see Collins 1999, 169–171.

AMT 30/6+: rev. 7)	[..... D]I ² -tú TI-qi UGU ÉN ŠUB-d[i]
AO 7765: rev. 7)	[..... UG]U ² ÉN ŠUB-di ina KA-šú ú-man-zaq-ma ina-eš
AMT 52/1: i 16–17)	[DÛ.DÛ.B]I UGU LAG MUN ÉN 3-šú ŠID-nu / [ina K]A-šú ú-man-zaq-ma ina-eš
AMT 30/6+: rev. 8) ⁷²	[ÉN šam-mu šá lib-bi ina KUR-i a-ši-ma] ʿas ¹ -suḫ-šú-m[a iṣ-ša-bat lib-bi]
AO 7765: rev. 8)	[..... as-s]uḫ-šú-ma iṣ-ša ¹ -bat lib-bi
AMT 30/6+: rev. 9)	traces
AO 7765: rev. 9)	[ana ^d UTU DUG ₄ .GA-ma iṣ-ša-bat lib-bi ^d UTU ana AN-e u K]I DUG ₄ .GA-ma iṣ-ša-bat lib-bi AN u KI
AO 7765: rev. 10)	[(...) ana ú-ma-m]e ² DUG ₄ .GA-ma iṣ-ša-bat lib-bi ú-ma-me
AO 7765: rev. 11)	[ana ^d é-a EN ap-si-i DUG ₄ .GA-ma iṣ-ša-bat l]ib-bi ^d UTU lip-pa-šir
AO 7765: rev. 12)	[GIN ₇ lib-bi ^d UTU ip-pa-šá-ru lib-bi AN u KI lip-pa-šir GIN ₇ lib-bi AN u KI ip-pa-šá-ru l]ib-ʿbi ¹ ú-ma-me lip-pa-šir
AO 7765: rev. 13)	[ŠÀ NENNI A NENNI lip-pa-šir ^d UTU šam-mu an-nu-ú šam-ma]-ka NAG-šú lib-luṭ
AO 7765: rev. 14)	[.....] ʿÚ ²¹ KI KIMIN KIMIN ⁷³
AO 7765: rev. 15)	[KA.INIM.MA DIŠ NA l]ib-bu i-re-du-šu

72 For the duplicating passages in *BAM* 574: iii 34–39 // *BAM* 576: ii 2'–12', see Collins 1999, 145–148; Cadelli 2000, 82–83.

73 This line presents an addition not found in the other manuscripts.

AO 7765: rev. 16)	[ÉN UGU ² <i>ap</i> ²]- <i>pi šil-ta-ḥi</i> ⁷⁴ šá 7 KA.KEŠDA.MEŠ-šú 7-šú u 7-šú
AO 7765: rev. 17)	[ŠID- <i>nu</i> ²] traces
Var.	
BAM 574: iii 40)	[... ÉN] ŠID- <i>nu ina</i> KA-šú ú-[<i>man-zaq-ma ina-eš</i>]

Rest lost

Conclusion

To sum up this study of Mesopotamian belly incantations, we would like to touch on the question whether the spells discussed here can be assigned to the healing professions of *āšipu* and *asû* and are linked to their text corpora in a specific way. It has to be noted that both specialists were engaged in treating digestive disorders, as can be inferred on the one hand from the “Exorcist’s Manual” (*KAR* 44 and duplicates, l. 17; Geller 2000, 245–246; Jean 2006, 66; Geller 2018) which mentions the incantation genre ŠÀ.GIG.GA.KE₄ as a component of the *āšipu*’s text corpus, while the Old Babylonian Hymn to Ninisina A 32–35, praising the patron of *asûtu*, emphasizes the goddess’ expertise in treating the “sick inside” (šà/libiš-gig; Böck 2014a, 25; Böck 2014b, 102 ff.). If we look at the OB spells for the belly, we note certain patterns and features that may allow us to assign certain spells within *āšipûtu* or *asûtu*, respectively. Thus, we would expect that spells featuring or addressing Enki/Ea or Asalluḫi/Marduk (including those containing the Marduk-Ea-formula) were primarily at home in *āšipûtu*, while those that mention Damu and Gula are more closely linked to the traditions of *asûtu* (cf. George 2016, 122 ff., II.E.3–II.E.5, II.E.8, II.E.11–12 vs. II.E.6). However, spells of both categories can be found within the same compendium, which suggests that there was much exchange between both professions already in the OB period and that an *āšipu* could use or collect spells from *asûtu* and vice versa. Thus, one could interpret the fact that we have multiple OB and 1st millennium versions of the “Heart Grass” spell, only some of which explicitly involve Enki/Asalluḫi as healing deities, as a hint that both *āšipûtu* and *asûtu* made use of and adapted popular spells and motifs into

74 Thus CAD Š/2 450 sub c: “the tip(?) of an arrow (consisting of) seven ‘joints/nodes’”; cf. CAD K 441–442 sub 6 for *kīšru* as “joint; node” of a plant (e.g. a segment of reed). Arrows were often made of reed. *Appu*, “nose; tip” is not yet attested with *šiltāḫu* in the dictionaries (only *qaqqadu*, “head”); but the phrase *appi qanê*, “the tip of the reed” is attested (Hh 8: 157; MSL 7, 17).

varying versions. If we go to the 1st millennium BCE texts, we see that many belly spells found their way into the therapeutic series *Suālu*, which can be associated with the 1st millennium corpus of *asūtu* (Steinert 2018), even though *Suālu* includes spells that mention Enki/Asalluḫi which could be read as transfers from *āšipūtu*. The 1st millennium BCE therapeutic compendia display a certain internal structure which consists of blocks of medical prescriptions followed by blocks of incantations with accompanying rituals/treatments. This structure points to building blocks and textual components (recitations and actions) that can already be identified in the Old Babylonian texts. Thus, OB spells either incorporate a remedy/ritual (as in the Marduk-Ea-formula) or set them next to each other (cf. George 2016, 3 ff. for examples of spells with appended ritual or medical prescription introduced by the word *kikkittum* or *kid-kid-bi/dù-dù-bi*, see e.g. *ibid.*, 133–134 sub II.E.10). On the other hand, we also find a few OB tablets of magico-medical recipes, occasionally in combination with spells (Wasserman 1996–1997, 2 and fn. 4; Wasserman 2007, 52 ff. with fn. 22; George 2016, 164 ff., No. 72–73, L.II.1–2). This points to a linkage of “medical” and “religious” components in healing within both disciplines from early on in Mesopotamian healing traditions and to a long-standing history of interdisciplinary exchange (cf. Geller 2010, 161–167). On the other hand, certain text genres or structural components may have had their origin in *āšipūtu* (e.g. spells featuring the Marduk-Ea-formula, with precursors in 3rd millennium BCE spells involving Ningirima and Enlil) and in *asūtu* respectively (e.g. the genre of medical recipes, designated in later texts as *bultu*). At the same time, it appears as if already in the OB period both disciplines also started to transmit spells in combination with appended rituals/medical remedies (the latter of which are sometimes indicated by *kid-kid-bi* or *dù-dù-bi*). If one looks exclusively at OB belly spells, it seems as if both strands of healing shared basic concepts of the body, disease aetiologies (personified illness agent and impersonal body process) and therapeutic strategies (e.g. evacuation through potions) and that in this regard, it is hard to discern distinctive features that could be assigned exclusively to *āšipūtu* and *asūtu*.⁷⁵

75 It is further noteworthy that the texts discussed here lack aetiologies that attribute the cause of the illness to the attack or wrath of superhuman agents such as gods, ghosts, or to witchcraft. The latter type of “personalistic” aetiology for intestinal symptoms can be encountered in 1st millennium texts, especially in the Diagnostic Handbook (see e.g. Tablet 13; Scurlock 2014, 103 ff.), and digestive troubles such as abdominal pain and bloating are encountered in texts dealing with ghost- and witchcraft-induced disorders, but there they tend to be a mere component of more complex symptomologies (see e.g. Scurlock 2006, 14–15 and *passim*; Schwemer 2007, 169–179).

Nonetheless, on a broader level, professional specialization and distinctive differences between *āšipūtu* and *asūtu* are more visible and can be pinpointed with regard to certain textual traditions, genres, interests, concepts and healing practices (cf. van Binsbergen and Wiggermann 1999; Geller 2010; Steinert 2016 and 2018).

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Teeth and Toothache

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When Mark Geller and I entered the NIAS in 2000, it was Mark's project to finish his edition of *Utukkū lemnūtu*, which he has now completed. Mine was writing a handbook on Babylonian medicine, but I soon realized that this was megalomania and that I could not keep my promise. What follows is an updated version of one of the drafts of that time. Meanwhile, I was asked to write "Zahn" for the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (RLA)* and one can view this contribution as an elaboration of what is said there in "Zahn", in German, and in a terse style.

I Terminology

1 "Tooth"

"Tooth" is *šinnu* in Akkadian (with cognates in all Semitic languages)¹ and its plural is *šinnātu*. However, there are indications that the plural "teeth" can also be a dual, *šinnān*, reflecting the two rows, the upper and lower teeth. An unequivocal dual (in the accusative) is found in *ši-in-ni la išû*, "he has no teeth"; Leichty 1970, 207 (*KUB* 37 184: 1). The dual genitive can be seen in *er šinnīya* and *kakki šinnīya* (see below, 2.a). The nominative is possible in syllabic *šinnā-šu*, all examples probably going back to an Old Babylonian source. In a medical text: *šumma ši-in-na-šu kališina ikkalāšu*, "If all his teeth hurt him" (*BAM* 449: iii 14; dupl. *STT* 89: 20). Note the *Šumma izbu* text from Susa which gives these three alternatives for "outcoming" teeth: [one] *waṣat*, [two] *waṣâ*, "all of them" *waṣâ*; *MDAI* 57 9: 36–38; cf. Leichty 1970, 69 (4: 27–30) (with other predictions!). In Old Babylonian manuscripts *šinnāšu wa-ša-a* and *wa-ši-a*; Leichty 1970, 203 (14) (*YOS* 10 56); *CUSAS* 18 12: 74 (§ 46). In a Standard Babylonian manuscript *ši-in-na-šu (a-ši-a)* is a variant of *ZÚ-šû*; Leichty 1970, 69 (4: 30), the variant is ms. D = *CT* 27 18, K 2007: rev. 17. A similar dual might be *dimā*, "tears", the dual of *dimtu*, referring to the tears flowing from the two eyes; in the famous

1 Militarev and Kogan 2000, 219, No. 249.

incantation against the tooth-worm (see IV.2).² However, W. von Soden, *GAG* §65 l (at the end), is of another opinion; in his *Ergänzungsheft* (1969) he adduces a new example, *ammā-ša*, “ihre Unterarme”—where again a dual is possible: both elbows!

Sometimes only *one* tooth is mentioned, as in the Diagnostic Handbook, Tablet 6, in the first line of the section on teeth (*TDP*, 60, Tablet 6: 35), “If his tooth hurts him and he lets his spittle fall” (Scurlock 2014, 52, 55, Tablet 6: 97”). In another medical context the singular form seems to be just a variant of the plural “teeth” (*BAM* 538: i 28; dupl. *AMT* 30/13: 6). However, the plural must be wrong here because “one tooth” is a line within a group of cases where the ailments of one tooth are described; see below, IV.3.a (on Tablet 1: i 28–ii 51).

The Sumerogram is ZÚ (sign KA), plural ZÚ.MEŠ, but once we see ZÚ.ZÚ, where the teeth are cleansed with the plant *margušu*: does the doubled ZÚ represent both rows? (*BAM* 1: i 15; see below, IV.3.a).³ Note that the section “tooth” in Ugumu, listing teeth, offers zú-zú (*MSL* 9, 55: 106); in a later period this may have been misunderstood as the sign ZÚ preceded by the pronunciation gloss zu; thus in Kagal (*MSL* 13, 246: 5).

2 Normal Teeth

a In the Lexical Texts

As to the various teeth and their conditions, some recently published Old Babylonian lexical texts, many bilingual, present much additional information:

- (1) Proto-Sag, Text A: xi 1–23 (*MSL* SS 1, 9); Text G (ibid., 13).
- (2) Sag A: iv 11–25 (*MSL* SS 1, 23).
- (3) *UET* 7 95: 8–13 (Ugumu Bil.; cited *CAD* Š/3 48b).
- (4) MS 2888: v 9–19 (Ugumu; *CUSAS* 12, 155).
- (5) Ugumu 106–109 (*MSL* 9, 55).
- (6) *Emar* 6/4 575: 39–48 (most of it is lost).

A later informative passage on abnormal teeth is Kagal, Section 6: 5–13 (*MSL* 13, 246).

2 Compare also *illakā dimāya* in the Gilgamesh Epic (11: 139) with *illakā dimātum* in the OB version (ed. George 2003, 204–205: vi 229, with p. 213). Note ‘*di-ma-ša*’ and its variant [*d*]i-im-tú-ša (*BAM* 538: iv 32; var. *AMT* 25/2: 22). The singular *dimtu* stands for all tears in Lambert 1974, 274: 14 (*dimtu nanhuzat ina iniya*), with Oshima 2011, 184 (to p. 164: 131). More refs. in *CAD* D 148a.

3 The opinions of a number of scholars are given in Attia and Buisson 2012, 33–34 (Martin Worthington suggested a dual).

These lists distinguish: tooth (*šinnu*), milk teeth (*šinnāt šizbi*), molar tooth (*erû, er šinnî*), canine tooth (*kakku*), large teeth, small teeth (1, 4, 5), front tooth (*mahrîtum*) (3).

Remarks

- *kakku* = zû kak (gloss: ka-ak) (2), zû-kak-a (1), giš tukul zû (4), possibly “canine tooth”, or “molar” (2, 4) (only Old Babylonian). Sumerian gug₆ (see below). The word reminds one of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *kakkā*, “molar tooth” (consult the dictionary by M. Sokoloff).⁴ It seems to be attested as *ka-ak-k[i]* in context in YOS 11 13: 32, with collations by W. Farber (YOS 11, 62). “Canine tooth” is the current translation of *ziqu* in later texts (see below, b), and that word might have replaced OB *kakku*.

A reference to GIŠ.TUKUL = *kakku* as “tooth/molar” is hidden in the commentary on CT 38 45: 13 (*Šumma ālu* 49) where the canonical text has “If pigs whet their teeth” (ZÚ.MEŠ-šû-nu *i-še-el-lu*), and the commentary explains GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šû-nu *i-še-el-lu* (CT 41 30: 6).⁵ This quotation may reflect the original Old Babylonian version with the obsolete word *kakku* “tooth, molar”, here explained as follows: *ša šinnāšunu imarraqu*, “who crush with the teeth”, followed by the gloss GU-UG ZÚ.DÛ : SUḪUŠ [*ša šin*]-ni. The gloss refers to the tooth of a dog, Sumerian gug₆ (zû^{gu-ug} KAK; see *MSL* 9, 83 [on-line 99]; *MesZL*, 54, No. 24: KA-GAG [= ZÚ.DÛ]), an equation only preserved in the lexical texts.⁶ Note that “The Heron and the Turtle” contrasts this tooth of a (young) dog (gug) with that of a snake (zû, zû-zû) (lines 52, 54, 91, 93).⁷ The other manuscripts of *Šumma ālu* 49 seem to omit this line on whetting the teeth (Leichty 1970, 191; *SpTU* 3 94: 157 ff.). Was this difficult line discarded after the OB period? Later editors of the canonical text may have felt that the next line where the pigs “grind” (*gašāšu*) their teeth (CT 38 45: 14) described the same situation and that this line was sufficient. Note, however, that “whetting the weapons” suggests aggressive behaviour.

4 In the Talmudic tractate Giṭṭin 69a. Veltri 1997, 243: “Gegen (Schmerzen) der Backenzähne (*l-kk'*).”

5 Edition: Labat 1933, 58–59. *CAD* Š/2 275b s.v. *šēlu* A v. (1) skipped the words (essential for us) in line 6 of the commentary. The commentary (7–8) seems to continue with an explanation of line 14, on pigs grinding (*gašāšu*) their teeth.

6 *CAD* Š/3 49a s.v. *šinnu* (lexical). The Sumerian word was discussed by Klein 1981, 97–98. Another gloss gu-ug occurs in *MSL* 16, 335: 7 (about teeth).

7 Gragg 1973, 62, 64. Similarly *MSL* 9, 78: 98–99.

- *erû* (*er šinnīya*; *erû[ya]*) = zú na₄ kinkin (1, 2), kinkin zú (4), lit. “millstone”, probably “molar” (2, 3, 4); see Civil 1984, 295–296. Possibly attested in the diagnostic text *KAR* 391: 3–4 (*u e-ru-šu*). Probably identical with *erû* E (*CAD* E 325a) in *Diri* 6: 19’–20’, *e-ru-u šá SI-in-nu* (*MSL* 15, 184 with comm.). Note zú-ur₅ (ur₅ = 𒌦AR, which can mean “millstone”) in (5), *Ugumu* 105; probably with another meaning.
- *lurû* in *UET* 7 95: 10 (3): W. von Soden suggests with hesitation: *šu(!?)-ru-ú-a* (*AHw* 1589b). Elsewhere we find it in the section “tongue” in the new lexical texts, equated with Sum. *eme-sal* and *eme-aš-ša-aš-ša*; *MSL* SS 1, 24 (*Sag A*: iv 15), 32 (*Sag B*: vi 235) *Emar*; repeated in *Gantzert* 2008, Part 1, 263: vi 3 (*Sag B*); Part 2, 152: 120.
- KA-NE = *šūhu*; *MSL* SS 1, 23 (iv 14); *MSL* 13, 246 (Kagal, Section 6: 10–11, cf. (6)),⁸ mentioned in the context “tooth”: the well known Sumerian signs for “laughing” (*šūhu*), undoubtedly referring to the baring of the teeth when laughing.

Additional Remarks

- Obscure in (3) is *lu-šu-um ša šinnīya* (*UET* 7 95: 9).
- The fragmentary but informative Text G of Proto-Sag was not used by the dictionaries (*MSL* SS 1, 13). Another interesting passage on teeth in the lexical texts is *Nabnitu* Fragment 8: ii (*MSL* 16, 334–335).

b In Non-lexical Texts

- *dūr šinnī*, “gums”, lit. “the wall of the teeth”. Now confirmed by “the gums exude (*hīālu*) blood” (Heeßel and al-Rawi 2003, 231: 14–16 [§ 27]). In a metaphor: “My gums are spattered with gall” (*KAR* 43: rev. 9, 13). Discussions by Kwasman 1999; Kogan 2003, 128–129: “Akk. *dūr šinni* ‘gums’ SB (*CAD* D 197), ‘Kiefer (?)’ (*AHw* 1551).”
- *mišru*, the “borderline” between above and below, *ina mišir šinnīšu* AN.TA u KI.TA (*KAL* 2 36: v 7). Schwemer (2007, 96): “Du legst (es) oben und unten [auf], wo seine Zähne (an das Zahnfleisch) grenzen.”
- *muḥḥu*, the “top” of the teeth. Cleaned (*kapāru*) before treatment (*BAM* 30: 13’). More refs. are *YOS* 11 12: 33 with Metzler 2002, 286; Reynolds 2010, 297: 9 (read UGU).

⁸ The entry zú NI-NI (*MSL* SS 1, 9, Proto-Sag: xi 16) must be different.

- *ziqqu*, CAD Z 128b lists this word under *ziqqu* A, “crest, edge, battlements”, here referring to the teeth: “the edges or tops of the teeth”, meaning (b). *AHw* 1531b has the word under *ziqqu* I, “ein Pfosten oder Wandpfeiler”, as meaning 3, z. *šinnē* “Eckzahn?”, i.e., canine tooth. The word is attested in physiognomic texts and twice in a medical context.⁹ What is its meaning? In OB incantations diseases are said to have descended from heaven, specifically *ištu šerret šamê*, *ziqqurat šamê*, *zu-qú-ra-an šamê*, *kakkab* (MUL) *šamê* (Cavigneaux 1994, 159 on rev. 11; Wasserman 2007, 44, n. 3). This will remind us of the 3 *zi-qí ša-ma-e* in line 63 of the Sargon legend published by C. Günbattu.¹⁰ Both dictionaries mention under the same heading the *ziqqū* of the temple of Papulegarra, said to be “up there, rivalling the sky” (*elēnum lišnunū šama’i*) (OB). By *ziqqu* a “top” may be meant, here a tooth with a marked top—the canine tooth.¹¹ Note that in human beings there are two of them and a *ziqqi šinnī* can be “big” (*rabi*) or ... (*ummul*, verb *wamālu* D) (Böck 2000, 106, *Alamdimmū* 7, Text 2: 3–5). Probably this word replaced OB *kakku*.¹²
- *kakkabtu*, “starlet” in a cure against tooth-ache in “You touch the *k.* of the diseased tooth” (x x *muḥḥi šinniša marušti kakkabtiša talappat*; *YOS* 11 12: 33–34).¹³
- *išdu*, “root” (*BWL*, 52: 27, Ludlul 3), *SUḪUŠ* [*šin*]-*ni* (*CT* 41 30: 6, end [commentary]), with *MSL* 9, 83.
- *ri-bi-it šinnī* in *BAM* 157: 10 must be an error for *birit*, “between the teeth”.¹⁴

3 Abnormal Teeth

One expects them in diagnostic and physiognomic texts. Diagnostic: *TDP*, 60, Tablet 6: 35–47; now Scurlock 2014, 52–53: 97’–109’ (saliva, colours,¹⁵

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- 9 Physiognomic: Böck 2000, 106, Tafel VII, 2: 3–5 (*ziqqi šinnī*). Medical: *BAM* 27: 7–8, “his teeth” [...] or (*lū*) the *ziq-qí* x [...]; *BAM* 161: ii 19–20, now Abusch and Schwemer 2011, 62, 63, Text 1.8, B: 27 (*zi-qí*, var. *zi-i*[*q-qí*], “edges of his teeth”); with 64b.
 - 10 Lastly Dercksen 2005, 110, with 115–116 (“the three stellar paths?”).
 - 11 In Hittite context: “A clove of garlic, which looks like canine tooth, was called a *kaki* (“tooth”);” Hoffner 1996, 250; cf. Hoffner 1974, 108–109.
 - 12 Note that next to *ziqqu* the word *zīqu* is attested in the same context (“the winds of his mouth”, probably “belching”), in Abusch and Schwemer 2011, 61–62, Text 1.8, B: 21 (*zīqu*), 27 (*ziqqu*).
 - 13 Collated by W. Farber (*YOS* 11, 62), ruling out “*ka-ak-ka-bi*” in line 32. Transliterated and translated by Metzler 2002, 286. Note the vocative *kakkab* of *kakkabtu* in line 36.
 - 14 The *rebet* is taken seriously by Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 41 (3.68).
 - 15 In *TDP*, 60, Tablet 6: 37; Scurlock 2014, 52, 55: 99’ reads *i-ri-x* as *i-ri*-[*ra*], “(his teeth) tremble”; the verb is identified as *arāru* C by Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 735, n. 59, cf. 593, A: r. 6. However, that is an *u/u* verb. We expect a colour gradation here, between “shining” and

gnashing), and in *KAR* 391: 1–9. Note that gnashing teeth are due to the Hands of Sîn or (primarily) Ištar (43–47) (see below, V). Physiognomic: Böck 2000, 100, 102 (*Alamdimmû* 6: 32–34, 10–26), 169: 250 (*aṣat*, “protruding”; tooth of a woman).

- *hesēru* is best known as “to chip off”; lex. Sum. *gul*, *gul-gul* = *hesirtu*, “chipped off”; *MSL* SS 1, 23 (Sag A: iv 13), also *MSL* 13, 246 (Kagal, Section 6: 7’–8’), and note *zú-gú-lá* = *zugulûm* (Kagal, Section 6: 9’); cf. *SpTU* 4 190: 10 (lex.). In Ebla (lex.) *ḥa-zi-LUM*, *VE* 227 with Sjöberg 2003, 255, n. 9. Diviners should have a perfect physique and men with a chipped tooth (*hesir šinnī*) were not admitted; *BBR*, 24: 31 (with Lambert 1998, 149); *BBR*, 1–20: 5 (with Jiménez 2014, 105).
- *hepû*, Sum. *gaz*, “broken”. *MSL* SS 1, 9 (Proto-Sag: xi 9–10), 23 (Sag: iv 21, *zú-gaz*). This verb rarely refers to body parts; a parallel is “if his lip is broken” (KAxSA-su *he-pa-at*); *BAM* 543: i 55. Can the word mean “damaged”? It is possible that this “broken tooth” refers to the damage done to teeth by eating bread made of flour mixed with chips of the millstone, a frequent ailment in the Near East (Lamentations of Jeremiah 3: 16; Stol 2002; Kinnier Wilson 1996, 138; Krafeld-Daugherty 2002, 264, 286, “Abrasion”). Note that *GAZ*, “to break”, stands for *kašāṣu* in a catalogue of amulet stones, to be discussed below, VI.
- *šebēru* D, “to break”. In the physiognomic text *KAR* 391: 6 the verb *šebēru* D is attested; according to *CAD* Š/2 249b (d), “if his teeth are chipped”. Chipped, however, is *hesēru* in Akkadian. In a legal clausula in an Emar text we read: “This tablet will break their teeth (*šinnātišunu ušabbar*),” where other texts say: “This tablet will overpower (*le’û*) him” (Huehnergard 1983, 20, Text 3: 22).¹⁶ The verb *šebēru* indicates here that the breaking is done on purpose (D); it was explained as a facial mutilation (Hackett and Huehnergard 1984, 265). This verb, said of teeth, is also attested in Ebla as *zú-ur₅-ša₄* = *ša-ba-um*; *VE* 208 with Civil 1984, 295.

“dark” teeth. I was thinking of the verb *warāqu* “to become sallow, faded”; cf. *urqa nadā* in *BAM* 543: i 26 (below, IV.3.a, Tablet 2). Unfortunately, on the copy in *TDP*, Planche XI, K 2243: rev. 6, one cannot recognize *qa* or *qá* in the damaged last sign x. Moreover, we expect a stative form.

16 Hackett and Huehnergard (1984, 269ff.) see a parallel in the Sumerian clause *gag-bi KA-KA-na e-gaz*: “This nail will break his teeth (*zú-zú*).” Charpin (1990, 92) reminds us of *sikkatam ina pi maḥāšum*, quite another punishment. Sumerian *gaz* = *maḥāšum* is attested only in *MSL* 14, 100 (Proto-Aa: 608/3 = C: rev. i 9 in *MSL* 2, 140).

- *nabalkutu*, Sum. *bal, bal-bal*, “displaced” (only lex.); *MSL* SS 1, 23 (Sag A: 17), *MSL* 13 246 (Kagal, Section 6: 12).
- *enû* may have a similar meaning in: “If a man’s (one) tooth is changing” (DIŠ NA ZÚ-šú *en-nu-u* [...]; *BAM* 24: 2), or “changes (position)”; Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 750, n. 6. One is reminded of the tooth *zú kúr* in Ugumu 109 (*MSL* 9, 55; *kúr* = *nakāru*).
- *nadû* is occasionally attested in medical texts and not mentioned in *CAD* or *AHw* s.v. *nadû*. *CAD* Š/3 50b translates *šinnu nadîtu* as “teeth that are falling out”; similarly Scurlock and Andersen (2005, 421): “Tooth loss, most likely due to periodontitis.” Its literal meaning is “lying down, fallen”. Attested only once in a meaningful context: “If a man’s tooth is lying down (*na-da-at*), you ... unmixed wax on his lying-down tooth, and his tooth will come up (DUL.DU-*a*; verb *elû*);” *STT* 279: 12–13. The medical Vademecum (IV.3.a below) prescribes which plants can be applied (*BAM* 1: i 8–10 with Attia and Buisson 2012, 26, 32; once ZÚ ŠUB-*te*). Cf. ZÚ-šú *na-di-a*[*t*...] in *AMC* 6. Teeth, line 21 (see comments in *BAM* 9, 227).
- *esēqu* (only lex.). The lex. tradition in Ebla mentions *zú-ur₅* = *si-na-tum é-la-um* (variant *é-ša-gú-um*); *MEE* 4, 221; *VE* 209. The second word can be identified with *zú-ur₅* = *esēqu*, “to incise” (*CAD*), “einritzen” (*AHw*) and, possibly, *zú-dub-dub* = *uššuqātum*, said of teeth, in *MSL* SS 1, 23 (iv 24–25), 26 (vi; cf. p. 9, Proto-Sag: xi 21, *zú-ur₅-ur₅*, *zú na₄* *kinkin*, *zú-dub-dub*). Thanks to this information we can restore the later Hh passage in *Emar* 6/4 575: 39 to *e-[se-qu]*. The adjective *ussuku* (*CAD* U–W 281a) may be related. M. Civil studied the various meanings of *zú-ur₅* and translated here “to tear or grind with the teeth”.¹⁷

II Damaged Teeth in Lawbooks

When a tooth is ejected by outer force, we find in the Sumerian laws of Ur-Nammu the verb *kud*, *ku₅* (§ 24; *CUSAS* 17, 247, 262). Proto-Sag distinguishes three words for such a tooth: twice *zú-ku₅-ru*, followed by *zú-ku₅-da* (*MSL* SS 1, 9: xi 19–21). In Akkadian perhaps *nakāsu*, “to sever” (Laws of Eshnunna § 42), and Hammurabi writes *nadû* (*CH* § 200–201). In the Hittite laws *lak*-, “to knock out” (§ 7, VII). The verb is lost in the law fragment from Hazor (survey: Vukosavović 2014). Another wilful maltreatment of the teeth is *kabālu* D,

17 Civil 1984, 295–296; more in Krebern timer 1997, 188–189; also discussed by Rendsburg 2002, 203–204.

mukebbil šinnī, in “who slaps the cheek and paralyses the teeth” (van Soldt 2015, 446: 4). There is only one context reference to a damaged tooth, in Old Akkadian: a man has to pay ten shekels (of silver) for a damaged tooth (kù zú-gul-la-kam); *CT* 50 76, with S. Parpola, A. Parpola and Brunswig 1977, 160.

III Movements Made by the Teeth

The word “tooth” is used in a number of Sumerian expressions.

Karahashi 2000, 179–180 listed the following combinations of “tooth” with a verb in Sumerian: zú-bir₉(NE)/bir, “to laugh”; zú-gaz, “to chew”; zú-ra-(h), “to bite”; zú-ur₅, “to tear/grind the teeth”; and for “to bite”: zú-dù (by a snake), zú-gu₇(KÚ), zú-kud/kur₅ (by a dog), zú-súd (by a fox).

Remarks

- zú-ra in zú ba-ab-ra-aš, “sie klapperten mit den Zähnen” (Wilcke 1969, 112, Lugalbanda 2: 223). Cf. Sumerian Proverbs 5.106 (a dog). In this proverb, it is a variant of zú-kur₅, “to bite”.
- zú ra-aḥ, zú ra-ra in *MSL* SS 1, 9 (Proto-Sag: xi 5–7). Cf. nim zú-ra-aḥ = *kuzāzu*, a biting insect in *MSL* 8/2, 14 (Hh 14: 318), and cf. máš zú-ra-aḥ = *kuzāzu*, a butting goat in *MSL* 8/1, 31 (Hh 13: 219).
- zú dub-dub in the “Curse of Agade” 188: “teeth (or: mouths?) were crushed” (J.S. Cooper), or “teeth were strewn” (Th. Jacobsen), or “die Zähne (der Mahlsteine) werden aufgedrückt” (A. Cavigneaux).¹⁸ Note zú-dub-dub = *uššūqātum* in *MSL* SS 1, 23 (Sag A: iv 25). Cf. *ussuku* adj.?
- zú kur₅, “to bite”, Sumerian Proverbs 2.11, 5.106 (a dog), variant zú-kúr, zú-GUR (Römer 1995, 422, bottom; *TDP*, 10, Tablet 2: 30; *CAD* N/2 s.v. *nišku* [snake bite]).
- zú dù, “to bite” (of a snake); Römer 1995, 423; Ean. 1: rev. v 11 (with Behrens and Steible 1983, 76–77). Note that lú-kúr in Sumerian incantations can stand for lú zú ku₅(r), “a man bitten by a (snake’s) tooth”; George 2016, 101, on viii 2, and 216.
- zú gub, “to eat” (*patānu*), commonly read as ka-gub. Römer 1995, 423, n. 64, pointed out that in *VS* 17 33: 5 we see the gloss zu to KA, in ^{zu}zú ^{bi}bí-in-gub^{gu-ub}. Note zú^{zu}-DU-[x] in *MSL* 16, 334: ii 3.

18 Cooper 1983, 25; Jacobsen 1987, 370; Cavigneaux 2015, 330.

IV Diseased Teeth

1 General

“A disease of the teeth” was called *murūṣ šinnē*.¹⁹ A subsection in the handbook UGU, “If a fever holds the upper skull of a man”, is “If a man is sick of the teeth”. I will summarize its contents later (IV.3.b). These are the afflictions: teeth can hurt (*akālu*), be “weak”, usually interpreted as “be loose” (*enēšu* G and D; Sum. SIG.MEŠ), shake or wobble (*nāšu*), exude blood (*dama hiālu*). Weak teeth and bleeding are mentioned together (*BAM* 543: i 13; *BAM* 533: 3; dupl. *BAM* 28: 3). Toothache can give a piercing pain (*saḥālu*; *BAM* 26: 1). Teeth can be coloured yellow-green (*urqa nadû*; *BAM* 543: i 26) or have black spots (*šulmu*; *BAM* 543: i 35).

Hemerologies tell us that eating dates on specific days led to wobbling teeth (*CTN* 4 58: 22 with Hulin 1959, 48). More frequent is the warning that a person eating dates will be sick of the stomach (*rīqītu*), and once a gloss adds *rīqītu* : *šinnu*, “stomach: tooth”. That is to say: sick of the teeth is another possibility (Jiménez 2016, 209: 62–63, with 214). The diseases *bušānu* and *munû* can be concomitant with dental problems.²⁰ An incantation against *bušānu* tells us that it resides between the teeth (*ina birīt šinnē nadat kussašu*; *BAM* 538: ii 55). The disease is associated with “weak” teeth (*SpTU* 1 44: 48–50).

In non-medical texts teeth are locked together (*ṣabātu* Nt) or are joined to each other (*emēdu* N); *MDAI* 57 11: ii 17 and v 7. Note that the Diagnostic Handbook mentions teeth that are close together (*paḥāru* D, “gathered”); *TDP*, 60, Tablet 6: 39. When the Babylonian Job recovered from his ailments, his teeth got room again after “they had been locked together and bound” (*ebētu* N); Ludlul 3: 92–93.²¹ A forecast in a liver omen says “the teeth of the man will fall out” (*šaḥāḥu*; *KAL* 1 1: obv. ii 23). This verb is not attested in medical texts on teeth and it is possible that it marks the last stage after “weak” (*enēšu*) and “wobbling” (*nāšu*) teeth.

19 YOS 11 12: 37; Böck 2007, 247: 20 (with Jiménez 2014, 115: 20).

20 *Munû* and *bušānu* in *SpTU* 1 44: 80–83 (with Heeßel 2010a, 57). See Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 41 (“Vincent’s angina”) and 211. *Munû* is uncertain in Heeßel and al-Rawi 2003, 231: 15 with p. 238; *KADP* 12: i 35 (“sick teeth” follow); YOS 11 5: 11.

21 *BWL*, 52: 26–27; *TUAT* 3/1, 130: 100–101; Annus and Lenzi 2010, 25: 92–93. —“Room again”: interpreting *ipti birissina* as “he opened their room (*birītu*) between them”. The traditional interpretation “he unlocked their fetter” fits the poetry better. —For the verb *ebētu* D, “to tie around” see Civil 1987, 237, 243.

(*mī-ša-ḥa-ra-na* = *muša'irānu*), open the belly, take its stomach and its fatty tissue, you boil (this) on a fire and you put it on his diseased tooth, on his empty stomach, and you recite the incantation and he will recover" (*YOS* 11 4: 1–10; *TUAT* 2/2, 271).²⁵

Most famous is the one known from a clay tablet, well-preserved, actually an extract, giving its text with a short ritual.²⁶ It is also attested in the medical handbook, in the context of other incantations. A *historiola* is told on her origins in heaven and the mud (*rušumtu*), how she refused the fruits offered by the gods Šamaš and Ea and preferred a place between the teeth and the jaw (*birūt šinnē u lašḥi*), to suck blood and to gnaw bits of food. By seizing her foot with a peg she is removed and "hit by the strong hand" of the god Ea (Dávid 1928). We understand why her Sumerian name is *zú muš-e-gu₇*(-a), "The worm that eats the tooth"; actually, the "tooth of the worm" is listed in the lexical text *Kagal*, Section 6: 12 (*MSL* 13, 246). Whoever eats the plant *egengerû*, will suffer from this worm, a hemerology warns (here the Sumerian word is written syllabically *zu-mu-še-ga!*).²⁷ Scurlock and Andersen (2005, 420–421) discuss the references to this worm in their section "Caries". The worm "hurts", so we read in their reference 18.11, and this prescription follows: "A reed with seven joints (*kišru*) shall be put on his neck and he will recover."²⁸ Note that a worm can also be the cause of other diseases, like the *bušānu*.²⁹

b In the Traditional Middle East

Literature

R. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* (1949), 303. Cited by M. Stol, *Janus: archives internationales pour l'histoire de la médecine et pour la géographie médicale* 72 (1985), 11–12, are: R. Campbell Thompson, *PSBA* 28

25 *BAM* 538: i 29–30; dupl. *AMT* 30/13: 7–8.

26 The main text is *CT* 17 50 (Collins 1999, 262, "Teeth 1"). Many translations and discussions, esp. Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 41–42, 420–421; Dávid 1928; Bottéro 1985, 281–284; Dietrich 2001; Lambert 2013, 400 (iii) and (iv = *BAM* 538: ii 52–53).

27 *MSL* SS 1, 9: xi 3; 11, B: ii 9; 13, Text G: 6. Syllabic in a hemerology: Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1993, 102: 18 (not in *CAD* T) with Römer 2002, 598: 8–9 (with p. 602).

28 *STT* 279: 14 and *CTN* 4 114: rev. 3 (this parallel was pointed out to me by H. Stadhouders).

29 The *bušānu*: it is tempting to correct the second *KI-tum* (= *eršetu*) in *KI-tum ibtani t[ul-tu]* *KI-tum ibtani bušānu* (in *BAM* 538: ii 52–53) into *tul-tum (ibtani bušānu)*. In fact, Scurlock and Andersen (2005, 421) gave this correct reading. The worm in other diseases: *YOS* 11 5: 3–4 (blindness; in Collins 1999, "Teeth 4").

(1906), 78; F. von Oefele, *ZA* 18 (1904–1905), 234–235. More: B. Meissner, *BuA* 1 (1920), 107, n. 8; B. Meissner, *BuA* 2 (1925), 234; E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Syriac Book of Medicines* 2 (1913), 666–667; J.O. Leibowitz, *Sefer hanisyonot. The Book of Medical Experiences Attributed to Abraham ibn Ezra* (1984), 49–50; B.R. Townend, The Story of the Tooth-Worm. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 15 (1944), 37–58.

c In Arabic Scientific Literature

Professor G.J. van Gelder (Oxford and Groningen) was so kind as to compose the following survey for me.

Arabic sources about the tooth-worm. What I [= G.J. van Gelder] did find, is:

Pseudo-al-Suyūṭī (= al-Ṣanawbarī, d. 815/1412; see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Suppl. 2, 252) in *al-Raḥmah fī l-ṭibb* (Ch. 51, p. 74):

waǵaʿu l-asnāni wa-huwa ǧarabānun wa-shiddatu l-alamī fī mawǧiʿi l-ǧirsi l-wajrī sababuhū ziyādatu bardīn ʿarīḍīn aw dūdātun tataḥarraku fī dākhili l-ǧirsi tawalladat minā l-ʿufūnāt...

Toothache. This is a throbbing and violent pain in the affected tooth [he uses the word for “molar”]. Its cause is excessive cold or a worm that moves inside the tooth, which is engendered from putrefying matter.

The worm can be killed by applying a hot needle if the tooth is hollow, or else it should be extracted.

In Dāwūd al-Anṭākī (d. 1008/1599), *al-Tadhkirah* (section on teeth, p. 346):

wa-ammā l-dūda fa-lā maḥālata yatawalladu fī l-sinni l-mutaʿakkili li-mā yadkhuluhū minā l-ʿufūnāti aw mā yaʿūlu ilayhā minā l-ruṭūbāt.

As for the worms, they are inevitably engendered in a rotten tooth, on account of the putrefying matter that enters it or the moistures that find their way into it.

It also struck me [= G.J. van Gelder] that another word for worm is *sūṣah*, coll. *sūs*, of the same root as the verb *sawisa* / *tasawwasa*, “to become carious (tooth)”. I looked in al-Damīrī’s animal encyclopaedia under *dūd* and *sūs* but did not find anything about teeth.

B. Meissner, *MVAG* 9/3 (1904), 41 (= 221), n. 3, referred to “Ibn abī Oṣeibi’a I 81 = Qiftī 124 ed. Lippert”. This is Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamāʾ* (ed. [Julius] Lippert, 124). It is a passage about Galen:

He composed a book against [thus; not “on”] quacks/charlatans [lit., “people with tricks in medicine”]. In his book he says, on diseases that are difficult to cure, that he was walking in the city of Rome when he saw a man who was surrounded by a group of foolish people. “I am a man from Aleppo,” he said, “and I have met Galen, who taught me all he knows. Here is the remedy for worms in teeth!” The scoundrel had made a pill, concocted from frankincense (*lubān*) and tar (*qaṭrān/qaṭīrān/qiṭrān*); he put it on hot embers and fumigated with it the mouth of someone with “wormy teeth” (*al-aḍrās al-mudawwidah*), as he claimed. The man could not avoid closing his eyes, and when they were closed the quack inserted in his mouth a worm that he had ready with him in a container; thereupon he took it out of the man’s mouth...

translation G.J. VAN GELDER

The same passage was repeated by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, *Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’* (ed. Müller, i 81–82 [p. 82 begins “that he was walking”])–. M. Stol: A similar story can be found in M. Meyerhof, Arabic tooth-worm stories. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 17 (1945), 203–204.

Avicenna/Ibn Sina in his famous *Canon* (*al-Qānūn*):

On the tooth-worm. Take seeds of henbane, seeds of leek, four of each; onion seeds, two and a half, knead with goat fat in to pills, weighing a dram (dirham) each, and fumigate with it, with a cover over the head of the funnel (?).

Source: *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*; Bulaq, AH1294 (AD1877): ii 192

When discussing tooth-aches, he remarks that putrid substances can engender worms (ii 186: *rubbamā walladat dūdan*).

Assyriologists (and others) will be most grateful for G.J. van Gelder’s contribution!

3 *Therapies*

In a letter to the Assyrian king a physician writes “There are many therapies for teeth (*bultu ša šinnī*)” (SAA 10 320: rev. 4–5). Therapies mostly speak of “the teeth”, in the plural. There are a few exceptions (see above, I.1). We add “if his tooth changes” (*ennû*, but declined as a masc. plural!); “if it is lying down (*nadat*),” discussed above (I.3).

a The Vademecum

The best known therapeutical “Vademecum” begins by listing plants against diseases of the teeth.³⁰ In the first place, six “plants for a sick tooth” (Ú ZÚ.GIG.GA.KE₄) appear which should be “put on top of (*ana muḥḥi*) his tooth”, a single tooth is meant (*BAM* 1: ii 1–6). The plants are: the “male” *pillû* (= mandrake?), root of the “male” *pillû*, green *qulqullānu*, *lulumtu*, a centipede (*ḥalulāya*), root of the sunflower (“Plant of Šamaš”) (1–6). This single line follows: “The root of the camelthorn (*ašāgu*) which has not (yet) been exposed to the sun when you uproot it: plant for the (tooth) worm (Ú *tulte*)—ditto (= to be put on top of the tooth)” (7). Next, three “plants for a “lying-down” (*nadû*) tooth” (Ú ZÚ ŠUB-*te*). To be dried, crushed, mixed in oil and put on top of the tooth. The three plants are: *kudimeru*, *ši-bir* (var. adds *šuršu*) MAḤ, root of the (var. adds: white) thornbush (*baltu*); this one again “which has not (yet) been exposed to the sun when you uproot it” (8–10). Then, six “plants for weakened teeth” (Ú ZÚ.MEŠ *unnušātu*; verb *enēšu* D) occur and in all cases the medication is put on the tooth. The six plants are: *marišmalû*, root of *ḥaltappānu*, root of *allunzi* (both latter plants are often mentioned together), resin of *šimṭātu*, myrrh, resin of the aromatic plant *baluḥḥu* (11–14). The last section mentions three plants and alum, “plants for the teeth” (in the plural or dual Ú ZÚ.ZÚ); here, the teeth are wiped (*kapāru*) while the patient has an empty stomach. This looks like a prescription “to brush your teeth”, above and below (ZÚ.ZÚ). The three plants and alum are: *margušu*, alum, mint (*ninû*), the aromatic mad-dar (*ḥuratu*) (15–16).

A new but simplified source is *CTN* 4 194: 6–10, listing the root of the plant *šakirû* (KAXGU), *lulumtu*, *qulqullānu*, all three for diseased teeth; *marišmalû*, for weak teeth; *margušu*, “plant for wiping the teeth (Ú ZÚ *ka-pa-ri*)”. The root of the plant *šakirû* may replace the sunflower in *BAM* 1, just mentioned. Both plants are equated, as *Uruanna* 1: 27 shows (*KADP* 1: i 6); see *CAD* Š/1 314b s.v. *šammi Šamaš* and cf. Farber 1989, 69 (note on *LKU* 32: rev. 11).³¹

30 *BAM* 1: i 1–16. The plant names in the first seven lines are lost but preserved in the duplicates. See now the edition by Attia and Buisson 2012, 26 (with 32–34: discussions of *ši-bir*; var. adds *šuršu*, MAḤ in l. 9 and ZÚ.ZÚ in l. 15).

31 Another plant, *šarmadu*, Sumerian GÛRUŠ-UŠ, is associated with gnashing the teeth (see below VI.2). In *Uruanna* 3: 57 (*KADP* 12: i 49) it is followed by the sunflower. Sumerian GÛRUŠ-UŠ can be explained as “the GÛRUŠ plant (= *šakirû*), second quality”. An indirect link between the sunflower and the *šakirû*?

b Therapeutical Texts

Within the series “If a man’s skull holds fever” there is a subseries “If a man has a disease of the teeth (*šinnē imarraš*).” Two tablets of this subseries are mentioned in the colophons and the tablets have been partially reconstructed by joining a number of fragments.³² I will give a summary of their contents.

Tablet 1, BAM 538

This tablet is fragmentary. Column i opens with the general, unspecific formula “If a man has a disease of the teeth” (ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG). In the following lines we find the singular “his tooth” (i 5, 28, ii 46–48, etc.), but a duplicate to i 28–30 offers “his teeth hurt”; this must be an error (AMT 30/13: 6–8). The next dental problem is that “his tooth” hurts (KÚ, *akālu*; i 28).³³ This is the first line of a group in which “his tooth”, “the tooth” is occasionally mentioned. I suggest that the entire group refers to just one tooth that is ailing: i 28–ii 51.

In the first section, with not specified tooth problems, a number of (alternative) prescriptions follow. The first prescribes that the “white of the belly”³⁴ of a [...] gecko (*pizallurtu*) is wrapped in wool, and plants and flour (*upuntu*) are ... and put “on top of his tooth” (i 2–5). In the second section, “if one tooth hurts”, parts of (more) small animals are the basic ingredients, sometimes “alive” (*balittu*; ii 42); like a frog (i 29–30), a gecko (ii 43), the reptile *humbibitu* (ii 49).³⁵ The latter is crushed, wrapped in wool, sprinkled with oil and “you shall throw it into his mouth (?) of his ill tooth” (*ana šĀ pi-šú šá ZÚ-šú GIG ŠUB*; ii 49).³⁶ Rubbing during one day (*muššu’u*; i 25) or anointing (*pašāšu*; ii 51) is also done.³⁷

Large four-column medical texts usually begin with a therapy by administering plants, etc., and in the second half the healer resorts to magic and quotes incantations followed by their rituals. In our text we observe the same order.

32 BAM 538, BAM 543. Translation: Thompson 1926, 58–60: Tablet 1 (BAM 538: i, iii); 74–75 (BAM 538: ii); 60–69: Tablet 2 (BAM 543).

33 Dupl. “teeth” which must be wrong (AMT 30/13: 6).

34 Note also *pu-ša bur-ru-mat* in ii 46. This reference for “the white (spot)” is not in CAD P s.v. *pūšu*, neither is *pu-šú i-na šĀ-šú*; TIM 9 78: 8 (OB extispicy).

35 Note *hu-bi-bi-it É* [...], BAM 297: 12.

36 Is “his mouth” an error to be disregarded? Thompson (1926, 75) read GEŠTU-šú for *pi-šú*, “into the ear (on the side) of the aching tooth”, in his translation of ii 40–57. In that case, one expects the sign II (“two”) after GEŠTU (“ear”).

37 The prescription in ii 45–47 is unusual but hard to understand. Line ii 45: *tam-šil kas-si-b[i](?)*; cf. GIM GAZLSAR *kas-si-bi*, UET 7 121: iii 9 (= Schuster-Brandis 2008, 349: 36); ii 46: *pu-ša bur-ru-mat* (see above footnote 34 to i 2–5).

All “Teeth” incantations were edited by Collins (1999, 262–276).³⁸ At the end of col. ii in our text the first incantation is quoted—it suggests a general connection with bad teeth.³⁹ In this incantation an introductory “cosmology” tells us that the god Anu created heaven and earth, earth created the w[orm] and the worm created the disease *bušānu*, “the stinking disease”, and the standard description of the latter, known from other incantations, follows: “Of *bušānu* strong is its grasp ...” Note that this worm is not necessarily the tooth-worm (see above, IV.2)!

Column iii offers a number of incantations “for an ill tooth”, according to their subscripts (ZÚ.GIG.GA); probably for one diseased tooth. The first words that are visible are “I want to strike (*lapātu*) you” (iii 40), “be broken like ...” (iii 42). Better preserved is: “O Šamaš, because of my tooth that hurts (lit. “eats”) me: the one for whom I did not offer a funerary meal, nor [libate] water ... I (now) turn to you ... I have kept him back and I have ... Like a moth (*ašāšu*) (?) whose tooth does not hurt him ... the tooth shall not hurt me.”⁴⁰

Another cosmology follows, to be recited over the pills (*kupattinnu*) to be put on the tooth (iii 64–70).⁴¹ The next incantation iii 71–72 is Collins 1999, 276, “Teeth 7”.

At the beginning of Column iv we see fragments of the best known incantation against toothache, known as “The Legend of the Worm”, followed by its ritual (see above, IV.2.a).⁴²

The next incantation is “The flesh is the door, the bone is the bolt. [The worm (?) ent]ered, lifted the bone, bit the flesh, broke (?) the bone, on the teeth it threw disease, on the head it threw fever (...).”⁴³ Kinnier Wilson (1996, 138) sees in these symptoms periapical osteitis.

“Its ritual has not been written,” the text concludes. The catchline follows: “If all of a man’s teeth shake. Tablet 1 (?): If a man’s teeth are ill” (iv 50).

38 Collins lists some diseases that do not affect the teeth: YOS 11 5: 3–4 (blindness; in Collins 1999, “Teeth 4”); there is no proof for a tooth-worm in YOS 11 3: 1 (Collins 1999, “Teeth 5”).

39 The incantation ii 52–62: Collins 1999, 195–198, “Bušānu 4”. Remarks: line 55 in *AHw* 1581a s.v. *nurbu* (in *nurub appi*). Not in *CAD* N/2 344 s.v. *nurbu*. Add there also *BAM* 235: 12; *SpTU* 1 44: 56. Line 56 is quoted in *CAD* R 320a, “He has forgotten the streets of his city.”

40 *BAM* 538: iii 58–61; dupl. *AMT* 24/2: 8–15; Thompson 1926, 59, sub 4. Line 42: *AHw* 1561a s.v. *hepû* N, imperative. Line 61: s.v. *ašāšu* B (this passage not in *CAD* A/2). Data from lines 52–62 were not incorporated in the *CAD*.

41 Geller 1984, 294: “*BAM* 538 iii 63’–67’ may duplicate *AMT* 24,2: 17’–22’.” Line 64: cf. *BAM* 539: 4 (TA ^dA-*nu*[*m* ...]).

42 Collins 1999, 262–265, “Teeth 1” (ms. C.).

43 *BAM* 538: iv 40–43; dupl. *AMT* 23/6: 8–11; Farber 1990, 318; Collins 1999, 266–268, “Teeth 2”.

Tablet 2, BAM 543

This tablet opens: “[If all (*gimru*) of a man’s teeth] shake (*nâšu* G) and [he gets] redness” (*rišûtu*) [...] (i 1). The first words are certain because they are visible in the catchline of the preceding tablet and because a tablet with extracts gives the same passage.⁴⁴ A fragment of a medical text from Boghazköy, much older, has the same beginning (DIŠ LÚ *gà-me-er ši-in-n[i-šu ...]* ù *lu-ú ri-[šu-tum ...]*; *KBo* 36 37: iii 1–3). The “redness” (*rišûtu*) is often associated with itch (*ekketu*) but an astronomical diary speaks of a disease of the mouth or tooth ([G]IG KA) together with redness.⁴⁵

The therapy is fully preserved elsewhere, in the extract *BAM* 159: v 10–14; plants and alum are processed (verb *lummu*): “You rub on the teeth until blood comes out, he shall eat the tallow of a lion or (BE-*ma*) the tallow of a fox” (i 2). An unusual recommendation.

The second set of symptoms is about shaking teeth (*nâšu* G), with some additional symptoms (broken); wiping (*kapāru*) the mouth is one of the few readable actions to be taken (i 3–5). Better preserved is “If a man’s teeth are weak (*enēšu*) (and) either they exude blood, [or ..., or the gums] exude blood” (i 13–14). A mixture of minerals, plants, pomegranate rind is crushed (*daqāqu* D) and “after they have been applied (*ut-tap-pu-ú-nu*; *ṭepû* Dt), the teeth [...]” (i 16).⁴⁶ It is surprising that this section on weak teeth and bleeding is inserted between two sections on shaking teeth; there must be a relation between the three symptoms.

“If a man’s teeth are shaking (*nâšu* D) and they exude blood” (i 17). This prescription is fully preserved in other texts where we read that plants, orpiment, nitrate, alum, aromatics, gazelle meat, water cress (variants in the duplicates) are crushed and sieved. One of the plants is *šimaḥu*, another *anameru*. “It must be applied (*ṭepû* Dt) at the borderline of his teeth (*mišir šinnēšu*), above and below.” At the end, this application is named a *ṭipu*.⁴⁷

44 *BAM* 543: i 1; the extract is *BAM* 159: v 10–14. Note that in the following recipes alum is always prescribed (*BAM* 159: v 17–29).

45 Sachs and Hunger 1988, 74, No. 382: 13.

46 The complete text, with variants, is preserved in Heeßel and al-Rawi 2003, 231: iii 14–16, § 27. I suggest that we accept NU (not: DÜ) in *ut-tap-pu-ú-nu* and view it as a variant of the Assyrian subjunctive ending *-ni*; read *ultu ... uṭṭappû-nu*; Luukko 2004, 92–93 (progressive vowel assimilation). In Neo-Babylonian the ventive *-ni* can change into *-nu*; see *GAG* § 10 h.

47 Heeßel and al-Rawi 2003, 227 ff.: iii 5–13, § 26; *CTN* 4 140: rev. 3–7; *STT* 279: 1–5. Final edition Schwemer 2007, No. 36: v 3–7, reading in the last line *mī-šir*, “borderline” (of his

The next readable section is: “If a man’s teeth are spotted green” (SIG₇ ŠUB-*a*; *urqa nadâ*). One has to wipe (*kapāru*) his mouth and nostrils and wash (*mesû*) his mouth (i 26–28). The following prescriptions obviously concern the same ailment: now, one has to make the patient vomit by using a feather (29); the shell of a crab is singed and his mouth and nostrils are wiped (with it), oil ... is blown into his nostrils through a reed, mark (*ḥandû*) of reed is processed and put into his nostrils (30–31). Of a following prescription these remarkable words remain: “[... of (?)] a male sheep (UDU.NITA) (he?) will tear out (*garādu* D) with his [teeth]; [...] you wipe, (and) the black (spot) (GE₆; *šulmu*) of his teeth will disappear” (34–35). Most unusual; folk-medicine?

After a lacuna, the text leaves the topic “teeth” and goes on with the tongue (i 49), the lips (i 51), the nose (i 63), and *bušānu*, a disease of the mouth and nose (ii 11).

BAM 542

F. Köcher held it possible that the fragmentary No. 542 belongs to this subseries. The preserved third column only gives incantations, followed by some interesting rituals, aiming to get rid of a tooth or a worm, using the words “take away” (*tābli*) (iii 3), “let it leave” (*littaši*) (7), and “seal it off” (*barāmu*) (12, 20). Most interesting is iii 8–10. It has been translated as follows: “You make a jaw (*lašḫu*) of potter’s clay. You insert (*retû* D, meaning: plural objects) as many emmer grains as he has teeth (*ana minîṭ šinnē*). In place (KI; *ašar*) of his diseased tooth you insert (*retû* G, a singular object) a black emmer grain, you fill his mouth with oil, you sprinkle (it) into his jaw, you recite the incantation three times, you put [the tooth] in a hole, to the West, you seal it off with clay (mixed with) straw (*pû*).”⁴⁸

V Dentition

Dentition in babies is a special topic which we cannot fully discuss here (see CAD Š/3 49b; literature in my “Zahn”, §6 in *RIA*). “Milk teeth”; Sum. *zú-ga, šin-nāt šizbi* (*MSL* 9, 55: 107 [so!]; *CUSAS* 12, 155: 5/11). Problems surrounding it are found in the Diagnostic Handbook (*TDP*, 218, 230, Tablet 40: 10–12, 115–116; Scurlock 2014, 258, 262), and aberrations are described in the handbook

teeth). I take the verbal form *uṭṭappa* as a third person passive Dt of *ṭepû* (contra Heeßel, al-Rawi and Schwemer: “he applies”, “du legst...”). Examples: *BAM* 543: i 16, 19, 26(?).

48 Reynolds 2010, 300. The ritual in iii 17–20 is similar.

of monstrous births; Leichty 1970, 39 (1: 82), 69 (4: 27–30), 71 (4: 50), 95 (7: 65'–66', 68'); Pangas 1999, 198–199. At the Assyrian court this letter was written: “The fever (*šarāḥu*) with which its (the baby’s) head, arms and feet were feverish: (it was) because of its teeth: its teeth were about to come out (*ašû*); that is why it became feverish; it ... inside him (*bētānuššu ú-sa-pi-il*)” (SAA 10 302 = ABL 586 = LAS 216, with commentary by S. Parpola).

VI Gnashing Teeth

A man gnashes (*kašāšu*) his teeth (*ikaššaš*, transitive)⁴⁹ and teeth are gnashing (*ikaššaša*, intransitive). Old Babylonian *kašāšum*; Sumerian ZÚ.GUZ, rarely GÛRUŠ (*MesZL*, 61, No. 84: URUXGU), SÚD (= RAD), and GAZ. “Teeth grinding (bruxism)” is meant (Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 422–423).

1. ZÚ.GUZ is well known. See now the commentary *SpTU* 4 143: 31–32.
2. GÛRUŠ-*aš* in *BAM* 311: 87; dupl. *BAM* 30: 22 (KLIMIN, “ditto”, but the entire text discusses gnashing teeth). Note that the plant Ú GÛRUŠ-UŠ (= *šarmadu*) was used against gnashing (*gāšišu*) teeth; Uruanna 3: 57 (*KADP* 12: i 49); see *CAD* G 53b, and my remark in note 31.
3. SÚD in zú-súd-súd, *gašāšu ša šinnī*; *MSL* 17, 186 (Antagal A: 166); *MSL* 16, 335 (Fragment 8: ii 6 [glosses: zu-su-ud, su-ud-su-ud]). Attested in Alster 1997, 305 (UM 55-21-278: “The fox gnashed its teeth, it shook its head.”); Maul 1988, 98 (Ešl 6: 12, 143; Ešl 18: 15, “die Zähne fletschen”, when confronted with enemies), and see Karahashi 2000, 180.
4. GAZ: zú-gaz = *gašāšu*; *MSL* 17, 186 (Antagal A: 165, followed by zú-súd-súd, 166; see above). GAZ = *hepû*, *šaniš gašsat* in Leichty 1970, 233 (Commentary O: 22). All lexical. GAZ indeed stands for *gašāšu* in a catalogue of amulet stones: 4 NA₄.MEŠ ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GAZ, “Four stones: gnashing the teeth” (Schuster-Brandis 2008, 205, Text 2: i 3; GAZ is omitted in Text 3: ii 10; p. 210!). Schuster-Brandis 2008, 207: “GAZ steht hier für *kašāšu* [“knirschen”].” This is based on one manuscript of “Kette 64” (pp. 110–111), viz. *BAM* 376: ii 16–17, about a spindle whorl (*qaqqad pilakki*) with four amulet stones, followed by “Four: his teeth gnash (*i-gaš-ša-ša*),” and this prescription is also found in a text about gnashing teeth (*BAM* 30: 44–46).

49 “He gnashes” (singular) in *BAM* 30: 47; *TDP*, 220, Tablet 40: 34, etc.

Note that the preceding prescription in *BAM* 376: ii 12–15 again uses a whorl, now with ten stones and against a spinning head (Schuster-Brandis 2008, 109, “Kette 61”). The Babylonian scholars must have seen a connection between the uncontrollable movements of the head, the teeth and the whorl.

In an OB physiognomic text (about healthy persons) we find a passage about what happens when you are sleeping: “If a man grinds (*kašāšu*) his teeth while sleeping (*šalālu*): he will worry.”⁵⁰ In the Diagnostic Handbook, gnashing is seen as caused by the Hands of *Sîn* and *Ištar*.⁵¹ In most cases by the latter and once “because of touching the cheek”, which must refer to adultery (46).⁵² In the omina on the behaviour of a sacrificial sheep its gnashing indicates adultery (*niāku*) (*YOS* 10 47: 13).

Only one medical text is exclusively concerned with gnashing, bruxism (*BAM* 30 = *LKA* 136); a translation was given by Heeßel (2010a, 57–59). The symptoms are mentioned in lines 8 and 47: “(8/ Incantation): If a man gnashes (*i-kaš-ša-aš*) his teeth (47/ while sleeping).” The plant *šarmadu*, known as effective against gnashing teeth (above, 2. *GÛRUŠ*), is not mentioned in this text. Böck (1999, 417–420) pointed out how unusual the prescriptions in this text are (“Singularität”). K. Radner (1997, 274 with n. 1529–1531), referring to this text: “Wie verschiedene Rezepte gegen krankhaftes Zähneknirschen aus Assur vorschreiben, werden zur Heilung dieses Leidens entweder Erde aus einer Gruft, Totenschädel oder Menschenknochen benötigt.”⁵³

Some Final Remarks on the Verb

1. The word *kašāšu* can also mean “to gnaw”, literally said of gnawing the fingers (*AEM* 1/2 282: 21);⁵⁴ metaphorically of pains in the epigastrium (*BAM* 578: ii 20), the innards (*BAM* 8, 539; *UH* 16: 205), or the knees (*kimšā*, *burkā*) (*BAM* 21: 16).⁵⁵

50 Köcher and Oppenheim 1957–1958, 64: 41.

51 *TDP*, 60, Tablet 6: 43–47; cf. Wilhelm 1994, 59.

52 In his edition of the Boghazköy version of this handbook, Wilhelm did not see that his Fragment G: rev. 3–4, on teeth (1994, 57), parallels *TDP*, 60, Tablet 6: 46; Scurlock 2014, 53: 108”, *MU TAG TE* = *aššum lîpî lîti*, “(The Hand of *Ištar*): because of touching the cheek (= adulterous behaviour);” see Stol 1991–1992, 45.

53 Note the use of a skull in *BAM* 157: 6–9, with Butler 1998, 45–46 (“nocturnal bruxism”).

54 Note [*ubānāt*]*ešu li-it-ta-ak-ša-aš*, the preterite of the *Ntn* stem which must mean here “let him continuously gnaw on his fingers;” Charpin 1991, 144 (A 361: iv 9’); Durand 1997, 456 (No. 292).

55 For more ramifications of the meanings of *GÛRUŠ* (*gur₅*), see van Dijk and Geller 2003, 25.

2. Obscure in the prescription *BAM* 578: i 43 where D. Cadelli suggests in her unpublished dissertation (2000, 190, 227) “il mâchera (la préparation résultante)”.
3. The verb can describe aggressive wild animals as “gnashing/grinding their teeth”, particularly pigs (*CT* 38 45: 14; Leichty 1970, 191: 17; *SpTU* 3 94: 157–158). This will explain the third meaning of *gašāšu* in our dictionaries, “to rage”, as in “Evil Demons” (*BAM* 8, 176; *UH* 5: 4); note Sumerian *gur₅-ru-uš būr*, “to bare the teeth” (van Dijk 1960, 76, n. 61; Klein 1981, 99, 214).
4. Could the verb *kašāšu* (*u/a*) be identical with *kašāsu* (*u/a*), “to chew”? In Sumerian, the latter is *tukuri* (KAxŠE) (*UET* 6/2 396: 7) and a late commentary distinguishes *tu-uk-ku* = KAxÚ = *ga-š[a-su]* from *zu-gu-uz* = KAxLUM = *ga-ša-š[u]*, “to gnash”; *MSL* 14, 331 (rev. 9–10), commenting on p. 308 (Ea 3: 116–117).

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Die Fliege und der Tod: Beschwörungen gegen Tiere

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Unter den zahlreichen mesopotamischen Beschwörungen gibt es auch welche, die gegen Tiere gerichtet sind, entweder weil sie eine reale Gefahr darstellten wie z. B. Schlangen, oder weil sie etwa durch ihr Verhalten als böses Omen angesehen wurden. Alles was als auffällig oder außergewöhnlich eingestuft werden konnte, war potentiell ein böses Vorzeichen, das eine Gegenmaßnahme erforderte. Das Ziel der apotropäischen Beschwörungen war es, dieses Unheil abzuwenden.¹ Die Beschwörungen richteten sich daher eher gegen eine – aus heutiger Sicht – irrationale als gegen eine reale Bedrohung.

Es ging also nicht immer um gefährliche, angriffslustige Tiere, sondern in der Regel um solche, deren Erscheinung man als Bedrohung sah, auch wenn von dem Tier selbst unmittelbar keine Gefahr ausging.

In anderen Zusammenhängen wurden Beschwörungen zum Abwehr von Schädlingen, etwa Nagetieren, eingesetzt, um Lebensmittel und Vorräte zu schützen. Ein ganz anderes Ziel hatten Beschwörungen und Heilungsritualen der ŠA.ZI.GA-Gattung, womit man die Kraft und Potenz männlicher Tiere, u. a. Wildesel, Widder oder Stier, auf den Patienten übertragen wollte.²

Vor allem in den frühen Texten geht das genaue Ziel nicht immer aus dem Wortlaut der Beschwörungen hervor. Will man das Tier einfach verjagen oder vielleicht gefangen nehmen? Es mit Hilfe einer Gottheit beherrschen und sich zu Willen machen, damit es sich von einem fernhält oder gar stirbt?³

Nicht jedes Tier, das in den Beschwörungen erwähnt ist, war jedoch potentiell gefährlich oder als ominös einzustufen. Interessanterweise ist die Zahl der Tiere, gegen die man es für nötig hielt, sich mit Beschwörungen und Ritualen schützen zu müssen, relativ begrenzt. Während z. B. Schlangen, Skorpionen und Hunde schon in den frühesten Beschwörungen aus Fara und auch später recht häufig vorkommen, sind Haus- oder Nutztiere nur selten oder gar nicht vertreten, obwohl die Menschen relativ oft mit diesen Tieren in

1 Für Namburbi-Ritualen gegen Tiere s. Maul 1994.

2 Biggs 1967, 17–20.

3 Die Bezeichnung *ka.inim.ma*, die am Ende mancher Beschwörung steht, ist nicht immer hilfreich für die Deutung, s. dazu van Dijk, Goetze und Hussey 1985, 5–6.

Kontakt waren. Allein die Wahrscheinlichkeit von einem Tier verletzt zu werden, spielte anscheinend nicht die größte Rolle, viel eher waren religiöse und mythologische Vorstellungen über die Herkunft und Absicht der Tiere maßgebend.

Gerade Beschwörungen gegen die drei genannten Tiere, Schlangen, Skorpionen und Hunde, bilden eine Genre für sich, die sich auf eine sehr alte Tradition berufen kann. Die ältesten Exemplare kommen aus Fara, ähnliche Beschwörungen sind auch bis in die altbabylonische Zeit belegt, sowohl in sumerischer wie in akkadischer Sprache.⁴ Der Grund für die Häufigkeit dieser Beschwörungen ist wohl nicht allein, dass man die Tiere häufig begegnete und sich von ihnen schmerzhaft Wunden holen konnte, sondern auch ihre geheimnisvolle Lebensart. Schlange und Skorpion erscheinen in sumerischen literarischen Texten öfters als Paar, z. B. in der Beschreibung des Berglandes im Lugalbanda-Epos: „(Wo) keine Schlange eilt, kein Skorpion kriecht“ (muš nu-un-šul-šul ġir nu-sa-sa, Z. 37).⁵ Der typische Aufenthaltsort der Schlangen war das unbebaute, brachliegende Land (sum. kankal = KI.KAL), sie kamen aus dem Totenreich (sum. kur), und waren Erscheinungen oder Ausgesandte der Unterweltsgötter. In einem sumerischen mythologischen Text, der die Flucht Dumuzis vor den Dämonen schildert, bittet er seinen Schwager Utu darum, in eine Schlange verwandelt zu werden, damit er schnell seinen Verfolgern entkommen kann.⁶ Es gibt aber keine direkten Hinweise für eine allgemeine Identifikation von Schlangen mit dem Gott Dumuzi. Skorpionen versteckten sich im Sand oder Staub und verschwanden in Erdspalten (sum. ki-in-dar):

muš kur-ta ì-zi
ġir saġar-ta ì-zi

Die Schlange erhob sich aus der Unterwelt,
Der Skorpion erhob sich aus dem Sand/Staub.⁷

Vgl. hierzu auch die Stelle in Gilgameš, Enkidu und die Unterwelt, wo von dem *ġuluppu*-Baum und seinen Bewohnern berichtet wird: „In seinen (des *ġuluppu*-Baumes) Wurzel hat eine Schlange, die keine Beschwörung kennt (d. h. die mit

4 Die frühen Beschwörungen aus der Fara-Zeit sind von Krebern timer 1984 behandelt. Für Texte aus der Ur III-Zeit und altbabylonischer Zeit s. Finkel 1999; van Dijk und Geller 2003, Nr. 2, 12 und 13.

5 Wilcke 1969, 94–95 und 146.

6 Dumuzi und Geštinanna, *UET* 6 11: 26–32; s. Sladek 1974, 227–228.

7 van Dijk und Geller 2003, Nr. 2: 14–15.

keiner Beschwörung beizukommen sei), sein Nest gebaut“ (úr-bi-a muš tu₆ nu-zu gùd im-ma-ni-ib-ús).⁸

Eine Beschwörung gegen Fliegen

In der altbabylonischen Beschwörung, YOS 11 6, von der nur der Anfang erhalten ist, wird eine Fliege angesprochen und vom Kopf und Gesicht einer Person verjagt.⁹

YOS 11 6: Umschrift und Übersetzung

1)	<i>am-ḥa-ša-ka</i>	Ich habe dich geschlagen
2)	<i>i-na mu-ḥi-im</i>	auf dem Schädel,
3)	<i>iš-tu mu-ḥi-im</i>	vom Schädel
4)	<i>a-na pu-ti-im</i>	zum Stirn,
5)	<i>iš-tu pu-ti-im</i>	vom Stirn
6)	<i>a-na ḥa-ar-ḥa-sa-ni-im</i>	zum Ohr,
7)	<i>iš-tu ḥa-ar-ḥa-sa-ni-im</i>	vom Ohr
8)	<i>a-na na-ḥi-ri-im ša ap-pí-im</i>	zum Nasenloch.
9)	<i>ú-ta-mi-ka</i> ^d Nin-kar-ra-ak	Ich beschwöre dich bei Ninkarrak:
10)	<i>ti-bu-ti er-bi-im</i>	erhebe dich wie einen
11)	<i>lu te-te-bi-am</i>	Heuschreckenschwarm,
12)	<i>i-na za-ab-ri-šu</i>	von seiner Seite(?)

Der Rest der Beschwörung ist abgebrochen.

Ich verstehe den Text als eine Anrede des Beschwörers (1. Person) an die Fliege (2. Person), und die dritte Person, die in Z. 12 erwähnt ist: *ina zabrišu*, muss m.E. der Patient sein. Mit anderen Worten: der Beschwörer fordert die Fliege auf, vom Gesicht des Patienten wegzufiegen.¹⁰

⁸ Gadotti 2014, 181 (Z. 42 und 85).

⁹ Zu dieser und im Aufbau ähnlichen Beschwörungen s. Veldhuis 1993.

¹⁰ Der Herausgeber des Textes, J. van Dijk (in van Dijk, Goetze und Hussey 1985, 21), sah es anders. Er schlug vor, das Verb *mahāšu* in der Anfangszeile in der Bedeutung „weben“ zu übersetzen. Der Sprecher wäre dann eine Spinne, die ein Netz als Falle für die Fliege spinnt. Veldhuis (1993, 42–43) war der Meinung, dass der Patient mit dem Beschwörer identisch sei, und dass der Kranke oder Betroffene selbst die Beschwörung ausspricht, d. h. er ist grammatikalisch die 1. Person.

Auf der Tafel, von der der untere Teil abgebrochen ist, waren wahrscheinlich ursprünglich insgesamt zwei Beschwörungen, die beide mit Fliegen zu tun hatten. Auf der Rückseite sind nur einzelne Zeichen erhalten, in den letzten zwei Zeilen kann man aber die Bezeichnung *ka-inim-ma nim-ma-kam ka-kéš-re-da-kam*, „Beschwörungsformel einer Fliege, um den Mund zu binden“, noch lesen. In beiden Fällen scheint das Ziel zu sein, eine oder mehrere Fliegen abzuwehren. Da das Verb *ka-kéš* auch als juristischer Fachausdruck im Sinne von „einen Vertrag schließen“, „verpflichten“ belegt ist,¹¹ haben wir hier vielleicht ein weiteres Beispiel dafür, dass Abwehrzauber sich juristischer Terminologie bediente, wie z. B. in den Prozess-Ritualen gegen Schadenszauber.¹²

Die Beschwörung *YOS 11 6* ist einzigartig und hat keine Parallelen. Auf dem ersten Blick erscheint das Thema, Abwehr einer Fliege, eher harmlos, schließlich geht es hier nicht um gefährliche Tiere wie Schlangen oder Skorpionen. Die Fliege dagegen ist jedoch in diesem Fall nicht bloß ein störendes Insekt, vielmehr ist sie ein unheimlicher Bote des Todes, ein böses Omen, das vielleicht der baldige Tod der betreffenden Person verkündet. Die Beschwörung soll somit gleichzeitig die Fliege und den Tod abwehren.

Fliegen: Symbol des Todes

Die Verbindung von Fliegen mit dem Tod kommt von der Beobachtung, dass Fliegen sich in großer Zahl bei Leichen, toten Opfertieren etc. versammeln, aber auch von Kot, Zerbrochenes, gärenden und faulenden Substanzen angezogen werden. Oft zitiert wird die Stelle in *Atraḫasis*, wo nach der Flut die Götter sich „wie Fliegen“ um das Tieropfer versammelten.¹³ War die Anwesenheit von Fliegen bei Tieropfern womöglich sogar ein positives Zeichen, dass die Götter das Opfer akzeptierten? Falls Fliegen sich aber nicht einfinden sollten an Stellen, wo man sie normalerweise erwarten würde, versprach es nichts Gutes, wie immer bei ungewöhnlichen Ereignissen: „Wenn er sich seit er krank ist übergibt und sich keine Fliege das Erbrochene nähert, wird er sterben“ (diagnostisches Omen).¹⁴

Ohne medizinische Geräte, wie man heute zur Verfügung hat, ist es nicht immer leicht, das Eintreffen des Todes sofort zu erkennen. Der Tote sieht aus,

11 Falkenstein 1957, 126.

12 Thomsen 1987, 58–59.

13 Zur Fliege als Symbol des Todes s. Kilmer 1987, 177. *Atraḫasis* 3: v 34–35 und Gilg. 11: 151.

14 *a-na ḫu-ḫa-ti-šú NIM la TE-ḫi*; Heeßel 2000, 201 (Z. 60).

als ob er schläft, reagiert aber nicht auf Sprache oder Berührung.¹⁵ Das sicherste Zeichen des Todes ist das Aufhören des Pulses, und so prüft auch Gilgamesch den Herzschlag seines Freundes Enkidu: „Er fühlte sein Herz, aber es schlug nicht mehr.“¹⁶

Die Fliegen können den Tod aber vom weiten erkennen und versammeln sich wie aus dem Nichts um den toten Körper. Noch bevor es äußeren Kennzeichen des Todes zu sehen gibt, vielleicht sogar bevor der Tod von den Angehörigen wahrgenommen wird, schwärmen Fliegen schon über dem toten Körper, vor allem im Gesicht, kriegen in die Körperöffnungen Augen, Nase, Ohren und Mund. Das Verhalten von Fliegen ist geheimnisvoll und erschreckend. Wie es scheint, wissen Fliegen immer, wann ein Lebewesen gestorben ist. Die Fliege weiß, wer tot ist und wer nicht, sie merkt es, sie spürt es, sie riecht es, auf jedem Fall erkennt sie es als Erste. Die Fliege ist in diesem Fall „eine Wissende“, sie weiß Dinge, die den Menschen verborgen sind. Damit wird die Anwesenheit von Fliegen zu einem sicheren Zeichen des Todes und daher ist die Fliege in unserer Beschwörung nicht einfach als ein lästiges Insekt zu betrachten, vielmehr ist sie ein böses Omen: jemand wird bald sterben oder ist vielleicht sogar schon tot. Aufgeregt und beunruhigt versucht man die Fliege und damit den nahenden Tod zu verscheuchen.

Fliegen in der Mythologie

Trotz dieser Rolle als Todessymbol kommen Fliegen nicht oft in der mesopotamischen Mythologie vor. Lediglich in sumerischen Kontext in dem Mythos „Inannas Gang zur Unterwelt“ und in Klageliedern über den toten Dumuzi ist eine Fliege die Schlüsselfigur bei der Suche nach dem toten Gott.¹⁷ Am Ende vom „Inannas Gang zur Unterwelt“ und in den genannten Klagen, weint Inanna über ihren toten Ehemann, Dumuzi, in einigen Texten auch Geštinanna über ihren Bruder. Ein häufiges Thema dieser Klagen ist die Suche nach dem toten

15 Für Tod und Schlaf s. Guinan 2009–2011, 201–202.

16 Gilg. 8: 58: *il-pu-ut lib-ba-šu-ma ul i-nak-ku-[ud mimāmā]*. George 2003, 654–655, The Standard Babylonian Epic, Tablet VIII 55–58, (Gilgamesch spricht:) “‘Now what sleep is it that has seized [you?] You have become unconscious and cannot hear [me!]’ But he, he would not lift [his head;] he felt his heart, but it was not beating any more.”

17 Alster 1996 untersuchte dieses Thema, das er „fly episode“ nannte in mehreren Texten: außer Inannas Gang zur Unterwelt auch *UET* 6 10, *CT* 15 19–20, *CT* 58 11, CBS 6894, CBS 15162 und YBC 4621.

Dumuzi. Inanna klagt und ruft „Wo ist mein teurer Ehemann?“¹⁸ Dann bietet eine Fliege ihren Dienst an und fragt gleichzeitig nach Gegenleistung: „Falls ich, die Fliege, den Ort deines (Text: seines) Mannes finde, was schenkst du mir?“¹⁹ Inanna verspricht eine Belohnung, und die Fliege zeigt ihr, wo Dumuzi zu finden ist. Dieser Ort ist aber nicht näher geschildert und anscheinend auch nicht von Bedeutung. Das Wichtige in diesem Zusammenhang ist das Schicksal der Fliege, das Inanna nun bestimmt: „Im Haus des Biers, im Haus des ..., mögen die Söhne des weisen Mannes leben“ (oder: „mögest du mit den Söhnen des weisen Mannes leben“?).²⁰

Der Hintergrund dieser Schicksalsentscheidung ist die Beobachtung, dass Fliegen vom Bier und Wein genauso angezogen werden wie z. B. von totem Fleisch. Im Ausdruck *dumu lú kug-zu-ke₄-ne* „die Söhne (oder Kinder) des weisen/klugen Mannes“ ist nicht ganz klar, von wem die Rede ist. Mit dem sumerischen Wort *kug-zu*, akkadisch *emqu*, „weise, klug“, scheint oft eine besondere Weisheit gemeint: spezielles, handwerkliches Können, eine Einsicht und Geschicklichkeit, die nicht jeder besitzt. Gudea nennt die Göttin Nanše *ensi kug-zu me-te-na-ĝu₁₀*, „meine eigene weise Traumdeuterin“ (Gudea Zyl. A: ii 1). Asalluḫi spricht von sich selbst als *maš-maš kug-zu*, „der weise Beschwörer“ (Geller 1985, 82–83; Z. 869), und Inanna wird mit einem geschickten Vogelfänger verglichen, dem kein Vogel entwischt: *mušen-dù kug-z[u]-gin₇ igi-te-en sa lá-a-ni mušen nu-è*, „als ob sie ein kluger/geschickter Vogelfänger wäre, entflieht kein Vogel ihrem engmaschigen ausgespannten Netz“ (Sjöberg 1975, 184–185; Z. 66). Wer könnte der kluge Mann sein? Weisheit und Geschicklichkeit passen am besten zu Enki, aber würde man ihn als *lú*, „Mann“, bezeichnen? Falls mit *lú kug-zu* die Fliege gemeint ist, weist dieser Ausdruck auf ihren außerordentlichen und unerklärlichen Spürsinn hin, wodurch sie fähig ist, schnell und überall einen Toten ausfindig zu machen. Aber auch der Bierbrauer könnte hier gemeint sein, ein Mann, der seinen Metier perfekt versteht und in geheimnisvoller Weise aus einfachen Zutaten wie Gerste und Wasser einen alkoholischen Getränk herstellt.

18 Alster 1996, 7 und 14: *me-e dam kal-la-ĝu₁₀* (Inannas Gang zur Unterwelt: 391).

19 CT 15 19: 20: *nim-me ki mu-lu-ni ma-ra-an-pàd-dè a-na mu-un-ba-e-e*.

20 CT 15 19: 21–22: *é-kaš-a-ka é-LAGAB-na-ka dumu mu-lu kug-zu-ke₄-ne dè-mu-un-ti-le*. CT 58 11: 22: *é-kaš-a-[...] é-BAPPİR-na-ka dumu lú ku[g-zu-...]x-ke₄-ne-da ḥé-ri-ib-ti-le-ne*.

Zusammenfassung

Hinter der kurzen Beschwörungsformel in YOS 11 6, um eine auf dem ersten Blick harmlose Fliege loszuwerden, steht wahrscheinlich der verzweifelte Versuch, den Tod einer kranken Person zu verhindern. Mit dieser und anderen apotropäischen Beschwörungen gegen Tiere, wehrt man sich nicht gegen eine Gefahr, die von Tier selbst ausgeht, es geht vielmehr um das Abwehren eines bösen Schicksals.

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Ninmah and Her Imperfect Creatures: The Bed Wetting Man and Remedies to Cure Enuresis (*STT* 238)

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The Sultantepe tablet *STT* 238 records two remedies for a man who “discharges urine in his bed”. Despite its briefness (in total 14 lines), it contains several elements that allow us to relate the healing procedure to the role played by the goddess Ninmah in the mythological composition *Enki and Ninmah*. In this paper I provide a transcription and translation of *STT* 238 together with a commentary on the parallel texts (*BAM* 115; *STT* 239 and VAT 13682, belonging to the so-called *Namburbi against the evil caused by a bed*) and I analyze the ritual section and the relevant elements which reveal its mythological background.

STT 238¹ is a landscape tablet recording two remedies for a man who “discharges urine in his bed”.² The writing covers the entire obverse (ten lines) and less than half of the reverse (four lines) with the rest uninscribed. The tablet is of the memo type and bears no colophon. A series of horizontal lines divide the text into five sections, a division that is coherent with the content:

* My gratitude goes to S.F. Adalı, who collated the texts *STT* 238 and 239 for me at the Ankara Museum and provided me with pictures as well. S.V. Panayotov has been very helpful suggesting alternative readings of difficult passages of the text. I am, of course, solely responsible for any misinterpretations and errors. After the submission of the manuscript a new edition of the myth *Enki and Ninmah* appeared (Ceccarelli 2016) which I was not able to discuss in this article.

1 Excavation number SU 51/89, measures: 50 × 67 mm; copy in *STT* (vol. 2). The tablet has been composed by the joining of at least six different fragments.

2 “A ritual of exorcism for cleansing a man who has wetted the bed”, according to *STT* (vol. 2),

o.	1	diagnostic
<hr/>		
	2-7	first remedy
		2-4 <i>agenda</i> —ritual (DU ₃ .DU ₃ .BI)
<hr/>		
		5-7 <i>dicenda</i> (EN ₂)
<hr/>		
	8-r. 4	second remedy
		8-10 <i>agenda</i> —drinking potion
<hr/>		
r.		1-4 <i>dicenda</i> (EN ₂)
<hr/>		

The first line contains the nature of the illness in the form of a diagnostic, identifying the action (“hand”) of Ninmaḥ and the cause of distress (discharge of urine in bed). Then, two different procedures to cure the illness are provided, both followed by a similar invocation to Ninmaḥ. The first remedy, introduced by the term DU₃.DU₃.BI, is a ritual. The second one is a potion to be drunk with wine. In spite of its brevity and its being incomplete, the tablet shows various problems related to the paleography and the redaction of the text.

Bed wetting, on the one hand, and ritual against the evil caused by an enchanted bed, on the other hand, are dealt with in other texts. *BAM* 115 (VAT 8693) is the lower part of a one column tablet possibly from Assur.³ The first twelve lines of the obverse are divided by horizontal lines into three sections containing just as many remedies possibly related to kidney calculi.⁴ From line 13’ of the obverse to—at least—line 12’ of the reverse, remedies against bed wetting are recorded, divided by horizontal lines into ca. 9 sections. Three of these sections have diagnostic content:

<i>BAM</i> 115	o.	13’	[DIŠ NA] ṛšā ² A.MEŠ NAG u	[If a man] <i>who</i> drinks a lot
			ma-gal ZI.MEŠ-ṛma ¹ EGIR-šú	of water and often rises but
			ṛx ¹ [...] ⁵	<i>then</i> [...]

3 The text has been published in copy by Köcher (*BAM* [vol. 2], No. 115), and edited in transcription and translation by Geller 2005, No. 6. No indication of its provenance is provided by Köcher (*BAM* [vol. 2], ix), and the tablet is not listed in Pedersén 1986; Geller 2005, 12, states “Assur; no provenance”.

4 See Geller 2005, 77, fn. 1.

5 Geller’s interpretation of the end of the line is different and consequently the translation: ... ma-gal ZI.MEŠ EGIR-šú T[1], “... repeatedly rises (to urinate), eventually he will recover”

- 14' [DIŠ N]A ina KI.NA₂-šú If a man discharges his urine
 KAŠ₃-šú iš-^rtin šU¹ ^dbe-let- in his bed: "Hand of Bēlet-
 DINGIR.MEŠ ^rTI¹ ilī"—he will recover.
 r. 4' [DIŠ NA ina K]I.NA₂-šú [If a man] discharges his
 KAŠ₃.MEŠ-šú iš-^rtin¹ [...] urine [in] his bed [...]

The first diagnostic appears to be unparalleled and isolated;⁶ the second and the third, instead, may be the same and are parallel to *STT* 238: 1 as are the lines that follow containing the remedies.⁷ In fact, despite its fragmentary condition, it is possible to relate the ritual in *BAM* 115: 15'–16' to that performed in *STT* 238: 2–4 (and similar to *STT* 239: 3–8), while *BAM* 115: r. 5'–7' may be parallel to *STT* 238: 8–10. The rest of *BAM* 115 contains herbal remedies and, in one case (r. 10'–12'), another ritual to be performed on the bed.

STT 239 and VAT 13682⁸ have been recognized as copies of the *Namburbi against the evil caused by a bed*,⁹ whose incipit is listed in the first line of the *namburbis* catalogue¹⁰ from the Ashurbanipal library in Nineveh:

[Against the evil of a be]d (when) a man or a woman during the night or the entire day [or the afternoon in their bed invert or interchange] or when in their (lit. his) bed [they discharge] urine.¹¹

(Geller 2005, 76–77). The MA after ZI.MEŠ is visible in Köcher's copy, but not transcribed by Geller, who collated the text in 2002; a digital picture of the text is provided by CDLI (cdli.ucla.edu/P285214).

- 6 Apparently it is not even followed by a remedy. As cautiously noted by Geller (2005, 77, fn. 2), the expression *ma-gal* ZI.MEŠ may refer to erection ("is constantly erect"), and thus not be related to enuresis but alluding to other kinds of problems.
- 7 The relation of VAT 8693 / *BAM* 115 to other similar texts escaped the notice of, or has been ignored by the two editors (Köcher in *BAM* [vol. 2], No. 115; Geller 2005, No. 6); see also below the commentary to l. 2. Maul (1994, 378), on the other hand, while discussing all the relevant sources in the introduction to the edition of the *Namburbi against the evil caused by a bed* (see below), omitted *BAM* 115. Reiner (1996, 354) is the only one who has quoted all the sources discussed in the present article; her statement "For the pertinent texts ... see *CAD* s.v. šatānu" is, however, incorrect.
- 8 This text was first published in transcription and translation by Ebeling (1954, 180–182, No. 12); in his edition, Maul (1994, 546–547) also provided a copy of the text.
- 9 Maul 1994, 378–386 (VIII.13).
- 10 Besides being recorded in a catalogue listing mainly *namburbis*, it should be noted that the text is never qualified properly as a *namburbi*.
- 11 [ana ḤUL KI].NA₂ NITA u MUNUS lu ina GI₆ lu ina kâl u₄-mi lu [ina mušlâli ina mayyâlîšunu enû/î lû šutênû/î] / lu e-nu-ma ina KI.NA₂-šú KAŠ₃-šú [ištinû] (K 2389+: 1–2); see Maul 1994,

The fragmentary state of the copies does not allow us to conclude whether the sections separated by a horizontal line are different remedies or instead are successive passages of a longer and more complex procedure involving the performance of rituals, offerings, and incantations.

Namburbi against the evil caused by a bed (STT 239 // VAT 13682):¹²

§ 1	o. 1–8	– Diagnostic ([<i>ana</i> 𒄩]UL K1.NA ₂ ...); – ritual (erection of the bed, brick for Ninmaḥ, scattering of food on garden plants); – recitation of an incantation.
§ 2	9–14	– Arrangement of altars for Šamaš and Asalluḫi, – offerings, – (fragm.).
§ 3	15–30	– (Fragm.), – long incantation (possibly to Šamaš and Marduk).
§ 4	31–34	– (Fragm.).
§ 5	r. 1'–10'	– (Fragm.).
§ 6	11'–13'	– (Fragm.:—Diagnostic, ...).
§ 7	14'–16'	– (Fragm.:—Diagnostic, prayer/offering to the Wagon constellation, ...).

The diagnostic (DIŠ K1.MIN) at the beginning of sections § 6 and § 7 seems to point to the first hypothesis, namely that the tablet gathers different, independent procedures. On the contrary, the reference to the Wagon constellation (*Ursa Maior*) in lines r. 15' and 21' seems to put in sequence at least section § 6 and the following ones.

196 ff. The incipit is preserved only in STT 239: ¹⁾ [*ana* 𒄩]UL K1.NA₂ *lu* NITA *lu* MUNUS *lu* ina GI₆ *lu* ina ka[l u₄-mī] ²⁾ [*lu* i]na AN.BAR₇ *ina* K1.NA₂-x-šú-nu *e-nu-u* *lu* šu-te-[nu-u] ³⁾ [x *ina*] K1.NA₂-šú KAŠ₃-šú iš-ti-nu 𒄩UL K1.NA₂ 'šú²¹ -[a²-tu₍₂₎]²⁾; the end of the line might also be read as ŠU [dNIN.MAḪ].

12 Numbering of lines after Maul 1994, 378–386.

Both copies are closed by a colophon, which is fragmentary in *STT* 239,¹³ and complete in the case of VAT 13682, written and found in the same town of Assur:¹⁴

r. 27	ʾGABA.RIʾ gišʾZUʾ Aš-šur ^{ki} -i ʾZIʾ-ḥa	Copy excerpted from an (original) Assyrian writing board, ¹⁵
28	[IM ¹ Ki]-ʾšir ¹ -dMUATI ^{lu2} MAŠ.MA[Š]	[tablet of Ki]šir-Nabû, <i>mašmaš</i> ,
29	[DUMU ¹]dUTU-D[U ₃] ^{lu2} MAŠ.MA[Š]	[son of] Šamaš-ibni, <i>mašmaš</i> ,
30	DUMU ¹ dMUATI-bé-su-nu ^{lu2} MAŠ.MA[Š]	son of Nabû-bēssunu, <i>mašmaš</i> .

Again, the colophon of VAT 13682 shows that the text written on the tablet contains a selection of *excerpta* rather than a complete text.

In his edition of the *Namburbi against the evil caused by a bed*, Maul also includes *OECT* 11 62,¹⁶ a small tablet containing a fourteen line incantation (EN₂), most of which invokes the gods of the house and Kulla. The passage “the bed of So-and-so, son of So-and-so, which is coming out from the house to the sheep-fold” (l^{o.e.} 1) giš¹NA₂ šá NENNI A NENNI šá r. 1) ul-tu E₂ a-na tar-ba-š[u]²) [u]š-ša-a), persuaded Maul to relate this incantation to the ritual discussed here. However, apart from the generic reference to the bed,¹⁷ I see no further evidence to relate this incantation to the ritual against an enchanted bed. In fact, in the preserved ritual section of the *Namburbi against the evil caused by a bed* or in the parallel texts (*STT* 238 and *BAM* 115), no reference is made to removing the bed from the house. Instead, the emphasis on Kulla and the gods of the house relates this incantation to the context of restoration rituals.¹⁸

STT 238, *BAM* 115, and *STT* 239 (*Namburbi against the evil caused by a bed*) present a ritual section which is similar, but not parallel,¹⁹ starting from the fact that the instructions in *STT* 239 are provided in the 3rd person instead of

13 u.e. 1) [GIM] LIBIR.[RA.BI *šaṭirma*...] ²) [x] IM [...], “[Written according] to original [...], tablet [...]”

14 For Kišir-Nabû, member of the exorcist family of Bābu-šumu-ibni, housed in the N₄ locus at Assur, see *BAK* 208–217; *PNA* 2/1 627–628, No. 5; Pedersén 1986, 46; Verderame 2004, II.2.3.3 and IV.105.72.

15 Or: writing board from Assur.

16 Maul 1994, VIII.13 source C. See also George 1990, 156–157 and Reiner 1996, 352; further bibliography in Maul 1994, 379.

17 For the function of the bed in rituals, see below.

18 See in general Ambos 2004.

19 This has already been noted by Panayotov 2014, 47.

the 2nd as it happens to be the case in *STT* 238 and *BAM* 115. This raises the problem of the sources of the three manuscripts and their redaction. These, as well as an analysis of the ritual procedure and an edition of *STT* 238, will be the matter for discussion in the following pages.

STT 238: Transliteration and Translation

Obv.

1	DIŠ NA <i>ina</i> KI.NA ₂ -šú KAŠ ₃ iš-tin ŠU dNIN.M[AḤ]	If a man discharges urine in his bed: “Hand of Ninmaḥ”.
2	DU ₃ .DU ₃ .BI g ^{iš} NA ₂ šú-a- ^r tú ¹ ta-za- qáp ¹ (RU?) SIG ₄ a-ḥa ŠUB-dí ¹ (AK)	Its procedure: you set this bed up and you place a brick (for Ninmaḥ) <i>at both sides</i> ,
3	KEŠ ₂ KEŠ ₂ -as UDU.S[ISKU]R BAL- qí ¹ dug ^A .DA.GUR ₅ GUB-an KAŠ u GEŠTIN BAL	you set up an offering arrangement, you make an offering, you place an <i>a.</i> -vessel, you make a libation with beer and wine,
4	GURUN g ^{iš} KIRI ₆ DU ₃ .A.[B]I GAR-an NIG ₂ .NA šim ¹ LI t[a]-sar-raq uš-[ken]	you place all the orchard fruits and strew juniper over the censer and he <i>prostrates</i> .
5	EN ₂ dNIN.MA[Ḥ] ^r x x ¹ [x] ^r x KI-TI ¹ be-[let i-l]i a[t-ti-ma ²]	Incantation: “Ninma[ḥ], ..., <i>the</i> <i>la</i> [dy of (all) the go]ds y[ou are],
6	dNIN.MAḤ SIL[IM.MA šu]k-ni ; dNIN.MAḤ n[a]p-šir ¹ a- ^r a ¹ -[ší]	Ninmaḥ, <i>gi</i> [ve me we]ll-being! Nin- maḥ, forgive me!
7	dNIN.MAḤ [suḥ]-ḥi-ri pa-ni-ki 7-šú ^r DU ₁₁ .GA ¹ (GAR) ma-gir ¹	Ninmaḥ, turn your face toward me!” You recite (or: he recites) it seven times and (its prayer) will be accepted.
8	DIŠ KI.MIN a-na TI-šú u ² bu-uṭ-na-nu u ² ḥa-šá-nu u ² KUR.KUR	If—ditto—to cure him: <i>buṭnānu</i> - plant, <i>thyme</i> , <i>atāišu</i> -plant,
9	u ² EN ^r U ₂ ² .MEŠ PI- ^r x-IR/GAG ² ¹ -ti a-a-lì šur-ši ŠE ² LUM ²	“ <i>Lord of the plants</i> ”, ... of stag, root of ...,
10	za-za-ru BABBAR U ₂ ² ḤAD.A SUD ₂ ina GEŠTIN NU pa-tan NAG-[šú]	white <i>zan/rzar</i> -plant, dried ..., you pound and make him drink with wine on an empty stomach.

Rev.

- 1 [EN₂] ^rd¹NIN.MA[Ḥ] AMA *rem-ni-tú* [Incantation]: “Ninmaḥ you are a
merciful mother,
2 ^rdNIN¹.MAḤ [*r*]e-ma TUKU-a Ninmaḥ, show me mercy!
3 ^dNIN.MAḤ [*su*]ḥ([SUR].ŠU)-ḥi-ir Ninmaḥ, turn your face!
pa-ni-ki
4 ^dNIN.MAḤ [*nap*]-šir a-a-ši TU₆ EN₂ Ninmaḥ [for]give me!” Incantation
formula.

Epigraphic and Philological Notes

The text presents a series of writing errors: obv. l. 2 RU? for KAB, AK for DI; l. 7 GAR for GA; rev. l. 3 ŠU for SU. The collation of the text on a picture of the tablet confirms the shape of the signs as copied in *STT* (vol. 2), pl. CC at the end of line 9, which makes no sense, however.

Most of the imperative verbal forms of the two incantations lack concordance between the subject and the verb, the latter being in the 2nd m.s., where a 2nd f.s. is expected. The fact that the same form is written correctly on the obverse and incorrectly on the reverse ([*suḥ*]-ḥi-ri, obv. 7; [*su*]ḥ-ḥi-ir, rev. 3), suggests that the scribe used different sources in the compilation of the tablet. Perhaps the second invocation, where all the verbal forms are masculine, used an incantation to a male deity as an inspiration.

Obv.

1: Restored after *BAM* 115: 14' and *STT* 239: 3 and 21 (von Soden 1966, 563); cf. K 2389+: 2 (Maul 1994, 197). For *šinātu*, “urine”, see *CAD* Š/3 40–42; Couto-Ferreira 2009, 347–348.

2: For DU₃.DU₃.BI see Maul 2009.

Böck (2008, 307) reads the signs as *ta-za-ru* and relates the term to *zarû*, “to scatter, sow” (“Ebendiese Lagerstatt zerstörst du”); this interpretation contrasts with the use of the verb *zarû*, usually employed with uncountable objects (seed, dust, etc.) and referring to the act of scattering, not of destroying; *CAD* Z 70–71 s.v. *zarû*; see also Panayotov 2014, 44. Furthermore, the sign after ZA is not properly RU (compare with the following RU/ŠUB in the same line; see fig. 31.1). The reading *tazaqqap* is suggested by *ta-za-qap* in *BAM* 115: 15' and confirmed by the parallel *i-za[q-qap]* in *STT* 239: 4.

According to the parallel texts (*STT* 239: 5; *BAM* 115: 15'), the expression SIG₄ ana D[INGIR.MA]Ḥ is expected here, however there is apparently not enough

FIGURE 31.1 Copy of *STT* 238: 2 (part)

space. The reading ŠA₃.HA for *šaḥḥû* (Böck 2008, 307) and other possible readings, as *šaḥâ*, “at an angle” (see *CAD* Š/1 75 s.v. *šaḥâ*), must be avoided in favour of the reading *a-ḥa* of the signs following SIG₄, already hypothesized by Panayotov (2014, 44 and 48, fn. 5), and confirmed by the collation of the text; see fig. 31.1. Unfortunately, I am not able to suggest a satisfactory interpretation for *a-ḥa*, which may be an adjective qualifying *libittu*, or an adverbial expression. In this latter case, defective writing for *aḥê*, “separately”, or *aḥia*, “outside”, or “at both sides” (for *aḥâ* instead of *aḥia* see *CAD* A/1 210 s.v. *aḥû*) would make sense.

The last sign of the line, a phonetic gloss for the Sumerogram ŠUB, is AK, which might be taken as it is or emended as an error for DI. In the latter case, the reading *tanaddi* (ŠUB-*di*) is supported by the parallels *STT* 239: 5 and *BAM* 115: 15'. In the former case, we should instead infer an error or unusual reading for ŠUB, which usually renders only the verb *nadû*. Thus, without any further comment, Panayotov (2014, 44) suggests “*tušamsak*, Š *nasāku* ‘to (let) throw’”, which is probably based on the two references quoted in *CAD* N/2 15 s.v. *nasāku* (*STT* 73: 84; *TDP*, 214, Tablet 36: 21). Another unlikely reading is *tasappak* from *šapāku*, “to heap up.”

4: For the expression *nignaqqā burāša tasarraq* see Mayer 1978, 453 and fn. 46. The usual sequence is *tasarraḡ tašakkan*, but here after *t[a]-sar-raḡ* we find a sign which is clearly UŠ. The parallel line of *BAM* 115: 16' ([... NIG₂.N]A Š^{im}LI GAR-*an* BI[?]) has *tašakkan* instead of *tasarraḡ*, followed by a sign that may be BI and a gap. Geller (2005, 76–77) reads the sign of *BAM* 115: 16' as KAŠ, which might be related to the libation of beer and wine mentioned in *STT* 238: 3. An emendation ^{giš}[NA₂ ...], parallel to *STT* 239: 6 (Š^{im}LI GAR-*an* ^{giš}NA₂), is also possible. Böck (2008, 307) reads the end of line 4 of *STT* 238 as GIŠ₃-[šú ...] and G[İŠ₃ ...] in *BAM* 115: 16', “[seinen] Penis [...]”. However, in *STT* 238: 4 there is room for only one, perhaps two signs after UŠ, and a verb is expected. Furthermore, no mention of the penis is made before, and the symptoms described do not seem to involve any problem of the penis. The focus of the ritual is the enchanted bed, not the patient or his body. At the end of the line and of the section and preceding the invocation, one expects a verb describing a conclusive act performed by the client or the healer. If this is the case, note the change of subject from the second person (*ta-za-qáp*, l. 2; *ta-sar-raḡ*, l. 4) to the third (*uš*-[...]); thus, if we exclude an error of the compiler (as perhaps, for example, in *STT* 239: *i-zaḡ*-[*qap*], l. 4; *ta*-[*na-di*], l. 5), and we accept the instruction in

the second person as addressed to the ritual performer and the third person to the client participating in the ritual, the action intended by this last verb must refer to the latter (i.e. the client). The restoration *uš-[ni-il]*, a Š form of *nālu*, “to lay s.o./s.th. down”, may refer both to the client and to the bed, in the latter case being in opposition to *zaqāpu*, “to set up”, at the beginning of the ritual. Other possible readings include *uš-[bat]*, “he stays”, and *uš-[ziz]*, “he set it up (the bed)”, but the interpretation as *uš-[ken]*, “he prostrates”, seems to satisfy the general context.

5: The four signs between ^dNIN.MA[Ḥ ...] and KI-TI are too confused to provide a meaningful interpretation. The first line of the incantation in the *Namburbi against the evil caused by a bed* reads EN₂ DINGIR.MAḤ AMA *ba-ni-tu at-ti-ma*, “Incantation: Bēlet-ilī, you are the generating mother” (*STT* 239: r. 25 // VAT 13682: r. 15; Maul 1994, 382 and 385). The sign at the end of the line before the gap on the edge may well be an AT; thus what precedes could be the second part of a verbless clause whose subject would be “you ...” (... *attīma*). The gap between KI-TI and *a[t-ti-ma]* has enough space (four or five signs) to contain the expression A[MA *ba-ni-t*]u, paralleling the incipit of the incantation in the *Namburbi against the evil caused by a bed*. Two of the fragments making up *STT* 238 are joined along the horizontal fracture which splits the second half of line 5 into two parts. The two fragments have been wrongly glued and there is not a precise match of the signs in the upper and lower part of the line. Thus the sign BE, after KI-TI, in the *STT* (vol. 2), pl. CC copy is far from certain. If, however, this should prove to be the case, a reading of the mother-goddess’ epithet, *be-[let i-l]i* could be possible, instead of A[MA *ba-ni-t*]u. The previous part must contain an epithet of the mother-goddess as well. The sequence KI-TI could be interpreted as the second part of the hendiadys *šamê u eršeti* (‘X AN¹-[e] ‘u KI-ti’) or as syllabic Akkadian, ...-*ki/qí-ti*. In the latter case, ...-*ki/qí-ti* would be the final part of a term in the genitive, being the second element of a genitive construction giving an epithet of the goddess, such as *mu-še-ša-at ur-qí-te*, “she who brings forth greenery” (Maul 1988, 290–291: 8’), for example; for other epithets of the mother-goddess see Tallqvist 1938, 413. S. Panayotov (personal communication) has cautiously suggested a reading [N]IN ‘NIN.MEŠ DINGIR-*lat*’ *be*¹-[*let-t*]i^{??} *a[t-ti]*, an epithet documented for Ninlil; see also the *šu’ila* prayer to Ištar (Ištar 2, *Usalliki bēlet bēlēti ilat ilāti*; Mayer 1976, 389).

6: The colon of three oblique wedges ($\frac{4}{4}$) is omitted in the copy in *STT* (vol. 2), pl. CC; its function here is unknown to me. As for the second verb (*n[a]p-šir*), the feminine form of the imperative 2nd singular (*napširī*) is to be expected, instead of *napšir*; the same lack of concordance between subject and verb recurs in rev. 3–4.

7: Collation of the tablet from photo was futile; the broken space is too large for a single short sign such as ŠU (as in r. 3) and we may restore a longer sign such as ŠUH (von Soden 1966, 563) or two signs (*su-uh*-... or *šu-uh*-...). Compare the invocation to Marduk during the New Year celebrations “to the Esagila, your temple, turn your face!” (*ana É.SAG.ÍL É-ku suh-ḫir IGI-ku*; *RitAcc* 130: 31); for further references see *CAD* S 50 s.v. *saḫāru*.

9: The list of ingredients to be prepared for the potion begins in the previous line and ends in the following, thus what is contained in l. 9 still belongs to the ingredients list. However, the fragmentary state of the line prevents the reading of some signs and the general interpretation of the text. The only certainty regards reading the signs in the middle of the line (*a-a-li šur-ši*), whereas what precedes and follows is a matter for discussion. The first two signs of the line are clear (U₂ EN) as well as the fourth (MEŠ). Besides, the copy in *STT* (vol. 2), pl. CC shows an U₂ sign between the EN and the MEŠ, the collation of the text from photo shows a sign which is not that clear. Assuming that the shape of the signs as copied in *STT* (vol. 2), pl. CC is correct, one possible reading is “Lord of the plants”, but this plant name is not attested. The following term begins with a PI sign and ends with a TI; followed by *ayyāli*, it is to be understood as a part of the stag (*ayyālu*) employed in potions. These are usually the horn (*qarnu*) and what has been identified as the discharge or spur (*rikibtu*); see *CAD* R 344. Thus, the ending of the term with *-ti* would fit perfectly the reading *rikibtu ayyāli*, except that the first sign is clearly PI. A hypothetical reading of the signs as *pi-^rše[?]-er-ti* or *pi-[ši]r-ti* seems to be refuted by the observation of Adalı, who—having collated the text at the Ankara Museum on my behalf—, reports that after the PI sign follows another PI.

Furthermore, the sign before TI may not be IR, if compared with the IR sign of rev. 3, but GAG instead. Other readings, although hypothetical, are therefore possible.²⁰ ^rGEŠTU MAŠ.DA₃¹-*ti a-a-li*, “ear of a gazelle (and a/of?) a stag”, shows syntactical problems; the reading *ti-a-a-li*, “white cedar”, becomes less probable. A meaningful reading would be ^gŠKAK.TI *a-a-li*, “the breastbone of a stag”, interpreting the sign that appears to be PI as two different signs, UD and GIŠ; for the breastbone (*sikkat šēli*) see Couto-Ferreira 2009, 225–226 and *passim*.

As for the end of the line, the collation from photo confirms the copy in *STT* (vol. 2), pl. CC, except that the last two signs remain far from being understood. The first sign may be a ŠE followed by a composite sign beginning with SAL.

The term *šur-ši*, “the root of ...”, should be followed by a plant name. A reading ŠE.NUM₂ for *šunû*, “chaste tree (?)”, is possible. The root of the *šunû* is

20 The following alternative readings have been proposed by S.V. Panayotov.

attested in medical recipes, see *CAD* Š/3 309–310. The ŠE sign could also be a NUMUN, coordinated in an asyndetical join with *šurši*, “the root and the seed of ...”. In that case, only the last sign would give the name of the plant. It could be the cucumber (*qiššû*), so that the line would read *šur-ši* NUMUN UKUŠ, “root and seed of a cucumber”, but no reference to the “roots” of the *qiššû* is known. The other part of this plant that is usually employed besides the seed is the tendrils (*erru*).

10: The *zarzaru* plant (a root or a spice) is mentioned in Mari and Old Babylonian letters and in the list of the plants in the garden of Merodach-Baladan (*CT* 14 50: 44), see *CAD* Z 73–74 s.v. *zarzaru*. While no white or other variety of this plant is known, the reading of the signs ZA-ZA-RU as *zazzaru* and thus related to *zan/rzaru* is more plausible than *šaš(š)aru* “(a kind of cricket or a snake)” (see *CAD* Š 115 s.v. *šaršaru* A and C). The reading U₂ ḪAD.A, “dried spices”, is possible, but unlikely. While the U₂ sign is not so clear on the tablet, an alternative reading G[EŠT]IN ḪAD.A, “dried grapes”, would make more sense.

Rev.

2: The verbs in the following lines are in the masculine and the logographic writing does not allow us to establish whether the same gender is meant here.

3–4: Surprisingly, in spite of the correct form in obv. 7 ([*suḫ*]-*ḫi-ri*), the verb is in the 2nd m.s., instead of the expected 2nd f.s.; von Soden (1966, 563) emends to [*suḫ-ḫi-ri* *pa-ni-ki*]. The expressions of these two lines are the same as the first invocation (obv. 6–7), but inverted; for the lack of concordance of the subject (2nd f.s.) and the verb (2nd m.s.) see comment to obv. 6 and the introductory paragraphs to the commentary above.

General Comments

The Diagnostic (obv. 1)

The cause of distress is the “hand” or “touch” of Ninmaḥ. As for the patient, it should be noted that the incipit of the *Namburbi against the evil caused by a bed*²¹ mentions “a man or a woman”, and the verbs are in the plural; the rest of the remedies are commended only to a “male” patient, and some inconsistencies are also shown in the incipit where, contrary to the plural of the verbs and of the pronominal suffixes,²² we also find singular masculine pronominal

21 See above with fn. 11.

22 *ina* KI.NA₂-X-šú-nu ... *iš-ti-nu* (*STT* 239: 2 and 3); note the erasure between KI.NA₂ and -šú-nu, a possible sign of hesitation by the scribe.

suffixes,²³ suggesting that the addition of the “woman” could be an innovation introduced by the redactor of the text.²⁴

The First Procedure (obv. 2–4)

The first remedy is introduced by the expression DU₃.DU₃.BI and involves a ritual intervention. The subject of the ritual is not the sick man himself, but his bed. In fact, the bed has been enchanted, thus being the cause and the vector of distress. The bed is set up and becomes the focus of a series of ritual acts: offerings, fumigations, and invocation.

At the end of the section the subject changes from the 2nd to the 3rd person singular.²⁵ The only reference in a parallel text to the third person is in the *Namburbi against the evil caused by a bed* (*i-zaq-[qáp]*, l. 4), and it may refer to the active participation of the client in the ritual performance, or it may highlight the overlap of different sources in the redaction of the text.²⁶

The Second Procedure (obv. 8–10)

The second remedy is constituted only by a potion to be drunk on an empty stomach. The ingredients are herbs and plants:

Writing	Akkadian	Identification
u ² <i>bu-uṭ-na-nu</i>	<i>buṭnānu</i>	(?)
u ² <i>ḥa-šá-nu</i>	<i>ḥašānu</i>	<i>thyme</i>
u ² KUR.KUR	<i>atā'īšu</i>	(?); white hellebore (“Sneeze plant”) according to <i>DAB</i> , 151–154.
<i>za-za-ru</i> BABBAR	<i>zan/rzaru</i>	(?); cf. Syriac <i>ṣuṣrā</i> , “artemisia” (quoted in <i>CAD Z</i> 74).

To these is added an animal part, “the ... of the stag”, but this may be the name of another plant as well.

23 *ina* KI.NA₂-šú KAŠ₃-šú (K 2389+: 2; *STT* 239: 3).

24 See below with fn. 26.

25 See, above, the philological notes to l. 4.

26 Læssøe 1955, 32; Maul 1994, 68; Couto-Ferreira 2015, 191 ff.; see also Caplice 1967.

The Invocations to Ninmaḥ (obv. 5–7, rev. 1–4)

Both remedies are accompanied by an incantation to Ninmaḥ which shows a similar pattern of expressions:

Ninma[ḥ], ..., the lady of (all) the gods	Ninmaḥ you are a merciful mother,
you are,	Ninmaḥ, show me mercy!
Ninmaḥ, gi[ve me we]ll-being!	Ninmaḥ, turn your face!
Ninmaḥ, forgive me!	Ninmaḥ [for]give me!
Ninmaḥ, turn your face toward me!	(rev. 1–4)
(obv. 5–7)	

Invocations to the goddess Ninmaḥ are rare.²⁷ A tablet from Assur (*LKA* 142) includes, in addition to a prayer in Akkadian to Šamaš, one prayer in Sumerian to Ninmaḥ, whose incipit reads: “Ninmaḥ, who stays in heaven, mistress of all the lands” ([...] ⁴nin-maḥ an-na gub-ba nin-kur-kur-ra-[ke₄], l. 6). As for the *šūilas*, Mayer (1976, 379) lists three compositions invoking Bēlet-ilī/DINGIR.MAḤ,²⁸ but none related to Ninmaḥ.

An Analysis of the Ritual Procedure

The ritual procedure of *STT* 238: 2–4 is preserved with slight variants in *BAM* 115 and *STT* 239 (*Namburbi against the evil caused by a bed*).

<i>STT</i> 238	<i>STT</i> 239	<i>BAM</i> 115
§ 1 ² DU ₃ .DU ₃ .BI gišNA ₂ šú-a- ¹ tú ¹ ta-za-qáṗ	4 ... gišNA ₂ šá ina UGU ni-lu i-za[q-qap]	15' [DU ₃ .D]U ₃ .BI gišNA ₂ šú-a-tú ta-za-qap
§ 2 SIG ₄ a-ḥa šUB-di	5 [SIG ₄] ana DIN- GIR.MAḤ šUB-di	⟨SIG ₄ ⟩ ana D[INGIR.MA]Ḥ šUB-di
§ 3 ³ KEŠ ₂ KEŠ ₂ -as UDU.S[ISKU]R BAL-qí dugA.DA.GUR ₅ GUB- an KAŠ u GEŠTIN BAL		ʿXʿ [...]

²⁷ For the rituals mentioning Ninmaḥ see fn. 50.

²⁸ 1. *Bēlet-ilī bēltu šurbūtu ummu rēmēnītu āšibat šamē ellūti*; 2. *Bēltu šarratu* [...]; 3. *DINGIR.MAḤ annītu at-[ta-din? ...]*.

(cont.)

	<i>STT 238</i>	<i>STT 239</i>	<i>BAM 115</i>
§ 4	⁴ GURUN ^{giš} KIRI ₆ DU ₃ .A.[B]I GAR-an	NINDA <i>ina</i> UGU U ₂ ^{giš} KIRI ₆ ta-[<i>na-di</i>]	
§ 5	NIG ₂ .NA ^{šim} LI t[<i>a</i>]-sar-raq uš-[<i>ken?</i>]	⁶ [NIG ₂ .N]A ^{šim} LI GAR- an ^{giš} NA ₂ tu-x-[...] ²⁹	^{16'} [... NIG ₂ .N]A ^{šim} LI GAR-an BI 'x x x' [x] 'x x' [...]
§ 1	Its procedure: you set up this bed (<i>STT 239</i> : he sets up the bed on top of which he sleeps),		
§ 2	you place a brick for Bēlet-ilī (<i>STT 238</i> has “at both sides”, instead of “for Bēlet-ilī”)		
§ 3	(<i>STT 238</i> : you set up an offering arrangement, you make an offering, you place an <i>a</i> -vessel, you make a libation with beer and wine,)		
§ 4	<i>STT 238</i> : you place all the orchard fruits, <i>STT 239</i> : you scatter bread (or: food offerings) over the plants of the garden		
§ 5	you put (<i>STT 238</i> : you strew) juniper over the censer; he/you ...		

§ 1, § 2, and § 5 are similar in the three texts. The offerings (§ 3) are recorded only in *STT 238* (and perhaps in the gap of *BAM 115*); note, however, that the successive lines in *STT 239* (obv. 9–14) describe in detail the arrangement of reed altars and offerings to Šamaš and Asalluḫi. The reference to the garden (§ 4) appears in both *STT 238* and *STT 239*, although the actions performed are different: in *STT 239* a ritual action is performed in the garden (scattering of food on the plants), while in *STT 238* fruits of the garden must be arranged where the ritual is taking place.

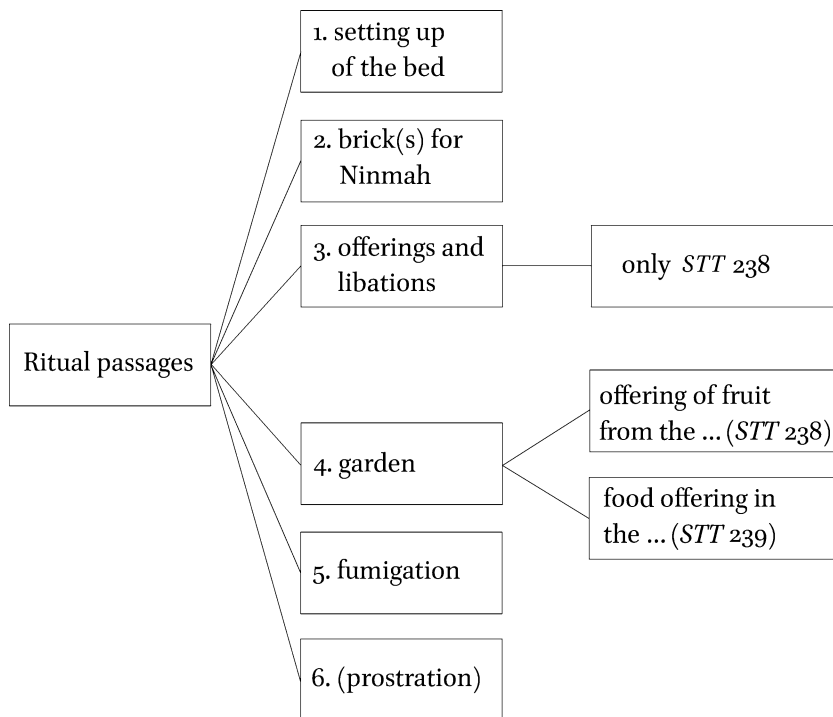
The conclusion of the section in *BAM 115* is unfortunately broken. *STT 238* ends fragmentarily with an action to be performed by the client, possibly a prostration (uš-[*ken?*], “he *pro*[*strates*]”, obv. 4). *STT 239* ends with a short incantation to be repeated thrice.³⁰

In *STT 239* the first instruction (§ 1) is given in the third person (“he sets up the bed ...”), while the rest appears in the second person (“you ...”). Note the change of person at the end of the section in *STT 238* (“he *pro*[*strates*]”).³¹

29 Maul (1994, 379, fn. 20) suggests hypothetically *tuše*[ššá] in relation to *OECT 11 62*: 2.

30 “May the [evi] of this bed not reach me, not [...]!” he recites [*three times*] and the evil will not approach the man (⁷ [ḪU]L⁷ KI.NA₂ an-ni⁷(DU₃)-i ‘a’-a KUR-an-ni a-a x [x x] ⁸ [3-šú⁷] DU₁₁.GA-ma ḪUL a-’na’ LU₂ NU KUR[-ad]).

31 See the General comments above.



The Bed

The bed is often the selected spot to perform healing rituals,³² since it is the place where the patient is forced to by the gravity of the illness. Furthermore, the bed (*eršu*/*giš*NA₂) and the bedroom (*mayyālu*/KIN.A₂) are the most intimate places of the patient's private life and house, thus they work effectively as a hypostasis of a person.³³ In substitution rituals, the animal on which the patient's fate or evil must be transferred is tied to the patient's bed or it sleeps with him in his bed.³⁴

In the ritual of *STT* 238 and parallels, the bed works as a vector as well but in the opposite way. It is the bed that has been charmed and it is the cause of the man's suffering.³⁵ It has been the means of evil transmission in a witchcraft

32 For the bed in official cult, see Porter 2006; Gaspa 2012, 152.

33 Note that the bed and bedroom are also the places where people are more vulnerable, and therefore where the demons usually perform their attack; see Verderame 2017.

34 See Verderame 2013.

35 For similar cases: "[...] his bed or when he discharges his urine [...] his semen flows; his bed is not pure like a woman" ([...] KIN.A₂-šú lu e-nu-ma KAŠ₃.MEŠ-š[ú] i-[šat-t]i-nu / [...] ri-ḫ]u-su DU-ak GIM MUNUS su-'u-su l[a e-l]il, *STT* 280: i 23–24; Biggs 1967, 66; see also *LKA*

ritual that must be counteracted by another ritual. Thus, in *STT* 238 and parallels, the bed becomes the focus of the ritual, instead of the patient, who is never mentioned. The first of the ritual passages in *STT* 238 directly concerns the bed (§1). It is set up (*zaqāpu*), an act of inversion from the horizontal to the vertical plan, in order to inhibit the harmful influence.³⁶ The verb *zaqāpu*, however, may have further evocative functions, as will be shown in the discussion about the brick and the garden.

The Brick

After the setting up of the bed, one or more bricks³⁷ are laid down for Ninmaḥ. Bricks are usually employed in rituals as altars,³⁸ but the reference to Ninmaḥ and, in general, to the context of birth may relate this brick to a more specific function. We find the “brick of Bēlet-ilī” in a passage of the ritual for the restoration of statues (*mīs pî*), where it is employed in a (re)birth metaphor:³⁹

You lay down the brick of Bēlet-ilī; on the brick of Bēlet-ilī a scattering offer will be done.

...

You lay down on the ground the brick of Bēlet-ilī, on the brick, you make a scattering offer and in front of the brick you make a libation of wine.

The association of the brick with Ninmaḥ in the *mīs pî* ritual and the restoration of statues within the context of birth has been noted and discussed by scholars dealing with this text.⁴⁰ In the ritual documented in *STT* 238 and parallels,

144: r. 24; Farber 1977, 234); “he has lain on a cursed person’s bed” (*i-na* ^{gis}[N]_{A2} *ta-mé-e it-ta-til*, *CTN* 4 109 [*Lipšur* litany]: i 13).

36 For references to the displacement of the dying man’s bed in order to trick death in folklore see, for example, di Nola 2005, 47.

37 The difficult passage of *STT* 238: 2 (*a-ḥa*; see the discussion above) may be interpreted perhaps as the laying down of a brick at each of the four corners of the bed.

38 Livingstone 1986, 187; Maul 1994, 384, fn. 36.

39 *TuL* 27: ^{obv. 42} *SIG*₄ *ša* ^d*Be-let-i-lí* *šUB-di* ⁴³ *ina* *UGU* *SIG*₄ *ša* ^d*Be-let-i-lí* *sír-qu i-sar-raq* ... ^{rev.}

⁴⁾ [*SI*]_{G4} *ša* ^d*Be-let-DINGIR.ME* [*š ina qa*]*q-qa-ri* *šUB-di* *ina* *UGU* *SIG*₄ ⁵⁾ *sír-qu ta-sar-r[aq x]* ^{‘x’} *GEŠT[IN]* *ina* *IGI* *SIG*₄ *BAL-qí*; see the new edition by Walker and Dick 2001, Appendix: 42–43 and rev. 10.

40 Ebeling 1931, 109; Cassin 1982, 354–355; Livingstone 1986, 187; Berlejung 1998, 135–141 and passim; in general for the brick of birth see Stol 2000, 82 and passim; for the pertinent passage in *Atra-ḥasīs* see Capomacchia 1979. Maul (1994, 384, fn. 36) believes, instead, that “Der Ziegel hat in diesem Ritual wohl die Funktion des Altärchens (*paṭīru*), auf das die Opfergaben gelegt wurden.”

there is another possible link of our ritual with *mīs pî* and the birth context. The verb *zaqāpu* (“to set up, to plant”, etc.), employed for the bed, is the same employed for setting up an object (a stela, a door, etc.) or to set a person in an upright position. Thus, the setting up of the bed in *STT* 238 (and parallel texts) may recall that of the statue in *mīs pî*.

The Garden

The fourth phase of the ritual deals with the orchard and its products. The passage is preserved only in *STT* 238: 4 and *STT* 239: 5, and the two versions differ. In *STT* 238, “all the orchard fruits” are used, presumably together with the other offerings. In *STT* 239, food offerings are scattered over the plants and herbs in the orchard. Thus, in one case (*STT* 238) the orchard products are fruits and are used as offerings; in the other, the orchard products are herbs and plants and are the recipients of offerings.

<i>STT</i> 238	fruits		herbs and plants	<i>STT</i> 239
	(<i>inbu</i> /GURUN)		(<i>šammu</i> /U ₂)	
	offered	→	←	receiving offerings

In ancient Mesopotamia, orchards and gardens “were meaningful spaces in the articulation of rituals as well as other relevant social procedures.”⁴¹ The garden is a common place for rituals to enhance conception, where the palm-tree symbolism evokes the idea of fertility.⁴² The ritual for the restoration of statues (*mīs pî*) takes place in the garden. Here, after the “mouth washing” of the statue, fruits from the orchard are used in abundance, as is the case in *STT* 238.⁴³ In the same passage of the *mīs pî* ritual, “chosen plants” (*šammu bēru*/U₂ BAR) are laid down. The editors of the text⁴⁴ relate these “chosen plants” to the “plants of the orchard” (U₂ ^g_{IS}KIRI₆), which have been interpreted as a term alluding to a group of plants used for purification.⁴⁵ The herbs and plants of the orchard mentioned in *STT* 239 may also be identified with those.

41 Couto-Ferreira 2013, 110. For orchards and gardens in ancient Mesopotamia in general see Glassner 1991; Rendu Loisel 2013; for their role in a ritual context see Couto-Ferreira 2013, 110–111.

42 For example *SpTU* 248 analyzed by Couto-Ferreira 2013.

43 Walker and Dick 2001, 46 and 62: 118 (GURUN ^g_{IS}KIRI₆ *tu-šar-ra-aḥ/raḥ tu-kab-bat*), 72 and 80: 40 (GURUN ^g_{IS}KIRI₆ *tu-ma-aš-ši' tu-kab-bat*¹).

44 Walker and Dick 2001, 61–62, fn. 99.

45 Maul 1994, 62–66.

Again, a link with the setting up of the bed in the first passage of the ritual and the garden may be drawn. In fact, the verb *zaqāpu* in its basic meaning “to set up” is used in relation with plants in the sense of “to plant” or “to make grow”.⁴⁶

Conclusions: Ninmaḥ and Her Creatures

The only divine being mentioned in the text is the goddess Ninmaḥ. She is the harmful agent (“Hand of Ninmaḥ”) and the one who is called upon through offerings and invocations. This opposition relates to the ambivalence of the deity that can deny or grant, harm or cure, etc., and thus she is both the cause of the distress and its solution.

As far as I am aware, no interpretation of the general and mythological background underlying the aetiology of the disease and the remedies has been proposed for *STT* 238. Only Scurlock tentatively proposed that “since bed-wetting is usually a problem of childhood, and since Belit-ili was a ‘birth goddess,’ this attribution makes a certain amount of sense”.⁴⁷ Thus according to Scurlock, Ninmaḥ is the addressee of the incantations and the ritual procedure because she is a mother-goddess related to childhood and it is children who usually wet the bed. Even though this interpretation cannot be *a priori* rejected, a series of objections may be raised. Despite the fact that the association between children and bed wetting appears logical from a modern perspective, no reference is found in the Mesopotamian sources, where no relation between Ninmaḥ and childhood is attested. She is a mother-goddess in charge only of the act of procreation, not of childhood.⁴⁸ Furthermore, in our case she is also the cause of the problem (“Hand of Ninmaḥ”), indeed understood as a problem, while child bed wetting is considered normal and not a dysfunction.⁴⁹

46 CAD Z 51 lexical section and 52–53 meaning c; see in particular ^{giš}kiri₆-^{giš}-gub-ba-ta = GIŠ.KIRI₆ a-na za-qa-pí, “to plant a garden” (*Ai* 4: iii 22).

47 Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 515.

48 In the section of the *Diagnostic and prognostic series* devoted to the newborn (*la’û*), Ninmaḥ is not mentioned at all. In fact, Gula is the goddess that usually appears in relation to baby illnesses (*TDP*, 216–231, Tablets 36–40, in particular 226–229, Tablet 40: 76–96). Ninmaḥ seldom appears in the same series (*TDP*, 118–119, Tablet 13: 17).

49 No references to child bed-wetting are recorded, e.g. in the *Diagnostic and prognostic series*.

References to the goddess Ninmaḥ in rituals and incantations are rare.⁵⁰ The closest parallels to *STT* 238 I have found and which I have discussed above, come from the statue restoration ritual (*mīs pī*), where many elements relate to the mythological context of Ninmaḥ's functions in anthropogony, as they do in several elements of the ritual of *STT* 238 analyzed in the previous section.

In the Sumerian myth *Enki and Ninmaḥ*, after the creation of humanity and the celebrations, Ninmaḥ challenges Enki, pretending to be the one responsible for establishing the destiny of man and woman and for shaping their bodies. Thus, she creates a series of beings—six or seven, depending on the version—with physical defects to whom Enki must grant a good fate and assign to them a proper role in society. Among the six/seven “incomplete” beings created by Ninmaḥ, the fourth (or fifth) is a man discharging or loosing urine or sperm (**lu₂ a sur-sur-ra**), cured by Enki who removes (the) *namtar* from his body through a healing bath:⁵¹

Fourth, she created a man who discharges urine.
Enki, after having looked at the man who discharges urine,
bathed him in enchanted water and removed the *namtar* from his body.

We know the influence that the Sumerian myth of *Enki and Ninmaḥ* has had on other Mesopotamian anthropogonies, starting with the myth of *Atra-ḥasīs*. The survival of the myth into the first millennium is testified by a bilingual version from the Ashurbanipal library.⁵²

50 For prayers and incantations, see the General comments above. As for the rituals, besides the *mīs pī* discussed above, Ninmaḥ is mentioned in:

– a ritual possibly meant to enhance conception (*CTN* 4 105: ii; Farber 1989, 20–21),
– the *Namburbi against all evil* (Maul 1994, 490 and 493: 82).

51 69. **peš-gi lu₂ a sur-sur-ra am₃-[ma]-ni-dim₂**; 70. **ḏen-ki-ke₄ lu₂ a sur-sur-ra igi du₈-a-ni-ta**; 71. **a mu₇-mu₇ mi-ni-in-tu₅ nam-tar su-bi am₃-ma-ni-in-zig₃**.

52 Borger 1985, 18–22. The section related to the fourth being is preserved, albeit fragmentary:

iv 4' **peš-gi lu₂ a sur-sur-ra [...]**

5' **ina ḥa-an-ši šī-ri 'x' [...]**

6' **ḏen-ki-ke₄ lu₂ a sur-sur-ra [...]**

7' ^dMIN MIN

Unfortunately, nothing more is left of the description of the other beings created by Ninmaḥ. We cannot say if *ši-ri*, possibly from *šūru*, “flesh, body”, is part of the goddess' creative work (rendered in Sumerian by the verb **dim₂**), or whether it is the Akkadian translation or interpretation of the Sumerian expression describing the defect of this being.

The mention of the man discharging urine and of the goddess Ninmah in *STT* 238 relates directly to this myth. The patient is like the being created by Ninmah who cannot stop dribbling urine. In the myth, the goddess is the creator of the imperfect man, which results in the identification of Ninmah as the cause of the dysfunction in the *STT* 238 ritual, where she is the one who can provide the cure as well. In this, however, the therapeutic and ritual mechanics differ from the myth. In the mythical account, it is the god Enki who cures the “creature” through a ritual bath, while in the therapeutic ritual, according to the principle that it is the same god(dess) who is responsible both for harming and curing, it is Ninmah who should be moved to cure the patient.

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“If His Chin Is Constantly Slack...”: A New Text on the Verge between Physiognomic and Diagnostic Omens

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Introduction

Much ink has been spilled over the matters of divination and divinatory texts in Mesopotamia. To some extent this is due to the fact that omens were among the first texts that reached Western museums in the mid-19th century after the unparalleled discovery of the manuscript collection of the Neo-Assyrian king Ashurbanipal in Nineveh. The serial and extra-serial compendia deepened our understanding about the scope and complexity of ancient Near Eastern divinatory practices. An overview recently appeared as a monograph by Ulla Koch (2015), who assembled the available sources and discussed their structure and content. Although both the organization and internal mechanics of Ashurbanipal's manuscript collection(s) are unknown, it certainly was not so alien to modern reference libraries. A large portion of its holdings consisted of *handbooks*, i.e., lexical lists, divinatory texts, and commentaries, which themselves were concerned with difficult words and passages of proof texts.¹ The king was

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1 The manuscript collection of Ashurbanipal has been frequently discussed. For its content see, for instance, Fincke 2003–2004, 130–135.

surrounded by experts (astrologers, physicians, etc.), fully experienced in the art of writing. They amply demonstrate their skills in the extant correspondence of the time.² These skills go far beyond the well-established written lore.³

By the time of Ashurbanipal most divinatory texts were assembled into large tablet series. Observations on the earth, for instance, were treated in a series starting “If a City Is Built on a Height” (*Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*). This series contained 120 tablets with thousands of entries. Not less impressive was a series of omens pertaining to observations and phenomena in the sky called “When Anu and Enlil” (*Enūma Anu Enlil*). Other tablet series were concerned with divination and extispicy, births, or characteristics of the human body. These vast compendia dealing with literally any plausible and implausible situation were the core body of knowledge, from which the experts and scholars at the Assyrian court drew information necessary for predictions regarding the king. The many messages between these scholars and the ruler provide a vivid glimpse of the importance of divination for the decision-making process of the Neo-Assyrian king. But it of course did not start in the first millennium BC. The vastness of omen literature of this period is of course unparalleled in terms of variety and amount of sources compared to earlier periods of textual transmission.

Not surprisingly the situation looks rather different in the second millennium and the Old Babylonian period, in particular. Although divinatory practices can be traced back much earlier and had their roots at least in the third millennium, it is the Old Babylonian period, when divination first transpires through the available text sources. Some years ago Niek Veldhuis discussed the practical side of divination for this period.⁴ Despite having a corpus of omen compendia in the early second millennium BC, which is diverse, but not comparable to the exceeding number of omens in first millennium BC sources, the content of the apodoses was usually of minor importance for the everyday use of divination. The diviners regarded the apodosis as either favourable or unfavourable for the customer. As a general rule a bad omen happening on the

2 Many examples of the philological work of these experts can be found in the book by Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Jochem Kahl in collaboration with Klaus Wagensonner (2018).

3 See, for instance, the letter of the expert Akkullanu SAA 10 100 (Ki 1904-10-9,59+ = *CDLI* P334477), in which the scholar explains his interpretation of the lack of rain by quoting from a much older royal correspondence dating to the second half of the 2nd millennium BC (lines rev. 1–11 for the whole passage).

4 Veldhuis 2006.

right-hand (usually favourable) side had a negative outcome, whereas something bad happening on the left-hand side was considered favourable.⁵

Physiognomy and Diagnosis

The human body was an important canvas for the ancient divination artist. Signs on the human body, sounds, utterances, and behaviours featured diversely in the extant omen literature. The boundaries between physiognomy and the registration of symptoms are blurred to a great extent. This point will be further discussed in the conclusions of this paper in an attempt to interpret the new source in question.

Compared to the rich sources of the first millennium BC the extant manuscripts for the early second millennium are rather scarce. While omen lists dealing with the sheep's liver and entrails, omens from observations of the sacrificial bird, or omens regarding lecanomancy appear to be already fairly advanced,⁶ only a few sources draw on signs on the human body. Nathan Wasserman emphasizes the scarcity of medical texts in the Old Babylonian period, which goes hand in hand with rich sources of incantations against ailments.⁷

Despite not reaching the extent and scope of both terrestrial and celestial omens, signs seen on the human body are already attested in the first half of the second millennium. They are later on enshrined in the twin series (*iškarū killalān*)⁸ of the diagnostic and prognostic as well as physiognomic omens. However, the evidence is so scarce that any new text adds substantial knowledge to the corpus. Up until 2013 only one text dating to the Old Babylonian period has been known containing symptoms and their diagnosis or prognosis:⁹

5 For the discussion about right and left symbolism in omen texts see Guinan 1996. See also Heeßel 2010b, 183–184.

6 Koch 2015, 134–138.

7 Wasserman 1996, 1–2. Also note the sizeable body of Old Babylonian prescriptions and early lists of medical series, published by Irving Finkel; see Finkel 2004 and Finkel 2018.

8 BM 41237+ (Finkel 1988, 157): rev. 12; see further Finkel 1988, 148.

9 Texts dating to the second half of the second millennium originating from Nippur, Assur, Emar and Hattusa are listed in Wee 2015, 257.

TLB 2 21 (LB 2126 = CDLP345860)

This text from the former De Liagre Böhl collection is the lower two thirds of a one-column tablet. The extant omens are separated from each other by rulings. As far as the omens are preserved, each condition contains more than one symptom, although as Nils Heeßel emphasizes each symptom concerns hardly ever more than one body part.¹⁰ Except for the writing for the days (U₄.n.KAM)¹¹ the text is strictly written in syllabic Akkadian.

Recently, two further texts could be added to the corpus, whereas only one text exclusively deals with diagnostic and prognostic omens:

CUSAS 18 15 (MS 2670 = CDLP251708)

This piece preserves the lower two thirds of a one-column tablet. George noted that neither *TLB 2 21* nor this tablet organize the symptoms in the head-to-toe arrangement as it is known from later *Sa-gig*.¹² The text is mostly written syllabically as well. Some apodoses, however, make heavy use of logograms such as “he will die or get well” (UG₇.E TIL.A)¹³ or the illness “seizure of Gemini” (I₃.DAB dMAŠ.TAB.[BA]).¹⁴

CUSAS 18 16 (MS 3104 = CDLP252113)

This is a large compilation of omens regarding daily life.¹⁵ One section, however, contains diagnostic and prognostic omens (§§ 45'–60'). This text, too, makes heavy use of logograms, in particular for common words. Therefore, one omen concerns a patient, “whose veins are long” (GID₂), which means “he will die” (BA.UG₇).¹⁶

10 Heeßel 2000, 98.

11 *TLB 2 21*: rev. 25'.

12 George 2013, 85.

13 *CUSAS 18 15*: obv. 21' (§ 13').

14 *CUSAS 18 15*: rev. 25' (§ 15').

15 The omens in this extensive text deal mostly with incidents in and around the household. They are therefore closely related to omens which were later on collected in the series *Šumma ālu*; see also George 2013, 90. It is noteworthy, however, that this text also contains occasional actions that need to be performed when an ominous portent occurs, such as in § 29'–30': “(If) a blanket keeps slipping off a man's body: fire will keep breaking out and he will keep being frightened in his home; captivity will befall the blanket's owner; that outcry will be imposed upon him. (§ 30') He shall rinse that blanket in water, he shall turn his bed around, he shall turn its head to the foot, he shall twist(?) ... the fringe to its head [...] he shall soak [...] foot [...]”; see George 2013, 96. A few of the apodoses in BM 103165 may be interpreted as suggested course of action as well.

16 *CUSAS 18 16*: vii 16'–17' (§ 47').

The situation is not much better for physiognomic omens. Three tablets contain omen lists, which deal with marks on the human body.¹⁷ Several of the omens in the afore-mentioned texts stand at the verge between diagnostic/prognostic and physiognomic omens. This is particularly apparent in omens dealing with the state of veins in the subsequent omen list:

VAT 7525

This four-column tablet dating to the Old Babylonian period as well was published by Franz Köcher and A. Leo Oppenheim. The great majority of entries in this omen list deal *sensu stricto* with physiognomy. Towards the end of the tablet other kinds of omens are introduced. Two entries—unfortunately rather fragmentary—deal with symptoms on sinews and their prognosis. The following omen is one among them (col. iii 22–27):

- 24 1(diš) LU₂ ṣe¹-er-~~ha~~-nu ša še-pi-šu ṣu₃* qa₂*-ti^{*1}-šu
 25 ITI 2(diš).KAM ITI [3(diš)].KAM la ṣem*-mu la di x¹ u₂*
 26 ki-a-am i-ba-aš-šu-u₂
 27 LU₂ šu-u₂ a-na MU 2(diš).KAM i-ma-at

(If) a man—the sinews of his feet and his hands, for two or three months they are neither hot nor ... (and) stay in this condition, that man will die in two years.

BM 103165

This new text (Fig. 32.1 and photo in Fig. 32.2) is a small tablet in landscape format (5.9×8.5×2.0 cm), therefore the lines are written parallel to its long axis. This tablet format is not uncommon in the Old Babylonian period and particularly well attested for extract tablets. It contains seven omens each on obverse and reverse. Despite some surface damage particularly affecting the text on the reverse, the tablet is complete. One of the extraordinary features of this tablet in contrast to the afore-mentioned manuscripts is the fact that the sequence of omens appears to follow the head-to-toe arrangement.

¹⁷ See Böck 2000, 9.

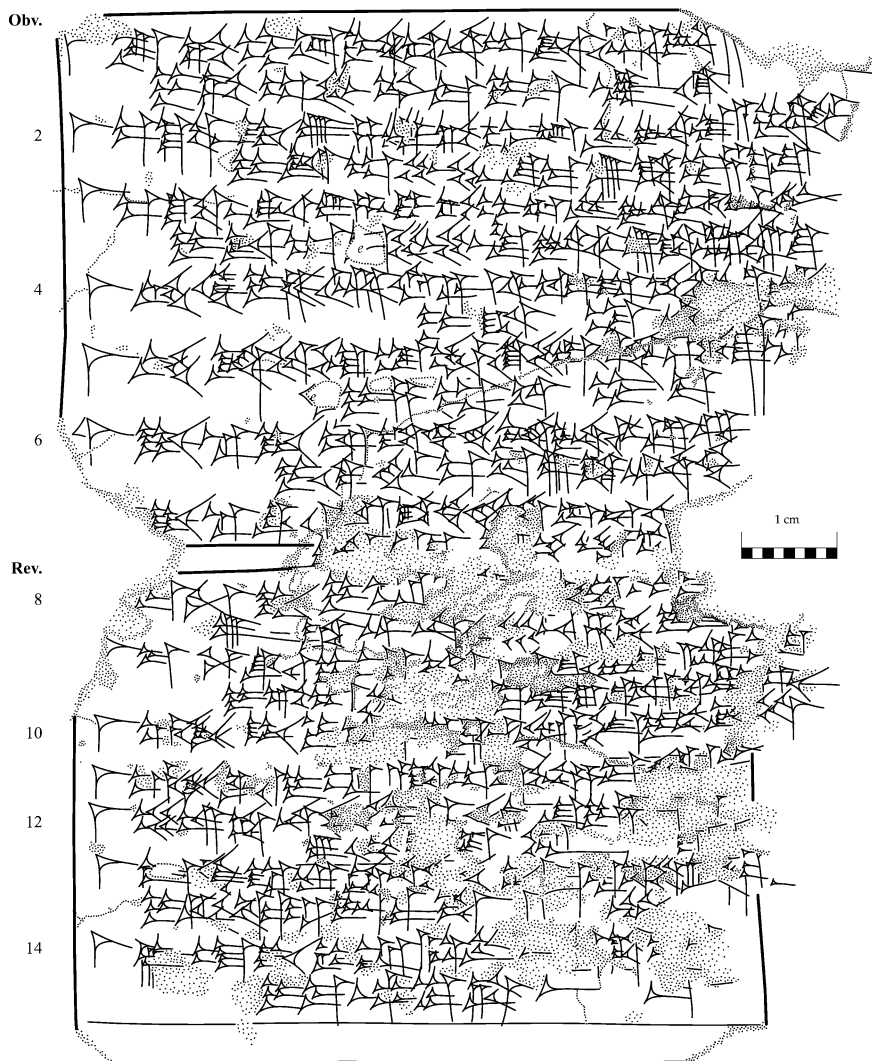


FIGURE 32.1 *Handcopy of BM 103165*

The tablet came to the British Museum as part of a lot of 124 tablets sold by the well-known antiquities dealer I. Elias G  jou. The great majority of the tablets and fragments belonging to this lot starting with BM 103073 (1910-8-10,1) are of Old Babylonian date, while two thirds represent letters and approximately 37 further texts are of administrative or legal nature. The letters are particularly intriguing, because they can be located to ancient Kish and belong to the same correspondents as a group of letters sold by J.J. Na'aman to the John Rylands Library in Manchester in 1909. Among the texts sold to the

British Museum are further tablets. One among them—BM 103163—is a new manuscript of the Sumerian song *Šū-Sîn B*.¹⁸

The tablet published here for the first time is a curious text. While each protasis describes a symptom of a human body part, the implications are not comparable to any other diagnostic or prognostic texts. They rather describe the effect of a certain condition on the life of the afflicted person. As far as the apodoses are preserved and intelligible, they mostly appear to emphasise certain behaviour towards the "patient"—in several instances he is treated either badly or well.

It might be important to note that the letters deal on various occasions with diviners and divinatory practices. One letter among them, sent by a diviner named Narbûm, contains the only omen report, albeit short, enclosed in a letter outside of Mari.¹⁹ Whether the presence of diviners support the same provenience of BM 103165 is tempting, but cannot be proven at this point. It is, however, feasible to assume that a diviner like Narbûm had at least small compendia of omens at his disposal.

Dating BM 103165

In this paper it is considered that this new text dates to the first half of the second millennium BC, i.e., the Old Babylonian period. In doing so, BM 103165 joins a comparatively small corpus of omen texts, in general, and an even smaller corpus of diagnostic/prognostic omens, in particular (see above). As far as current evidence suggests, the second half of the second millennium saw an increase in diagnostic and prognostic texts. Unfortunately, we are not in the lucky position that the text itself bears a date. Dating a given text to a certain period based on palaeography and even orthography is often quite inconclusive, and therefore a few remarks of caution are in order. At first glance, the orthography of the text, its morphology, and also the cursive nature of the sign forms used seem to support at least a late Old Babylonian date for this tablet. In her edition of Old Babylonian extispicy texts, Ulla Jeyes refers to a few late Old Babylonian characteristics. These involve the disappearance of both mimation and initial "w", the frequent use of CVC signs, and last but not least the greater

¹⁸ See Reid and Wagensohn 2017.

¹⁹ BM 103107: 5–8: (5) *aš-šum ta-ka-al-ti ša i-na e₂ du²-pi₂-im* (6) *ša^o-qu₂-ma ma^o-an-za-za-am la i-š^u-u₂* (7) *u₃ šu-ul-mu-um ra-aḫ-šul* (T:MA) (8) *ar-ka-sa₃ ap-ru-us₂-ma*, "Regarding the 'pouch'-furrow which rises on the liver(?), the 'station'-furrow is not present, and the 'well-being'-furrow is trampled flat." This and the other letters will be published by John Nicholas Reid and the author in a forthcoming volume of *OECT*.

use of logographic representations of verbs.²⁰ Taking these considerations into account, BM 103165 is still well grounded in the Old Babylonian period. In the following, some of the issues at hand will be discussed.

The words for “right” and “left” are written with the logograms ZAG and GUB₃. The use of these logograms neither supports nor denies an Old Babylonian date. The three known late Old Babylonian omen reports of the businessman Kurû from Babylon use logographic spellings as well.²¹ In the Middle Babylonian diagnostic omen list CBS 12580 they are preceded by *ša*.²² Securely dated Old Babylonian omen lists often prefer to write these terms syllabically. The use of these logograms for dating this text is therefore inconclusive. Nevertheless we do have omen lists that make heavy use of logograms already in the Old Babylonian period. A good example is certainly the important compilation CUSAS 18 16.

BM 103165 contains, however, only a few logographic spellings. Besides the logograms for the various body parts (except for *suqtum*) and the adjectives for right and left the only exceptions are the logograms LU₂ and IGI, ^{ges}GU.ZA and possibly ER₂. The remainder of the text follows the characteristics of Old Babylonian omen literature and therefore writes nouns and verbs syllabically.

The protases in omens Nos. 8, 9, 11 and 14 probably contain the durative verbal form *irêd*, “it trembles”. This verb is used for the right and left shoulder blade (MA.SIL₃), the left (and probably also the right) breast (UBUR) as well as the not yet satisfactorily identified body part written SA.AD. According to the Akkadian syllabary the value *red* or *rid* for the sign MES is only attested from the second half of the second millennium onwards.²³ Therefore, if read correctly, this evidence might tie the tablet to a later date. The only other CVC sign in BM 103165 occurs in the verbal form *ittenenšil* written *it-te-nen-ši-il*. The value *nin* or *nen* is syllabically attested already in the Old Babylonian period.²⁴

Last but not least, the fact that BM 103165 is a tablet in landscape format, does not exclude its date to the Old Babylonian period at all. The use of this format was rather productive in the first half of the second millennium and is often associated with extract tablets in the Old Babylonian period. Jean-Jacques Glassner thoroughly discussed omen extracts of this period (Glassner

20 Jeyes 1989, 6.

21 The texts are—in chronological order—(A) YBC 11056 (*JCS* 11, 91 = *CDLI* P293787), JRL 1064 (*Iraq* 62, 49 = *CDLI* P430873), and VAT 13451 (*VS* 22 81 = *CDLI* P373403). See also Veldhuis 1999, 166–168.

22 CBS 12580 (*CDLI* P267218): obv. 6–7.

23 von Soden and Röllig 1976, 32, No. 168.

24 von Soden and Röllig 1976, 59, No. 300.

2009). According to the tablet formats used for omen lists he differentiates between three types: (1) short omen lists usually on tablets in landscape format; (2) longer omen lists (between 10 and 100 omens) on elongated tablets (Sum. **im.gid₂.da**); (3) long omen lists on multi-column tablets (Glassner 2009, 6–7). BM 103165, though not concerned with extispicy and the main focus of Glassner's paper, belongs to his first category. Without knowing its archaeological context, this format is often typical for intermediary documents or documents that superficially can be designated "school texts". It is a format not only known from divinatory practices, but also from other genres, such as (Sumerian) literature.²⁵ The term "school text", however, is certainly misleading and every case needs to be validated individually.

Matthew Rutz discussed diagnostic omens from Nippur which date to the Middle Babylonian period. The afore-mentioned tablet CBS 12580 is an extract in landscape format mostly dealing with a sick person's veins (SA).²⁶ It ends in an array of numerical notations, a typical feature of tablets in this period.²⁷ Although there is minimal space left, the final omen on BM 103165 concerns the right-hand side of the body part SA.AD. It is certainly not implausible that further omens were collected on a kind of "follow-up" tablet. Although it cannot be proposed that this small collection was part of a much larger compendium, its organizational principles resemble those of larger contemporary and later omen compendia.

Style and Form

This short chapter contains a few remarks on the morphology in protases and apodoses of Old Babylonian omens. It focuses on the evidence from the diagnostic and prognostic texts, but will venture outside the corpus from time to time.

25 Cf., e.g., the tablets *YOS* 22 42 (= YBC 4654) written on 20-ix Samsu-iluna 1 and *YOS* 22 41 (= YBC 4606) copied out just five days later by the same scribe, Qišti-Ea. The first of these two extracts contains lines 1–16, the latter 17–34. Another interesting case, though without any scribal name, is the series of the tablets *TCL* 16 58 (lines 1–19), *TCL* 16 59 (lines 20–35) and *TCL* 16 46 (lines 36–58) for the literary letter of princess Ninšatapada to king Rim-Sîn (see Hallo 2010, 376). A palaeographic study of the various extracts known by Qišti-Ea (see Michalowski 2011, 51 and Charpin 2011) incorporating related material is currently in progress by the author.

26 For an edition see Rutz 2011, 301–305. Note that also the Old Babylonian *CUSAS* 18 15 is mostly concerned with veins.

27 See now Bartelmus 2016, 117–119.

1 Protasis

- (a) Similar to paragraphs of a law code omens are casuistic and usually begin with the particle *šumma*. In the first half of the second millennium BC *šumma* is often written syllabically (*šum-ma* or *šu-ma*), but frequently omens are solely marked by either a vertical (𐎶)²⁸ or a horizontal (𐎵)²⁹ wedge. In those cases, when the entry marker is a numerical notation, it must remain opaque whether this sign is understood as logographic writing for *šumma* or only marks separate entries and is therefore mute.³⁰ Frequently omen lists of the time use the signs BE (𐎶𐎵) or UD (𐎶𐎶) as well, but also omit any indicator.³¹ The use of numerical notations and the sign BE (sometimes also followed by *ma* and read BE-*ma* or *šum₄-ma* respectively) survives into the later omen tradition.
- (b) The temporality of the verb in omens was thoroughly treated by Kai Metzler.³² The following remarks will focus on the omens at hand, i.e., physiognomic and diagnostic omens of the first half of the second millennium BC. The verb in the protasis is usually either in a stative or a durative. A stative in an omen protasis usually denotes a present state.³³ As far as preserved, BM 103165 does not make use of any stative forms. Conditions such as “they are closed tight” (*šutasnuqā*)³⁴ or “they are (very) thick (lit. heavy)” (*kubbutū*)³⁵ are usually found in the stative, but the same can be said for other states such as “he is stricken” (*maḥiṣ*),³⁶ “his

28 Besides our text the vertical wedge can be found on YOS 10 24 (YBC 4642 = CDLI P293404), a collection of omens regarding the feature *bāb ekallim* on the sheep's liver. Another text also concerning omens for the “Palace Gate” using the vertical wedge is YOS 10 23 (YBC 4627 = CDLI P290130).

29 See, for instance, CUSAS 18 15.

30 An intriguing case can be found in the therapeutic text BAM 4 393 (HS 1883 = CDLI P285464) which uses the numerical notation 6(geš₂) 4(u).

31 For the possibilities to introduce a conditional sentence with the particle *šumma* see Metzler 2002, 50–52.

32 See Metzler 2002, 35–255.

33 This situation is very different from the use of statives within the laws; see Metzler 2002, 151. Contemporary omen reports make use of statives as well in order to describe the state and condition of the sacrificial animal's entrails. See, for instance, the texts published in Koch-Westenholz 2002.

34 CUSAS 18 16: vii 13' (§ 45'), said of nostrils (*naḥīrum*).

35 CUSAS 18 16: vii 19' (§ 48'), said of the veins on the patient's hand (*šer'ān qātī*).

36 See, for instance, CUSAS 18 16: vii 22' (§ 50'), said of the rear (*warkatum*) and furthermore

eyes are filled with blood” (*ināšu dāmam maliā*),³⁷ “his gaze is fearful” (*digilšu galit*),³⁸ or “they are prominent” (*tebû*).³⁹ For many other conditions finite verbal forms are used.⁴⁰ A recurring or continuous—e.g., for twitching or other forms of spasms—condition is expressed by an iterative stem in the present tense such as “it keeps going cold” (*iktanaššā*),⁴¹ “it keeps twitching/fluttering” (*ištanaḥḥiṭ*),⁴² “they continually hurt him” (*itanakkalāšu*),⁴³ “they keep pinching tight” (*ittanašbatā*),⁴⁴ or “it is constantly sluggish” (*ittenenšil*).⁴⁵ BM 103165 makes ample use of the iterative stem. Among the fourteen omens in this text it occurs in omens Nos. 1, 5, and 12–13.

2 Apodosis

- (a) Most of the hitherto known apodoses in diagnostic and prognostic omens are kept rather concise.⁴⁶ *TLB* 2 21 attests several times to the prognosis “he will not live” (*ul balit*)⁴⁷ or “he will not recover” (*ul iballut*).⁴⁸ Other omens provide a diagnosis such as “fever” (*ḥimiṭ šetim*)⁴⁹ or other ailments as, for instance, those designated “Hand of DN” (e.g., *qāt Bēlet-ilī*).⁵⁰

of the head (*rēšum*), the eyes (*inum*), the spleen (*ṭulimum*), the heart or innards (*libbum*), the backside (*šuburrum*), and the foot (*šēpum*).

37 *CUSAS* 18 15: rev. 40' (§ 23'). The text adds to *dāmum* the adjective *bi-ma-am*, which is understood here as the colour term *sāmum*, “red.” This symptom has a parallel in *TLB* 2 21: obv. 11'.

38 *TLB* 2 21: obv. 14'.

39 *CUSAS* 18 15: rev. 36' (§ 21'), said of the veins on the patient's right temple (*šer'ān nakkap-tišu ša imittim*).

40 For the present tense in omen protases see Metzler 2002, 161–169.

41 *CUSAS* 18 15: rev. 25' (§ 15'), said of the patient's head and body ([*qa*] *qqassu u pagaršu*).

42 *TLB* 2 21: obv. 12', said of the patient's heart (*libbum*); Geller 2001–2002, 73–74. In BM 103165 the same verb is used for the breast and upper torso (Nos. 12–13). BM 103165 differentiates between iterative *ištanaḥḥiṭ* and reflexive *ištaḥḥiṭ*.

43 *TLB* 2 21: rev. 22', said of the “furnishings of his heart” (*uniāt libbišu*); Geller 2001–2002, 74.

44 *CUSAS* 18 15: rev. 39' (§ 22'), said of the patient's nostrils (*naḥīrum*).

45 BM 103165: obv. 5, said of the neck (*kišādum*).

46 See also the remarks in the conclusions of this paper.

47 *TLB* 2 21: obv. 16', rev. 33'.

48 *TLB* 2 21: obv. 13'.

49 *TLB* 2 21: rev. 24'; Geller 2001–2002, 74. For this condition, literally “Weather-Burn,” see George 2013, 86 and Stol 2007, 21–39. See also *CUSAS* 18 15: rev. 34' (§ 20').

50 *CUSAS* 18 16: vii 21' (§ 49'). The whole section (§§ 49'–55') contains illnesses or afflictions using the same pattern.

- (b) The verb is usually in the present tense. In one case, *TLB* 2 21 has as part of its apodosis the expression “his illness will be prolonged” (*murussu irrik*).⁵¹ This outcome is also attested in *CUSAS* 18 15, but appended with the duration of the patient’s sickness: “for six or seven days his sickness will continue” (U₄.6.KAM U₄.7.KAM *murussu illak*).⁵² Wherever possible to verify, every apodosis in BM 103165 contains one (or two) verbs in the durative (e.g., *iššakkanū*, No. 9). In *CUSAS* 18 15 the use of the stative prevails: Examples are outcomes such as “it is cause of concern” (*na’id*)⁵³ and “he is well” (*šalim*).⁵⁴

While the hitherto known diagnostic and prognostic texts refer to the sick person as either *maršu(m)* or *awilum*,⁵⁵ BM 103165 does not contain any direct reference to a sick person, except for the personal suffixes (e.g., *suqassu* in No. 1 or *uzaqqassu* in Nos. 2–3). The therapeutic text *BAM* 4 393 dating to the Old Babylonian period uses *awilum* as well.⁵⁶

Body parts that come in pairs such as the ears, show a bipartite treatment in this text, first the right-hand and then the left-hand side.

Transliteration

Obverse

- 1 ʾ1(diš)ʾ *su-qa₂-as-su it-ta-na-ap-ṭa-ar i-na ʾA* [(o)] /
 i-qa₂-ab-ʾbu-šum-ma i-ʾba-ʾak-ki
- 2 1(diš) GEŠTU₂ ZA₃ *u₂-za-ʾaq-qa₂-ʾas-ʾsu LU₂ i-na la-a i-di-im* /
 i-da-ab-bu-bu-šu-ma u₂-ša-az-za-qu₂-šu
- 3 1(diš) GEŠTU₂ GUB₃ *u₂-za-aq-qa₂-as-su LU₂ i-na da-ʾmi-iq-ʾtim* /
 i-da-ab-{BA}-bu-bu-šu i-na IGI ʾu₂-ʾša-aq-qa₂-ru-šu
- 4 1(diš) GU₂.ḪAR *i-ḫa-ar-ru-ur ši-ka-ra-am ʾpiʿ × raʿʾ* /
 i-ša-at-ʾti

51 *TLB* 2 21: obv. 5’.

52 *CUSAS* 18 15: obv. 22’–23’ (lower edge) (§ 14’).

53 *CUSAS* 18 15: obv. 13’ (§ 7’) and passim.

54 *CUSAS* 18 15: obv. 16’ (§ 10’).

55 The word *maršu* occurs in *TLB* 2 21: 11’, 14’, 17’, 22’ and 25’. In line 7’ the omen starts with *awilum*; see also line 32’. For a discussion of this manuscript see Heeßel 2000, 97–99. A new edition is provided in Geller 2001–2002, 73–74. *CUSAS* 18 15 contains both *awilum* and *maršu*, which might provide some clues about the history of compilation for this omen list. Also §§ 45–60 of the extensive omen list *CUSAS* 18 16 use the term *maršu*.

56 See footnote 30 above.

- 5 1(diš) GU₂ *it-te-nen-ši-il ki-li-^r di-im ša²¹-nin² ^rme²-e²¹ /*
 {×} *i-ša-ab-ba-as-su*
- 6 °1(diš) ZA₃.SI ZA₃ *iš-ta¹(T: ŠA)-aḥ-ḫi-iṭ i-na ši-ip-ri /*
 i-di-im is-su u₂-ša-an-na-aḥ
- 7 [1(diš)] ^rZA₃¹.SI GUB₃ ^riš¹-ta¹(T: ŠA)-aḥ-ḫi-^riṭ¹ *šu-ba-^rtam¹ [(o)] /*
 ^ri²-na²¹ × × *am il-ta-[ba(?)-aš(?)]*

Reverse

- 8 [1(diš)] ^rMA¹.SIL₃ ^rZA₃¹ *i-^rred² i²¹-[na(?)] ^rbi²¹-it i₃-li₂-^ršu²¹ /*
 u₂-ša-an-^rna-aḥ¹ uz-za¹-am ^ri-šu-u₂¹
- 9 ^r1(diš)¹ MA.SIL₃ GUB₃ *i-^rred² × × ×¹ šu-mi-^ršu¹ a-na pa-^rni-šu¹ /*
 i-qa₂-ab-^rbu¹-[šum(?)]-^rma² ba²¹-aṭ-lu-šu iš-ša-ak-^rka¹-nu
- 10 1(diš) UBUR ZA₃ *i-× × × × × ×¹ šu i-pe₂-^ret-te¹*
- 11 1(diš) UBUR ^rGUB₃¹ *i-^rred²¹ a-ša-ab ^{ges}GU.ZA ma ^r× ×¹ šum²*
- 12 1(diš) GABA *iš-ta-na-^raḥ-ḫi-iṭ me-ḫe¹-er-šu i-^rza/ha¹-× × (×) /*
 u₂-^rul i-še¹-el-^ršu²¹
- 13 1(diš) GEŠ^o.^rHAR¹.RA *iš-ta-na-^raḥ-ḫi-iṭ¹ × la ^riš²-te-er-ka²¹ (×²) /*
 i-ik-ka-al i-na pa-^rša-a-tim²¹
- 14 1(diš) °SA.AD ^rZA₃¹ *i¹-red² a-na LU₂ × × ša × (×) /*
 i-ma-aq-°qu₂-ta-aš-^ršu¹

Translation

- (§ 1) (If) his chin is constantly loose/slack, they will speak to him in tears(?) and (as a consequence) he will cry.
- (§ 2) (If) the right ear stings him, they will conspire against (that) man without any incentive and (as a consequence) they will annoy him.
- (§ 3) (If) the left ear stings him, they will talk about (that) man in a good way and they will make him esteem before (his peers?).
- (§ 4) (If) the larynx croaks, he will/shall drink ... beer.
- (§ 5) (If) the neck is constantly sluggish, ... will seize him.
- (§ 6) (If) the right shoulder moves irregularly on its own, in handiwork his arm will have hardship.
- (§ 7) (If) the left shoulder moves irregularly on its own, he will dress in a ... garment.
- (§ 8) (If) the right shoulder blade trembles, he will have hardship in the house(?) of his god(?); he will have anger.
- (§ 9) (If) the left shoulder blade trembles, ... his name(?) they will say before [him(?)] and interruptions will exist for him(?).

- (§ 10) (If) the right breast ..., he will open ...
 (§ 11) (If) the left breast trembles, sitting on the throne/chair will be ... for him(?).
 (§ 12) (If) the upper torso constantly moves in spasms, a person of equal rank as him will seize(?) [him(?), but] not quarrel with him.
 (§ 13) (If) the backbone constantly moves in spasms, ... he will eat ...
 (§ 14) (If) the right ...-sinew trembles, for (this) man (it means): ... will befall him.

Comments

(§ 1)

The word for “chin”, Akk. *suq̄tum* (CAD S 399–400), is rarely attested in lexical texts. A late commentary from Uruk provides the synonym *kanzūzu*.⁵⁷ In diagnostic and prognostic but also physiognomic omens *suq̄tum* is written syllabically. For a late instance usually making heavy use of logographic writings one may refer to the diagnostic omen *Sagig* 27: 14–15: 1 (diš) NA *si-mat* IGI^{me}-šu₂ KUR₂.KUR₂-ir IGI^{min}-šu₂ ‘it’-ta-nap-ra-ra ‘NUNDUM’-šu₂ ‘su-qat-su’ u₂-lap-pat / MUD₂ ina GIRI₁₇-šu₂ DU-ka NU par-su NA BI ‘ḪUL’ DAB-su, “(If) a man—his facial features change continuously, his eyes roll around, he touches his lips and his chin (and) blood runs out of his nose (and) does not stop, that man—evil will seize him.”⁵⁸ Whether *suq̄tum* is conventionally written syllabically because of lack of a Sumerian logogram, must remain uncertain. In BM 103165 only this body part is followed by a suffix (*suqassu*, “his chin”).

The chin occurs frequently in physiognomic omens, less so in descriptions of symptoms. The connection between *suq̄tum*, “chin”, and the verb *paṭārum* (Sum. DU₈), “to loosen”, is attested in *TDP*, 76, Tablet 9: 56:⁵⁹ 1 (diš) IGI^{me}-šu₂ NIGIN^{me} u su-qat-su DU₈-at₂ ina GIG-šu UŠ₂, “(If) his face seems continually to be spinning and his chin was (cut) open (*paṭrat*), he will die during his illness” (Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 309, 13.133); see also CAD S 400: “If he has vertigo and his chin is slack.” JoAnn Scurlock and Burton Andersen discuss this symptom as a neurological issue, namely a cranial nerve injury (2005, 308–309). The exact meaning of the verb *paṭārum* I/3 here is, however, difficult to determine.

57 *SpTU* 1 31 (W 22307,16 = CDLI P348452 = CCP 4.1.5): rev. 5: su-qat-su : kan-zu-uz-zu. The commentary series Hg to the Ura (according to sources B₁ [K 4205+ = CDLI P365316] and B₁₃ [Sm 723 = CDLI P423624]) reads in line 2 uzu-su-uq-‘tu₂’ : ‘kan’-zu-zu, thereby introducing a pseudo-logogram.

58 AO 6680 (Labat 1951, pls. 48–49 = CDLI P273355): obv. 14–15; see Heeßel 2000, 298, 301, 304.

59 According to AO 6681 (Labat 1951, pls. 13–14 = CDLI P273352): rev. 20 (= 56).

It is unlikely that the text refers to a permanent physical impairment such as a cleft of some sorts. Neither do any of the other protases refer to injuries such as cuts. It is therefore likely to assume that the patient's chin is in some state which fits into the semantic field of the verb *paṭārum*, such as an abnormal movement.

A parallel verb form occurs, for instance, in oil omens dating to the Old Babylonian period; see BM 22447 (CT 3 5), entry 28 (Pettinato 1966 [vol. 2], 63): (28) 1(diš) I₃ a-na ša-ar er-be-et-ti-šu ip-ta-na-aṭ-ṭa-ar mar-ṣum i-ba-al-lu-ut ERIN₂^{hi.a} KASKAL iš-da-šu na-as-ḫa, "(If) the oil dissipates towards the four wind directions, the sick person will live; the foundations of the troops on campaign will be cut off."

The apodosis contains two finite verbal forms connected by the particle *-ma*. Both verbal forms are durative. Whereas the former (*iqabbûšum*) is in the plural, the latter (*ibakki*) uses the singular. Similar to omen No. 3 containing the prepositional phrase *ina damiqtim* it seems likely to expect a corresponding construction here. However, there is not enough space in the first line to fit a genitive noun. Based on the verb *bakûm*, "to cry, to weep", a tentative solution is a logographic writing for *bikîtum*: A.IGI.⁶⁰ Since the patient is spoken to in *tears* or *wailing*, it might cause him to weep and wail as well. A loose or twitching chin can certainly be interpreted as the facial expression for weeping and crying. If correct, this could indicate a close link between protasis and apodosis, which is supported by at least the next omen.

(§2)

Omens Nos. 2 and 3 belong together and concern the same symptom on either side—right and left. A bad sign observed on the right-hand—usually favourable—side is considered to have a negative outcome, whereas a bad sign on the left-hand side leads to a positive result. This principle is present throughout the omen corpus.⁶¹

It is probably not coincidental that a protasis containing the verbal form *uzaqqassu* follows an omen dealing with the phonetically rather close but generically different word *suqassu*, "his chin". The second verb in the apodosis of this omen (*uṣazzaqûšu*) is phonetically close as well: *suqassu*—*uzaqqassu*—*uṣazzaqûšu*. The Akkadian verb *zuqqutum*, "to hurt, to sting" (CAD Z 57 s.v. *zaqātu*), is usually constructed with an accusative suffix. For the construction *ina lā idim dabābum* see CAD I–J 16 s.v. *idu* B. This kind of construction—

60 For the idiomatic use of *inum*, "eye", and crying see Mayer 2010, 307.

61 See, for instance, Guinan 1996.

although with *qabûm*—occurs in Old Babylonian letters as well, so in *AbB* 10 13 (JRL 897 [= *CDLI* P370825]): 19: *a-wa-tum ši-i i-na la i-di-im-ma / iq-qa₂-bi-a-ak-kum*, “Was this order given to you without any reason?”⁶²

Similar to omen No. 1 the apodosis consists of two verbs, a verb in the plural, followed by a verbal form in the singular. The second verb in this omen is a direct result of the treatment the patient receives. Since his right ear stings, it means something bad. In this case, the symptom of a stinging ear seems to result in hearing impairment; therefore “talking to him without a reason” becomes a rather lucid description. As a result of not being able to understand, the patient becomes annoyed.

It should also be noted that in contrast to the first omen Nos. 2 and 3 both use the verb *dabābum*, which according to Cynthia Jean “give[s] the idea of elaborate discussions, loud talking and direct speech.”⁶³

(§3)

A bad portent on the bad—left—side counteracts its negative connotation and therefore means something positive. “To speak in a good manner” is contrasted to *ina lā idim dabābum*, “to speak without a reason” in the preceding omen. It may even mean here “to speak in a sane way,” but this might stretch the lemma *damiqtum* too far. The finite verbal form *idabbubūšu* is one of the two instances in this text, where the scribe corrected himself. He intended to write *idabbabūšu* instead before realising that the theme vowel is *u* rather than *a*; compare omen No. 14 for a similar case.

Slightly problematic is *i-na* IGI in this line. The Akk. verb *šūqurum* means “to value, to hold in esteem” (*CAD* A/2 206 s.v. *aqāru* 3). Although it may appear together with an adverbial construction such as in a late inscription by the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus (Nbn 2.9 1), line ii 27: *i-na maḥ-ri-ka li-ša-qi₂-ri e-ep-še-tu-u₂-a*, “Before you they may value my deeds” (Schaudig 2001, 387), the logogram IGI stands somewhat alone here.

(§4)

The subsequent omen in this short compendium deals with the larynx (GU₂.MUR). A well-known symptom of the larynx is expressed by the verb *ḥarārum*, “to make a croaking noise”. That this symptom cannot be a good sign is clear from an omen in the late evidence in *TDP*, 84, Tablet 10: 34:⁶⁴ 1(*diš*) *ina*

62 To the same corpus belongs the unpublished *ze’pum*-note BM 103123, which reads: (22) *a-na be-li₂-ia li-iq-bi* (23) *i-na la i-di-im-ma-a a-na be-li₂-ia iq¹²-bi*.

63 Jean 2010, 340.

64 Read according to ms. A, AO 6679 (Labat 1951, pls. 19–20 = *CDLI* P273371): obv. 34.

ZI-*šu*₂ GU₂.MUR-su *i-ḥar-ru-ur* GAM, "(If) his larynx makes a croaking noise when he breathes, he will die" (Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 39).

The apodosis of this omen appears not to refer to a behaviour expressed towards the patient, but rather a (medical) treatment, unless drinking a certain kind of beer should be understood metaphorically here. Beer might sooth the ailment in the patient's throat. It was used in medical prescriptions as a vehicle for medications (see CAD Š/2 424 s.v. *šikaru* 1g). See, for instance, BAM 11 (VAT 8256 = CDLI P285106) from Assur, which reads in i 30: ¹u² *ši-bu-ru* : U₂ ZE₂ : SUD₂ *ina* KAŠ.SAG NAG, "The plant *šiburu*/*šibaru* is a plant against (excessive) bile (treated by) crushing (it) and to be drunk together with beer" (CAD Š 155 s.v. *šibaru* 3).⁶⁵

Unfortunately, the sign remains between *šikaram* and *išatti* are inconclusive. The expression *lā patān*, "on an empty stomach", found in therapeutic texts, does not fit the sign remains and requires the preposition *ina* before beer.⁶⁶ A similar description of a treatment might occur in omen No. 13, where the patient shall consume (*ikkal*). Note that also omen lists of the time, such as CUSAS 18 16 make use of short prescriptions as, for instance, § 36' (= v 35'–36'): ALAN IM *i-pe-eš* / MU LUGAL TUG₂ *i-za-kar*, "He shall make a clay figurine (and) call (it by) the name of the blanket's owner" (George 2013, 97). Alternatively, we may compare this apodosis with the subsequent omen in VAT 7525 (obv. ii 37–38):⁶⁷

- 37 1(diš) LU₂ ¹ša-ra¹-su₂ *ki-ma q_i2-it-mi ša-al-ma-at*
38 LU₂ *šu-¹u₂ a¹-ka-lam** DINGIR-*šu a-na a-ka-lim i-na-di-šum*

(If) a man—his hair is black like a *qitmu*, that man—his god will give him bread to eat.

(§5)

The next body part addressed in this short omen list is the neck (GU₂; Akk. *kišādum*). The symptom described here is the neck's slow and heavy or sluggish

65 See also Herrero 1984, 17.

66 See, for instance, BAM 6 575 (K 71b+ = CDLI P393743): iii 26: [*ina* KAŠ].¹SAG¹ NU *pa-tan* NAG, "Let him drink it on an empty stomach with best-quality beer" (see Böck 2014, 152).

67 Köcher and Oppenheim 1957–1958, 66; see also, for instance, the currently unavailable text "Lambert Folios 7588–89" published in transliteration and translation in CUSAS 18 8: obv. 8–9: *a-ka-la-am* (g) *i-ik-ka-al*; see George 2013, 304; or "Lambert Folios 7878–82" (= CUSAS 18 5): obv. 4–5: *a-wi-lu a-di u₂-ma-at ba-al-ṭu₂ a-ka-al-šu it-ti da-ma-mi i-ik-ka-al*, "The man, for as long as he lives, will eat his bread with mourners"; see George 2013, 296.

movement, which is expressed by the verb *eṣēlum*. Stem IV of this verb occurs frequently in medical texts; for attestations see *CAD* E 341 s.v. *eṣēlu* 3. The extant diagnostic texts deal with hands and feet, fingers, thighs, and bowels. The neck is, so far, not attested with this verb.

The apodosis poses, again, serious issues. While the main verb of the apodosis is clear (*iṣabbassu*, “it will seize him”), the actual subject is difficult to solve. The first word, tentatively read *ki-li-^rdi-im*⁶⁸, could be interpreted, albeit cautiously, as a sandhi writing containing the noun *kīlum*, “imprisonment, captivity” (*CAD* K 359), and *idum*, “arm”.⁶⁸ The former occurs in omens together with the verb *ṣabātum*. Alternatively *kili* might be interpreted as a special form of *kala*, “all”. The various types of sandhi writings were dealt with in Worthington 2012, 177–190. Thus, a sandhi form *ki/īl-idim* might be a possible interpretation. Francesca Rochberg-Halton notes that in Old Babylonian celestial omens sandhi writings occur as well. It is therefore not surprising to find another example in this small compendium. She states: “The orthography of the Old Babylonian eclipse omens can be characterized as typically Old Babylonian in the use of syllabic spellings, plene writings, sandhi writings, and the preservation of mimation” (Rochberg 2010, 308).

The sign remains in between the possible sandhi form and the verbal form can then be considered the actual subject, a possible disease? The current reading is only tentative.

(§ 6)

This and the subsequent omen deal with the patient’s shoulder (ZA₃.SI), for which bilingual Ugumu provides the Akkadian equivalent *upnu*, “hollow of the hand” (*CAD* U–W 181–182 and see Couto-Ferreira 2009, 283–284). The symptom referred to in both omens is twitching (Akk. *ṣaḥāṭum*). *CAD* Š/1 91–92 offers the translation “to move irregularly, convulsively”. The text differentiates between the rather similar sign forms TA and ŠA and in both omens Nos. 6 and 7 it is clearly the latter. Nevertheless, stem I/2 with a reflexive meaning of I makes more sense than stem IV.

Omen No. 6 describes the symptom of the right shoulder. This protasis has a direct causal effect for the apodosis: the patient’s arm will have a hard time while being used. This, of course, depends on the interpretation of *is-su* deriving from **id-šu*. The verb *ṣasûm*, “to cry, to yell”, makes no sense here and a proper Old Babylonian form should be *iššû* instead.

68 The word *idum* occurs several times in this short omen list: Nos. 2 (*ina lā idim*) and 6 (*ṣi-ip-ri-i-di-im* and *is-su*).

(§7)

Parallel to omen No. 3 with a bad symptom on the left-hand side, the apodosis of this omen should also be favourable. Unfortunately, the scribe was reaching the tablet's bottom edge and damage to its surface makes a proper interpretation difficult. If correctly identified and reconstructed, the patient might get to wear a garment (*šubātum*). For a parallel to the combination of *šubātum* and *labāšum* (I/2) see line 8 of the Mari letter ARM 10 43: *ana mīnim šubātī la ta-al-ta-ab-ši-i-ma*, “why have you (my mother) not provided me with clothing?” (CAD L 19 s.v. *labāšu* 3b). In this omen *litbušum* should have a reflexive connotation: he clothed himself with a garment. The sign remains preceding the verb are difficult to interpret. The sign AM might refer to a second object parallel to *šubātum*, but this is by far not certain. One feels reminded of Ea's instructions to Adapa in the story of Adapa and the South Wind:

ana pāni Ani ina uzuzzika akala ša mūti ukallūnikku-ma lā takkal, mē mūti ukallūnikku-ma lā tašatti, lubāra ukallūnikku-ma litbaš, šamna ukallūnikku-ma piššaš

When you stand before Anu, you will be offered bread of death: do not eat! You will be offered water of death: do not drink! You will be offered a garment: dress yourself! You will be offered oil: Anoint yourself!⁶⁹

An entry in an Old Babylonian collection of gall-bladder omens reads: “If the gall-bladder is full of wool, someone who enters the palace wears *šaḥḥūm*-linen, but will conceal it” (*šumma martum šip[ātim] malia[t] ērib ekallim šaḥ-ḥām labiš-ma ukattam*).⁷⁰

A separate form of the verb *šaḥāṭum* means “to take off a garment, head-gear” (CAD Š/1 92 s.v. *šaḥātu* B). It is not unlikely that there is some implicit link between this verb and the apodosis in this omen.

(§8)

The first two omens on the tablet's reverse deal with conditions of a body part which is represented by the logogram group MA.SIL₃. It occurs in between the shoulder (ZA₃.SI) and the breast (UBUR) before moving on to the upper torso (GABA). Similar to the shoulder and the breast the text differentiates between a right and a left MA.SIL₃. It is attested in the Old Babylonian version

69 See Izre'el 2001, 18–19.

70 CUSAS 18 10 (MS 3295 = CDLI P252236): i 2'–6' (§1').

of the anatomical lexical list Ugumu in the vicinity of these terms as well. The unilingual manuscript UM 29-16-653 contains the sequence GABA—UBUR—MA.SIL₃ (see Couto-Ferreira 2009, 42, Section D).⁷¹ This proximity supports a connection to the Akkadian word *naglabum*, “shoulder blade, scapula” (*CAD* N/1 119 s.v. *naglabu* A), despite its Sumerian form is usually written MAŠ.SIL₃; see Couto-Ferreira 2009, 228–229 for further remarks and compare *AMT* 49/4 (K 2462+K 7824 = *CDLI* P394449): (1) 1(diš) NA GABA-su SAG ŠA₃-šu₂ MAŠ.SIL₃^{II}-šu₂ GU₇^{meš}-šu₂ [...], “(If) a man—his breast, his epigastrium, (and) his shoulder blades continuously hurt him (...)” (see *CAD* N/1 119 s.v. *naglabu* A, a 2’ and Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 46, Ex. 3.90).

But it should be noted that knowledge about Akkadian equivalents of MA.SIL₃ predominantly stem from much later sources. A fragmentary tablet in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM D991) contains a Late Babylonian commentary probably from Uruk which explains words and expressions in the teratological omen series *Šumma izbu*. The passage that interests us here, in particular, is the following:⁷²

- 10 [x] x : ina MA.SIL₃-šu₂ na-ši : MA.^{si-il}SIL₃ : eq-bi : MA.SIL₃ : ku-tal-la
 11 [MA].[’]SIL₃[’] : qin-na-tu₄ (...)

“It is on its hoof” (quoted from *Šumma izbu* 14: 24): (the logogram group) MA.SIL₃ (when QA is read SIL₃) means “hoof”; MA.SIL₃ (also) means “back”; [MA].SIL₃ (also) means “buttocks”.

The commentary cites the apodosis in line 24 of tablet 14 in the series ([*šumma izbu*] *imittašu ša imitti ina MA.SIL₃-šu naši*),⁷³ for which currently two sources are known. Among the three Akkadian equivalents quoted by the above-mentioned commentary only for the lemma *eqbu*, “heel, hoof”, exists a Sumerian logogram that resembles MA.SIL₃: namely SILA. One of the text witnesses of the base text originating from Kuyunjik (K 3595+K 7229+K 6816 = De Zorzi 2014, 698, Ms. Ex1) specifies the reading of the logogram by adding the gloss [*eq*]-bi-šu₂ as well. Given the otherwise rather strict head-to-toe arrangement of entries in our text, it seems, however, rather odd that the text would jump from the

71 This tablet was unfortunately not available for study. I would like to thank Erica Couto-Ferreira, who kindly made a photo of the fragment’s obverse available to me. See also the lexical section of *CAD* N/1 110 s.v. *naglabu* A.

72 Cited after *CCP* 3.6.3.D; see also De Zorzi 2014, 699.

73 See De Zorzi 2014, 703.

patient's shoulder to the heels before returning to the torso. Therefore, it is necessary to check for alternatives. Outside the commentaries proper, the second equation, *kutallum*, has the lexical equivalent GU₂.ĤAŠ, and can also designate the back of the head. This meaning makes much more sense in the light of these lines. The last equivalent the commentary provides is *qinnatum* which usually has the logographic writing GU₍₂₎.DU. But all these equations attested in this late commentary, might have no implication for the omen discussed here.

Difficult is the finite verbal form in the protasis. This verbal form occurs four times in the protases of this text. It describes a condition or symptom on the right and left shoulder blades (MA.SIL₃ ZA₃/GUB₃) in omens Nos. 8 and 9, on the left breast (UBUR GUB₃) in omen No. 11, and last but not least on the right-hand body part written SA.AD in the last omen on the tablet (No. 14). While the preformative *i-* is clear,⁷⁴ the second sign resembles MES, DUB, or ŠID. Both omens Nos. 11 and 14 make it clear that this verbal form only consists of two signs. There are several avenues that can be taken from here. The sign MES has the readings *rid*, *rit*, or *riṭ* according to Borger 2004, 341, No. 486. A possible and here preferred avenue is the verb *râdum*, "to tremble", whose choice is supported by sufficient evidence in medical texts, as for instance in *TDP*, 34, Tablet 4: 23:⁷⁵ 1(diš) SAG.KI-šu₂ ša₂ 1(u) 5(diš) *i-rad-ma* ša₂ 2(diš) 3(u) IZI-e-et ŠU GU₄, "(If) his right temple trembles and his left one is hot: Hand of the *eṭemmu*-ghost." For further attestations in medical texts see *CAD* R 62 s.v. *râdu* b.

It also occurs in the iterative I/3 stem in the Old Babylonian omen list *YOS* 10 54 (YBC 4646 = *CDLI* P293405): rev. 18': BE SAMAG *i-na ša-ap-ri-šu* GAR *a-wi-lum* šu-u₂ *ir-ta-na-a-ad*, "If there is a mole on his thigh, that man constantly trembles."

Parallel to omen No. 6 the patient will have hardship (*ušannaḥ*). The sign remains at the end of the preceding line are too little in order to propose a persuasive reconstruction. The current reading *bīt ilišu*, "house of his gods", is very tentative, but compare the protasis (*šumma*) *awilum ana bīt ilišu irub-ma*, "(If) a man enters the house of his god."⁷⁶

If identified correctly, as a second effect to this symptom the patient will become angry (*uzzam iṣū*). The word *uzzum* (*CAD* U-W 393–395) is rarely attested. A fairly similar context can be found in an unpublished letter from Kish dealing with an ominous sign regarding a plough ox which was unyoked

74 There appears to be an erasure in the last instance in omen No. 14.

75 Read according to ms. B, AO 6682 (Labat 1951, pls. 6–8 = *CDLI* P273376): obv. 23.

76 *CUSAS* 18 16: obv. i 3' (§ 2').

and fell to the ground.⁷⁷ A Neo-Assyrian diagnostic tablet from Sultantepe contains the apodosis *šumma amīlu uzza īšu*, “If a man is suffering from wrath” (cited after *CAD* U–W 394 3’).⁷⁸

(§ 9)

According to the overall structure this omen should have a positive outcome for the patient, although the surface damage hampers a complete understanding of the text. Whether the interpretation *baṭlūšu iššakkanū*, “interruptions will exist for him”, is correct, is uncertain. The noun *baṭlu*, “interruption, cessation of work”, is known from much later sources (*CAD* B 177). If correct, does *baṭlū* refer here to interruptions in the patient’s ailment?

(§ 10)

Unfortunately, most of the apodosis of this omen is destroyed. The verbal form, however, is *ipette*, “he will open”. The verb *petûm* is used in a couple of idiomatic expressions (see *CAD* P 351–353 s.v. *petû* 4), none of which seems to fit the sign remains preceding the verbal form. Since the omen concerns impairment on the right-hand side, a negative outcome is expected. The signs preceding this verbal form are quite unclear except for the suffix *-šu*.

(§ 11)

While *ašāb kussîm*, “sitting on the throne”, appears to be sound, the end of the line is problematic. It most likely contained a stative form ending in the dative suffix *-šum*. For the use of the stative in apodoses see Metzler 2002, 190–203 with further examples.

The throne is not rarely attested in apodoses of omens. Akk. *kussûm* is often found together with the verb *šabātum*, “to seize.”

(§ 12)

This omen concerns the upper torso or breast of the patient (GABA; Akk. *irtum*). There is quite certainly a salient link between GABA and the Akkadian *meḥrum* in the apodosis, whose logographic writing is usually GABA.RI, “counterpart (etc.)” (*CAD* M/2 54–55 s.v. *miḥru*). The same word is also used, for instance, in an Old Babylonian omen list concerning the entrails (*qerbū*) of the

77 BM 103139B: rev. 5’–9’: In order to discern the severity of this observation a diviner investigates a sacrificial bird and undertakes oil divination. The text then appears to refer to the bad outcome as *uzzum*, “anger” (lines 11’ and 14’).

78 *STT* 1 89 (SU 1951,73+SU 1951,194 = *CDLI* P338409): obv. ii 32: ^r1(diš) NA *uz¹-za i-šu*.

sacrificial sheep. In one apodosis it is said that *šarru itti šarri meḥrišu isallim*, “The king will make peace with the king who opposes him.”⁷⁹

The second verb in the apodosis (*ul iṣēlšu*), “he will not have quarrel” (*CAD* S 89 s.v. *ṣālu*), might provide some clues for the damaged verb before. The above-quoted apodosis with the verbal form *isallim* appears to be unlikely, since it is usually written with the sign SA and not ZA (see *CAD* S 89–91 s.v. *salāmu*). Another possibility might be the verb *ḫalāqum*, “to disappear”. The connection of *meḥrum* and this verb is attested in Old Babylonian mathematical texts.⁸⁰

(§13)

The next symptom concerns the backbone (*GEŠ.ḪAR.RA*; *uṣurtu*). The logographic writing of this body part is identical to the important Sumerian term *geš.ḫur*, the “drawing, plan, layout”.

The apodosis is mostly unintelligible. The verbal form *ikkal*, “he will/shall eat”, is reminiscent of No. 4. It is not entirely clear what preceded the verbal form. Teratological omens of the early second millennium attest, among other things, to divine names, such as in *YOS* 10 56, whose apodosis states that “Nergal (i.e., plague) will devour”.⁸¹ The sign remains in our text are, unfortunately, inconclusive.

The final part of the apodosis (*i-na pa-^rša-a-tim⁷¹*) is unclear.

(§14)

The final body part addressed in this compendium is the difficult term SA.AD. This term does not occur on its own in the lexical series Ugumu, but is still attested in first millennium BC sources regarding physiognomy. Because of its occurrence in the pertinent sources, its location on the human body can be narrowed down thanks to the sequence of body parts it appears in.

This body part occurs in the late physiognomic series *Šumma pendû* dealing with the characteristics of a red mole (Böck 2000, 194–203 and see *CAD* P 323–324 s.v. *pendû*). Omens about the right and left SA.AD (69–70 and 71) are preceded by the armpit (*suḫātu*; 67–68) and followed by the torso (GABA, Akk. *irtu*; 72–74) and the breast (UBUR, Akk. *tulû*; 75–76).⁸² Barbara Böck argues that

79 RA 65, 70 (AO 7539 = *CDLI* P492524): obv. 35': 'LUGAL' *it-ti LUGAL-ri me-eḫ-ri-šu i-sa-al-li-im*.

80 IM 52301 #1: obv. 1: *me-ḫe-er-šu ḫa-li-iq*, “(The length of) its opposite (side) is missing” (*CAD* H 37 s.v. *ḫalāqu* 1b; Gonçalves 2015, 41, 46), where this expression is part of the problem to be solved.

81 See George 2012, 424 and see also *CUSAS* 18 11 (MS 2813 = *CDLI* P251860): obv. i 6.

82 See K 6694+ (Böck 2000, 194, Ms. D = *CDLI* P396735): obv. 14'–19' and BM 66571 (Ms. E).

SA should be interpreted as logogram for *šer'ānu*, “sinews” (Böck 2004, 297 *ad* line 69). This term does not occur in the extant corpus of diagnostic texts. In K 207 (obv. ii 15) SA.AD.GAL equates *maškadu*, which appears to be an illness regarding the joints. Relative to its position in late physiognomic omens the SA.AD might designate the *pectoralis major*.

The apodosis is rather damaged except for the verbal form *imaqqutaššu(m)*, “(it) will befall him.” Note here that as in omen No. 3 the scribe corrected himself: He intended to write *imaqqat* first: by erasing the sign GA and writing KU instead he applied the right theme vowel.

One can compare this apodosis with the Old Babylonian extispicy omens published as YOS 10 17. There, the apodosis to line 43 reads as follows: *a-na mar-ši₂ te-ši mu-tim i-ma-qu₂-ta-aš-šum-^rma¹*, “For the sick person: a turmoil of death will befall him.” In the Old Babylonian omens it is often confusion (*tēšûm*) that befalls the country, the army, or another individual, to whom the omen pertains. This word, however, in any configuration does not fit the sign remains, but it is clear that some construction like the one cited is also attested in our text. Compare also YOS 10 31: (xii 34) *ma-ru-uš-tum* (35) *i-ma-aq-qu₂-ta-aš-šum*, “Evil will befall him,” or Jeyes 1989, No. 10: (45) *ha-a-tum^r i-ma¹-aq-qu₂-ut*, “Panic will befall (him).”

Conclusions

In his edition of the late Diagnostic Handbook known in antiquity as *Sakikkû* (or *sa-gig*) Nils Heeßel collected the various symptoms attested in the protases of the series. Among others, these symptoms pertain to pain, discolouration, changing temperatures, abnormal movements, utterances and noises, malignant alterations of body parts as well as the patient's dietary (Heeßel 2000, 43–47). The late Mesopotamian exorcist (*mašmaššu*) needed to reach a diagnosis. In order to do so, the expert had to fathom a rich body of reference material. Besides the Diagnostic Handbook, the above-mentioned series *Sakikkû*, which contained symptoms, their diagnosis and prognosis, the task was only complete by also knowing compendia related to human physiognomy. These involved the series *alamdimmû*, *nigdimdimmû*, and *kataduggû*.⁸³

83 See the remark in Geller 2010, 182 *ad* 50 with reference to KAR 44 (VAT 8275 = CDLI P369026): 6; see Geller 2000, 244.

The protases and the conditions described in BM 103165 fit rather well into the corpus of known diagnostic texts. As highlighted above, only two other texts are examples of diagnostic omen lists dating to the Old Babylonian period: *TLB* 2 21 and *CUSAS* 18 15. The Leiden text, known for quite some time now, is certainly the prime example of this subgenre of omen literature in the Old Babylonian period. Its style differs significantly, as demonstrated by the subsequent quotation:⁸⁴

- 14'. *šum-ma mar¹-šu di-gi-il-šu ga-li-it*
 15'. *e-li bu-ul-ti-šu pa-nu-u₂-šu du-um-qa₂-am*
 16'. *iš-ku-nu mar-šu šu-u₂ u₂-ul ba-li-it*

If a sick person('s) gaze is frightful, his face looking better than in his healthy state, that sick person will not survive.

As Heeßel states, this text usually describes more than one symptom per case. The same can be stated for *CUSAS* 18 15 which is mostly concerned with conditions on the patient's veins. This observation is contrasted by BM 103165. Here, each case or omen is only concerned with one condition of a specific body part. While the order and sequence in other (diagnostic) omen texts appear random according to the anatomy of the human body,⁸⁵ this new text follows, as noted already above, a rigid head-to-toe arrangement. A similar arrangement can be observed in contemporary omen lists regarding observations on a sacrificial bird. In these the diviner also started at the bird's head and registered characteristics such as red dots in great detail before he continued towards the throat and body of the bird.⁸⁶

The apodoses of the other known diagnostic/prognostic texts are rather short. Both *TLB* 2 21 and *CUSAS* 18 15 provide either a diagnosis as, for instance, "fever" (*ḥimiṭ šētim*), or a prognosis. For the latter, the variety of expressions is rather limited and does usually not go far beyond statements such as "he is well" (*šalim*),⁸⁷ "he is a cause for concern" (*na'id*),⁸⁸ "his sickness will be prolonged"

84 See Heeßel 2000, 97–98 and Geller 2001–2002, 73–74.

85 Compare, for instance, *CUSAS* 18 15 in which several omens are concerned with the veins of the human body, first on the hands and feet, then the veins of the chest, followed by conditions of the man's innards, his eyelids and eyes, his ears, his head, and coming back to the veins of his chest.

86 Summarized in Edzard 2004, 546.

87 *CUSAS* 18 15: obv. 3'.

88 E.g., *CUSAS* 18 15: obv. 13'.

(*murussu irrik*),⁸⁹ “he will not live” (*ul balit*),⁹⁰ “he will not recover” (*ul iballut*),⁹¹ or “he will die” (*imât*).⁹²

The apodoses in BM 103165, however, offer something completely unexpected. As far as they are preserved, there is no indication for a diagnosis or a prognosis. While each protasis clearly refers to a symptom (e.g., stinging ear), the corresponding apodosis appears to describe the effect the respective condition has for the patient; some symptoms appear to trigger behavioural responses. This effect is not one of a medical condition, but rather a social one. Traces of this new text can be found in a much later composition dealing with character traits and utterances of a person and therefore belong to the corpus of physiognomic omens. The parallels of BM 103165 and these late omens subsumed as the *Sittenkanon* by Fritz Kraus are astonishing.⁹³ CT 51 147 from Ashurbanipal’s manuscript collection discussed by Erica Reiner is most revealing here. According to its colophon, it belongs to the first tablet of the subseries *Šumma Ea liballiṭka* as part of (*libbū*) the series *Alamdimmū*.⁹⁴ This text contains omens pertaining to utterances, among which a few appear to describe a symptom.⁹⁵ As noted by Erica Reiner, the utterances given in first person are not followed by a *verbum dicendi*, which might have been written in the broken beginning of the text.⁹⁶

It is noteworthy that some of these utterances deal with conditions or symptoms not so dissimilar of the ones mentioned in BM 103165. According to one omen someone says, “(My) foot stings me” (*šēpu uzaqqatanni*), which meant that he owes a debt to Šamaš.⁹⁷ The stinging pain is also described in BM 103165, omens Nos. 2–3, but there describing a condition on the patient’s ears. When he says, “My ear is ringing” (*uznī ištānassi*), then they will speak well of him.⁹⁸ This omen is very reminiscent of No. 3, where a stinging left ear has the positive effect that they will speak well of him, using the exact same expression (*ina*

89 CUSAS 18 15: obv. 22’.

90 TLB 2 21: obv. 16’.

91 CUSAS 18 15: rev. 42’.

92 VAT 7525: rev. iv 27.

93 Kraus 1936.

94 CT 51 147 (= BM 122626 = CDLI P286008): rev. 24. Despite bearing Ashurbanipal’s colophon Type q (Hunger 1968, No. 329), Barbara Böck quotes this text as originating from Sippar; see Böck 2000, 8.

95 One can compare these omens to entries 3–11 of the series *Šumma kataduggû*; see Böck 2000, 130–131. These omens, however, do not pertain to any condition or illness.

96 See Reiner 1982, 283–284.

97 CT 51 147: obv. 12’: 1(diš) GIR₃ u₂-za-qat-an-ni 2(u) UGU-šu TUKU-ši.

98 CT 51 147: obv. 19’: 1(diš) uz-ni DU₁₁.DU₁₁-si ana SIG₅-tim i-da-ab-bu-bu-šu₂.

damiqtim idabbubūšu). As indicated above, the late text does not only deal with utterances, but incorporates other character traits as well. These are occasionally manifested by abnormal movements of body parts, such as in this omen: "(If) his eye brow moves irregularly (*ištanaḥḥit*), he will be happy."⁹⁹ Irregular movements or spasms are attested in BM 103165 as well. There, they concern the shoulders (Nos. 6–7), the upper torso (No. 12), and the backbone (No. 13).

While *CT* 51 147 from Nineveh dating more than a millennium later than BM 103165 is concerned with expressions of human behaviour, the *raison d'être* of this small Old Babylonian compendium seems not too far off. BM 103165 therefore seems to be best placed on the verge between physiognomic and diagnostic omens, two categories of omens with rather fuzzy boundaries also in later periods. What can occasionally be observed in this text is the causal effect between symptom and outcome. An outcome appears to be a direct result of the symptom's physical impairment. Not uncommon in omens of this period in particular are semantic links between protasis and the corresponding apodosis. In omen No. 12, for instance, the Akkadian noun *meḥrum*, "opposite, counterpart", etc., alludes to the body part GABA, since GABA.RI is the common Sumerian equivalent for the Akkadian noun. As discussed in the comments, the apodosis of No. 7 mentions a garment (*ṣubātum*), which possibly alludes to the verb *ṣaḥāṭum* meaning "to strip off (a garment)" in a secondary form (*CAD* Š/1 92–94).

It might be too far-fetched to interpret BM 103165 as one of the "twisted threads" (GUMes GIL^{mes}) the scholar Esagil-kīn-apli refers to when he speaks about producing an authoritative edition of the diagnostic and physiognomic omens.¹⁰⁰ Looking on Middle Babylonian evidence illuminates, nonetheless, the close proximity of these texts to their first millennium BC serialized successors. It is therefore more than appropriate to see them as the basis for Esagil-kīn-apli's creation of such an edition. Old Babylonian evidence does not yet show this kind of parallels. It cannot, however, be interpreted as fully independent either, and texts such as BM 103165 certainly stand at the very beginning of a *tradition* of this important genre.

Due to its current uniqueness, which might eventually be remedied with the publication of new textual material, this small omen list still leaves a few enigmas.

99 *CT* 51 147: obv. 17': 1(diš) SIG₇ IGI-šu GU₄.GU₄ i-ḥad-^rdu²¹.

100 See Finkel 1988, 148–150 and Heeßel 2010a, 140–141.

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FIGURE 32.2 *BM 103165, photo*

Five Birds, Twelve Rooms, and the Seleucid Game of Twenty Squares

John Z. Wee

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

To Mark,
With wishes for many rosette landings



The *Game of Twenty Squares* is commonly known in modern times as the *Royal Game of Ur*, since some of its earliest and most famous exemplars were discovered among the burial goods of the First Dynasty of Ur from the 26th century BC (Fig. 33.1).¹ The ancient Mesopotamians may have initially called their game *Pack of Dogs*, though, as we will discover, the game became known afterwards as *Room Four*, which perhaps referred to the repetition of rosettes at regular four-square intervals on later board designs.² Game boards with this distinctive pattern are attested, in fact, in more than a hundred exemplars from locations as far apart as ancient Iraq, Iran, the Levant, Egypt, Turkey, Cyprus, and Crete, spanning a time period of more than two millennia.³ Recurring board designs, however, do not automatically mean that the same game version or even the same game was played in every instance, similar to the way the checkerboard today can be used for different national varieties of checkers or draughts, and even for the unrelated game of *Fox and Hounds*.

As illustrated by the game boards from Early Dynastic Ur, the oldest boards arranged their twenty game squares in two blocks (4×3 squares and 2×3 squares) that were linked together by a “bridge” of 2 squares in single file

¹ Woolley 1934, 274–279, pls. 95–98; Moorey 1977, 24–40.

² As I argue later, the first Room immediately after a rosette on the game board was also the fourth Room counting from the previous rosette.

³ de Voogt, Dunn-Vaturi and Eerkens 2013, 1719 (Fig. 1), 1722–1723 (Table 1).

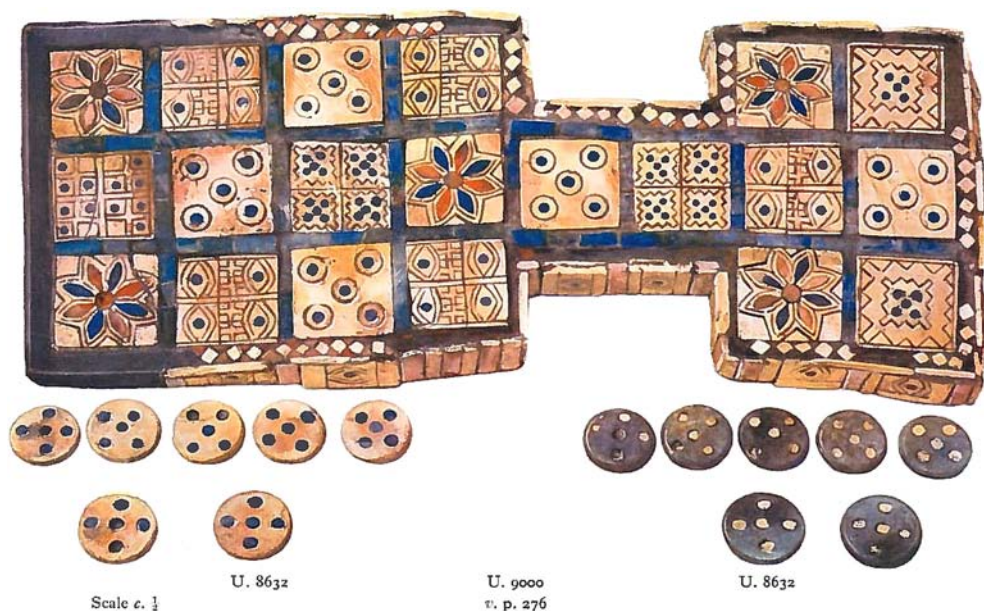


FIGURE 33.1 Gaming board (U. 9000) from PG/513, and a set of gaming pieces (U. 8632). Royal Cemetery of Ur, c. 2600 BC. M. Louise Baker pinx. in Wooley 1934, pl. 95b.

(Fig. 33.2).⁴ Niches on both sides of this “bridge” provided exactly the right amount of space needed to accommodate each player’s game tokens arranged in two stacks: one stack for tokens yet to enter the game board, and the other for tokens exiting the board. By the early second millennium BC, however, squares of the smaller block (2×3 squares) had become stretched out in single file as an extension of the earlier “bridge”, so that the game board now appeared as a block of 4×3 squares, followed by a line of 8 squares (Fig. 33.3).⁵

4 Instead of each player’s probable route of 14 squares in Fig. 33.2 (Bell 1979, 24; Finkel 1992, 15, Fig. 1; Finkel 1995, 66, Fig. 1; Finkel 1999, 2, Fig. 1), there have been suggestions of other routes where a rosette occurs every 4 squares (Murray 1951, 20–21; Dunn-Vaturi and Schädler 2006, 4 [Fig. 2a], 8–10), which may be anachronisms influenced by later board designs.

5 See, for example, the game boards from Ain Shems and Tell Halaf in Grant 1934, pl. 20; van Buren 1937, 11–15, pl. 6. “The likelihood is that this change reflected the intention of making the game more exciting, in that players would now be vulnerable to being knocked off while poised at the end of the central track just on the point of victory, while in the earlier form it is probable that each player would turn off on his own side at the end, and would have merely to wait until throwing the requisite number, being safe in this position from the enemy.” Finkel 1999, 6. Incidentally, this provides oblique confirmation that the game pieces move in the direction suggested in Figs. 33.2 and 33.3, since it makes more sense that the added thrill came towards the end of the race, rather than at its beginning.

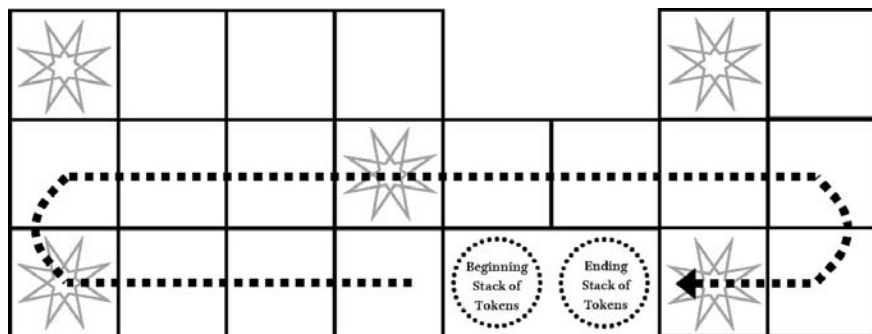


FIGURE 33.2 Earlier board design and each player's probable route of 14 squares

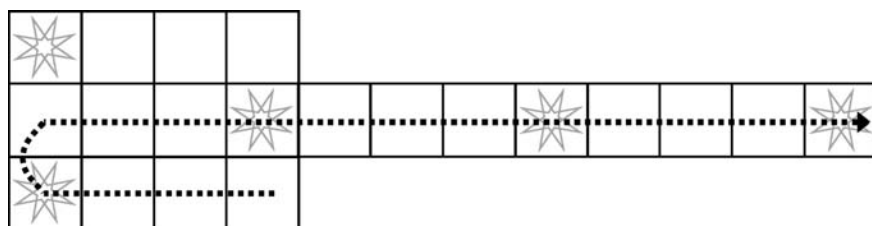


FIGURE 33.3 Later board design and each player's probable route of 16 squares

In this latter scheme, the extended middle row of 12 squares was reminiscent of a runway of sorts, on which game pieces by two players competed in what historians have assumed to be a race game,⁶ while shorter strips of 4 squares each on either side of this runway were assigned for the exclusive use of each player.

In other words, although the so-called *Game of Twenty Squares* takes its name from the total number of squares on the game board, players actually had access to fewer squares. At least in the later board designs, each player traveled along a continuous path of only 16 squares, every fourth square of which was marked by the image of a rosette. As a matter of fact, it was this path of 16 squares (rather than the total number of squares) that really characterized the game, as evident from an unusual graffito version of the game discovered beneath a winged bull sculpture from Khorsabad (Fig. 33.4a–33.4b) at the British Museum, which included a total of 24 game squares but likely allowed to each player only the usual 16. It is instructive to consider why there

6 Finkel 2007, 25, n. 21.



FIGURE 33.4A *Game board graffito beneath human-faced winged-bull from Khorsabad*
 PHOTO TAKEN AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM ON JAN 2008. BY COURTESY OF
 PHOTOGRAPHER JACK1956 AT THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE WIKIPEDIA

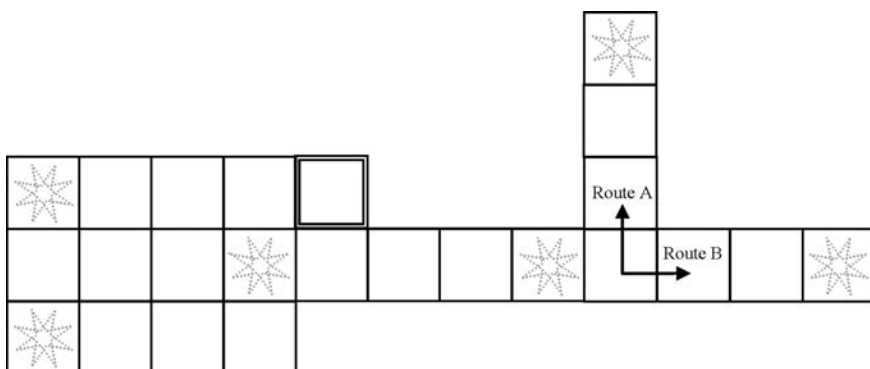


FIGURE 33.4B *Approximate representation of game board graffito. Game square with double border may be extraneous. Rosettes not explicitly depicted on graffito, but their expected positions are indicated by dotted outlines.*

was leeway to express each player's path of 16 squares in such different ways, with varying degrees of overlap between the paths.

Possibly, similar to the Indian game *Pachisi* and derivatives like *Sorry!* and *Ludo*, a game piece arriving at a square already occupied by an opponent's piece could "capture" or remove the earlier piece from the board. On the other hand, one can easily imagine features invented to counteract such "capture", as in the case of special squares or particular game pieces that were immune to "capture", and therefore might instead prevent later pieces from landing on the same square. In either instance, areas on the game board where players' paths overlapped or separated called for different strategies of game play, by which gaming tokens were maneuvered into positions optimal for facing or fleeing from direct competition with the opponent. The vast majority of board

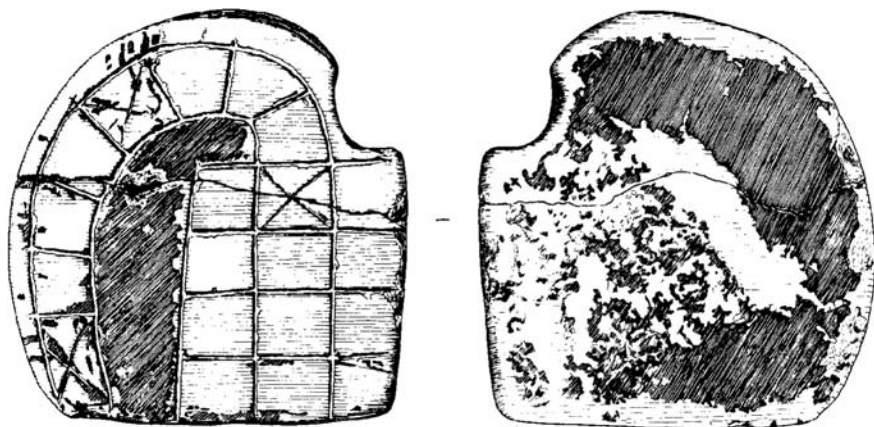


FIGURE 33.5 Game board drawn on liver model (KL 70:700) in Meyer 1982, 55, Abb. 5.1

designs display bilateral symmetry that ensured equal conditions for the two sides, even if the central runway of squares accessible to both players was, at times, curved in one direction for reasons other than game play. Aligned with the game's potential for divinatory purposes (discussed later), for example, we find one game board drawn upon a liver model of the kind used in hepatoscopy, whose line of game squares was made to follow the rounded contours of the liver model (Fig. 33.5).⁷ The Khorsabad graffito mentioned above might represent a case of handicap to one player, who was given the choice between a route exclusive to him and one shared with his opponent (i.e., Route A or B in Fig. 33.4b), while the other player was allowed only the latter route (i.e., Route B in Fig. 33.4b).

Before I examine the game in greater detail, let me provide my English translation of its so-called “rules”, which were discovered by Irving Finkel on a cuneiform tablet (BM 33333B) from the British Museum, dated to 177/176 BC in the Seleucid period. Although I follow the popular convention of referring to these as “rules”, they may not have been the same game rules employed in earlier times, but a later version or a variation suited for purposes of zodiacal divination.⁸ The obverse of the tablet displays twelve rectangular sections arranged in four columns and three rows, each designated by a zodiacal

7 A similarly curved game board from Tell Halaf belonged as part of an object with chariot, wild bull, and stag depictions, which has been unsatisfactorily identified as “an incense burner”, “a throne-altar upon which a bronze statuette might have been seated”, or “the handle of a ceremonial fan”; van Buren 1937, 11–15.

8 I.e., to foretell whether a suppliant would attain his desire for love in tavern, bread, beer, and meat (or whatever else these may symbolize in addition). See discussion later in this essay.



FIGURE 33.6A *Photo of tablet BM 33333B, obverse*

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sign. Each rectangular section, in turn, is further divided into smaller triangular and rhomboidal subsections containing syllabic cuneiform signs, which form meaningful utterances when read in a clockwise direction (Figs. 33.6a–33.6b). The reverse appears in typical tablet fashion with cuneiform text in two columns (Col. i to the right of Col. ii), having horizontal lines that mark off paragraphs on different themes. With the exception of how bird names and their representative game pieces should be understood (rev. 1–5), as well as meanings of the “rosette” (𒄩.𒀭.𒀭) and “Room” (𒂗) on the game board, I am largely in agreement with the way Finkel has transliterated the tablet and would urge the reader to consult his cuneiform edition⁹ in companion with this essay.

9 Finkel 2007, 27–29. Few have contributed to our understanding of these rules as much as Irving Finkel, who has discussed the game in sundry publications that span more than the last couple of decades (cf. Finkel 1991, 154–155; Finkel 1992, 14–17; Finkel 1995, 64–72; Finkel

<i>[a]</i>	<i>[šī]</i>	<i>ib</i>	<i>tap</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>ir</i>
<i>[bī]</i>				<i>ši</i>			<i>ma</i>				
<i>[AŠ.GÁ]N</i>				MAŠ.MAŠ			ABSIN			PA.BIL.SAG	
<i>[sī]</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>áš</i>	<i>ta</i>		<i>am</i>	<i>te</i>		<i>ri</i>	<i>ha</i>		
<i>[i]t</i>		<i>ra</i>			<i>la</i>			<i>ár</i>			
<i>[a]n</i>		<i>qī</i>			<i>i</i>			<i>i</i>			
<i>[da]</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>šá</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>lu</i> ₄	<i>be</i>		
<i>[ár]</i>											
<i>[HUN.GÁ]</i>		MÚL.ALLA		MÚL.RÍN			MÚL.MÁŠ				
<i>[ha]</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>kàs</i>	<i>qí</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>lu</i>				
<i>[s]a</i>		<i>za</i>		<i>il</i>			<i>bu</i>				
<i>[d]u</i>		<i>ʿbīʿ</i>		<i>sa</i>			<i>na</i>				
<i>[qa]</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>[iš]</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ki</i>				
<i>ku</i>		<i>in</i>		<i>nu</i>		<i>ri</i>					
MÚL.MÚL		UR.A		GÍR.TAB		MÚL.GU					
<i>bak</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>is</i>				
<i>tab</i>		<i>da</i>		<i>ru</i>		<i>ši</i>					

FIGURE 33.6B *Transliteration of tablet BM 33333B, obverse*

Translation of Seleucid Game Rules (BM 33333B)

Obverse

Roman numerals denote rectangular sections from top to bottom of each column, reading the columns from left to right. Represented within square brackets is the vocalization of each utterance in seven morae as a possible part of game play.

- § I Field (Pisces): One who sits in [a—ši—ib—bi—it—si—bi]
the tavern¹⁰
- § II Hired Man (Aries): I will swirl [da—an—nu—mu—sa—ha—ar]
the beer-vat¹¹

1999, 1–21; Finkel 2007, 16–32), and whose interpretation of the rules has been influential in modern reproductions of the game.

- 10 The restoration *bi*—[i]t [si—bi] (BM 33333B obv.) // *bi*—it [si]—bi (DLB obv.) for *bīt sibi* (“tavern”) is confirmed by its logographic writing É.KURUN.NAM in BM 33333B: rev. 11, 13. See section below on “Rooms and Thresholds” for the relationship between the obverse and reverse of tablet BM 33333B.
- 11 *dannu-musahḫar* is sandhi-writing for *dannum usahḫar*, as suggested by Finkel 2007, 27. Finkel translated the statement as “the beer vat(?) will turn away,” but I understand it to refer to the swirling of the beer to concentrate its dregs, which are then poured away.

§ III	Stars (Taurus): I will pour out the dregs for you	[qa—du—tu—a—tab—bak—ku]
§ IV	Twins (Gemini): You will gain a partner	[tap—pa—a—ta—ra—aš—ši]
§ V	Crab (Cancer): You will stand on high	[ša—qi—iš—ta—za—az—(ma)]
§ VI	Lion (Leo): You will become strong like a lion	[la—bi—iš—ta—da—ni—in]
§ VII	Furrow (Virgo): You will go up the path	[u—us—su—te—la—am—ma]
§ VIII	Scales (Libra): Like one who weighs silver	[ki—i—ša—qi—il—kas—pa]
§ IX	Scorpion (Scorpio): You will draw fine beer	[ta—sa—ba—ku—ru—un—nu]
§ X	Pabilsag (Sagittarius): You will ford the wadi ¹²	[te—bi—ir—(ma)—ḥa—ar—ri]
§ XI	Goat-fish (Capricorn): Like owners of livestock	[ki—i—be—lu—bu—u—lu]
§ XII	Great One (Aquarius): You will cut meat	[ta—na—ki—is—ši—i—ri]

Reverse Col. i

- 1 *Ugallu*-bird (represented by) a “pill” token (NU KÁR.KÁR),
- 2 Raven (represented by) a “pill” token,
- 3 [Eagle] (represented by) a “pill” token,
- 4 [Swallow] (represented by) a “pill” token,

12 My translation of *ḥarri* as “wadi” (*CAD* Ḥ 114–115 § 2b) refers to a depression that may be dry during parts of the year, but conducts a stream that needs to be forded during wetter months associated with Pabilsag (Sagittarius). It is tempting to interpret the rosette (written ḤI.AŠ) as literally a “wadi” or “ditch” (SÛR) that needs to be forded, given the rosette’s role as a threshold (see section below on “Rooms and Thresholds”). Note the lexical equations su-ur ḤI.AŠ = *ḥa-ar-r[u]* (S^b 1: 27 in *MSL* 3, 98); su-ur ḤI×AŠ = *ḥar-ru šá* [KI?] (Aa 5/2: 97 in *MSL* 14, 417; [KI] restored in *CAD* Ḥ 114). According to the Seleucid game rules, however, one does not “ford” or “cross over” (dictionary root: *ebēru*) the rosette, but “mounts” or “lands on” (dictionary root: *elû*) it.

- 5 Rooster (represented by) a “sprout” token (*ziqpu*),
 6 Five flying game pieces.

- 7 An ox astragal, a sheep astragal,
 8 Two that move the game pieces.

9–10 If the astragals score 2, the Swallow sits at the head rosette (SAG
 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶).¹³

11–12 Should it then land on a rosette (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶),¹⁴ a woman will love those who
 linger in a tavern, well-being is established for their pack (ILLAT).

13–15 If it does not land on a rosette, a woman will reject those who linger in
 a tavern, well-being is not established for their entire pack.

16–17 If the astragals score 5, the *Ugallu*-bird sits at Room 5.

18 Should it then land on a rosette, there will be enough bread for the
 pack.

19 If it does not land on a rosette, starvation for the pack.

20–21 If the astragals score 6, the Raven sits at Room 6.

21–22 Should it then land on a rosette, there will be enough bread for the
 pack.

22 If it does not land on a rosette, starvation for the pack.

13 I later identify the “head rosette” as Rosette 4 at the very end of the game board in Fig. 33.10. One would have expected the Swallow to enter the board at a score of 1, which may suggest that the score of 2 here is the minimum obtainable from a throw of the astragals.

14 Context in the Seleucid game rules leads us to interpret the cuneiform writing 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 as “rosette”, but the Akkadian term is elusive. Having eliminated meanings of 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 that deal with “insects” and “ditches”, what remained to Finkel (2007, 21, 29) was the term *tanpaḫū* (logogram SÛR), which he translated as “twinkling thing” or “shining thing” (dictionary root *napāḫū*, “to light up”). It is not entirely clear, however, that *tanpaḫū* has nothing to do with insects, since it appears immediately after a lexical section on 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 concerned with insects like *kuzāzu*, *sāsu*, *ākilu*, and *kazazakku* (Aa 5/2: 79–91 in *MSL* 14, 416–417), as well as in the middle of another section on Uḫ (a well-attested insect logogram) together with insects and vermin like *uplu*, *nābu*, *kalmatu*, *zērmandu*, and perhaps also *šeleppū* (an insect named “turtle” because of its carapace?) (Aa 5/2: 128–142 in *MSL* 14, 417–418). Note that *tanpaḫū* is regarded as “(an insect)” in *CAD* T 175. Another attractive reading for 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 is MÛL despite its connection to insects as well in Ea 5: 91 and Aa 5/2: 84–87 (*MSL* 14, 399, 417), since other similar values MUL, MÛL, MUL₄, MUL₅, and perhaps also MUL_x (a frequent reading of 𐎶B; see Wee 2016a, 154–155) all depict objects categorized as “star(s)”.

Reverse Col. ii

- 23–24 If the astragals score 7, the Rooster sits at Room 7.
 25 Should it then land on a rosette, there will be abundance (?) of fine beer for the pack.
 26–27 If it does not land on a rosette, [there will be insufficient] fine beer for the pack.
-
- 28–29 If the astragals score 10, the Eagle sits at Room 10.
 30–31 Should it then land on a rosette, their pack will eat its fill [of meat].
 32 If it does not land on a rosette, there will be insufficient meat.
-
- 33 Written, checked, and examined [according to its original].
 34–35 [Tablet of] Iddin-Bēl (II), son of Murānu, [descendent of ...].
 35 By the hand of Itti-Marduk-balātu (II).¹⁵
 36–38 [He who fears] Bēl and Bēltiya, [Nabû (?), Tašmētu], and Nanaya of Ezida, must not efface the writing!
 39–40 [Babylon;] Month Araḥsamna (VIII), Day 3, [Year 1]35 of Seleucus the king (177/176 BC).

Dog and Bird Game Pieces

In the game played during the time of Early Dynastic Ur, each player handled around seven gaming tokens of small, flat circular or square plaques, which were not individually distinguished among themselves, but which differed in color from the opponent's pieces (Fig. 33.1).¹⁶ By the later half of the second millennium BC, however, there are hints that game pieces were imagined as dogs, and that perhaps five (rather than seven) such pieces were assigned to each player. An Amarna letter from the Mitannian king Tušratta to the Egyptian pharaoh, for example, details a list of gifts including what appear to be small

15 Itti-Marduk-balātu (II) was son of Iddin-Bēl (II) from the Mušēzib family. Oelsner 2000, 802–811 (esp. family tree and dates on 810); Boiy 2004, 175–176, 211, 259–260, 273; Frahm 2011, 164, n. 773, 307.

16 Woolley 1934, 277–279. It is possible that fewer than seven tokens were used for normal game play, and that extra or fewer tokens could be employed in alternative versions of the game. One also wonders whether extra pieces could have been created in case some became damaged or lost.

gaming tokens in the form of “five golden dogs, five shekels in weight; and five silver dogs, five shekels in weight” (*EA* 22: iv 8–9).¹⁷ Emar lexical lists around the same milieu, as we will shortly see, mention wooden dog gaming tokens together with other game features. The memory of these game pieces as dogs persisted until the late period. A cuneiform tablet entitled *DLB*, which replicated on its obverse the same utterances in the Seleucid game rules (BM 33333B obv.) but without zodiacal names, referred in its colophon to the movable tokens as a “pack of dogs” (ILLAT UR.ʾGI₇.MEŠ).¹⁸ Indeed, several have considered this expression (“*Pack of Dogs*”) to be the ancient title for the game,¹⁹ even if a change of names did occur later. Even in the Seleucid rules themselves (see above), where game pieces are explicitly portrayed as different kinds of birds, they are collectively depicted not as a “flock” (perhaps BURU₅).²⁰

- 17 Knudtzon 1915, 174; Moran 1992, 56; cf. Finkel 2007, 23. To give a sense of weight, the same letter (*EA* 22) mentions five shekels of gold used for the overlay of a hand-bracelet (ii 3–4), the inlay of a foot-bracelet (ii 5), or a bread shovel (iii 18). As was true of several other items in the letter, the game pieces were likely not made entirely from gold or silver, but consisted of gildings of gold or silver over what may have been wooden dog pieces—cf. “wooden dog (game piece)” in the composite edition of the Emar lexical text *ḪAR-ra=ḫubullu*, Nos. 4396–4397. Along similar lines, gaming tokens in the Greek game of Polis were envisioned as “‘dogs’ attacking and killing their quarry”. Hansen 2002, 13.
- 18 Finkel 2007, 28. The tablet *DLB* was lost in the First World War, but preserved for us today in a photograph (Bottéro 1956, 17–19; Finkel 2007, 16). Influenced by its colophon’s description of a “pack of dogs”, Bottéro (1956, 22–25) suspected *DLB* and the Seleucid tablet (BM 33333B obv.) to have included a “jeu graphique ou talisman” of sorts, whereby the utterances connected with zodiacal signs represented names for dogs. Weidner (1956, 175–183) thought that uses of the zodiac in BM 33333B (obv.) were reminiscent of the “Losbuch” genre, but Landsberger (1960, 128) more correctly designated the utterances as “Spielreime”, with possible implications about how game pieces were supposed to move.
- 19 Landsberger 1960, 129; Hallo 1993, 85*; Schädler 1999, 146.
- 20 Among graphic analyses of BURU₅ such as NAM-ERIM or ḪU-ŠE-ERIM, and ḪU-ERIM (*MZL*, No. 135), the last proposal likely reflects the view of BURU₅ (“bird-flock” or “locust-flock”) as a “group” (ERIM) of “birds” (MUŠEN = same sign as ḪU). Note also the expression DIŠ UGA.MUŠEN.MEŠ KASKAL DU.MEŠ-*ma*, “if ravens move in flocks (KASKAL, not KASKAL.KUR)” (*CT* 39 25 = K 2898+: obv. 10; cf. *CAD* A/2 238, *CAD* Ḫ 92), which, however, admits the alternative translation “if ravens moved along the path.” To be sure, in the Seleucid *Game of Twenty Squares*, a player’s team of game pieces consisted not of a flock of the same bird species, but a motley crew of different bird types.

Instead, we find the term ILLAT (Akkadian: *illatu*) appropriate for a “pack” of dogs, in what may be a vestigial hangover from earlier meanings of these items.²¹

It comes as little surprise that the *Game of Twenty Squares* should appear in cuneiform lists of objects, given its profound influence and widespread adoption in ancient Mesopotamian, Levantine, and Mediterranean cultures. Finkel has already drawn attention to two manuscripts with excerpts from the “wooden objects” section of the lexical list 𒄩AR-ra=*hubullu*, providing partial editions of BM 78113 (obv. 7–9) and BM 54202+54666 (lines 11'–15').²² I would suggest, however, there is yet more insight to be obtained from these manuscripts, particularly in light of other versions of this lexical series (𒄩𒄩) preserved at Emar.

BM 78113: obv. 7–11, Transliterated from Hand Copy in Gesche 2000, 662

obv. 7	é za-na	<i>bi-it pa-as-su</i>	Room of a game piece
obv. 8	^d lamma za-na	<i>la-mas-su</i> MIN	Good Fortune of a game piece
obv. 9	^r é limmu ₂ -ba	<i>bi-i[t e]r-bé</i>	<i>Room Four</i>
obv. 10	[n]u kár-kár	IGI ^r zi'-< <i>ka</i> >-ri	corresponds to ²³ the male (game piece)
obv. 11	[nu] ^r še'-bi-da	MIN <i>sin-niš-tù</i>	corresponds to the female (game piece)

21 ILLAT (= KASKAL.KUR) in BM 33333B, rev. 12, 14, 18, 19, 22, 25, [27], 30. For *illatu* as the collective noun for a “pack” of dogs, see the lexical equations ^{il-du} IGI.NAGAR.BU = *illat kalbi* (Diri 2: 99 in *MSL* 15, 124); ILDU₂ = MIN(= *illat*) *k[al-bi]* (Antagal e: ii 24' in *MSL* 17, 211); UR ^{(i)l-du} IGI.NAGAR.BU = *ka-lab il-la-ti* (𒄩𒄩 14: 98 in *MSL* 8/2, 14). An alternative explanation is given by Finkel (1992, 16): “The word ‘pack’ has also a second meaning, namely ‘troops’. Interestingly, the win or loss imposed by the rosettes is not expressed in simple numbers, but in terms of a different currency: success or otherwise with women and general ‘well-being’, and sufficiency or otherwise in bread, beer, and meat. ... the scribe’s choice of imagery clearly derives from gambling over the board in a drinking parlour, where the loser ‘pays for a round’ in what seems a startlingly contemporary way.”

22 Finkel 2007, 31.

23 The mathematical term IGI or *pān(i)* for reciprocals was adopted as a notation meaning “complement to / corresponds to” in commentaries and lexical texts. Wee 2012, 495–496 (§ N5); and Wee 2016b, 147–151.

*Composite Edition of Emar Lexical Text 𐤅𐤁𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏=𐤅𐤁𐤁𐤏𐤏, Division 4
(Canonical 5b–7), Nos. 4396–4403, Adapted from Gantzert 2011, I 116
and II 68²⁴*

No. 4396	𐤂𐤓𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤏𐤏 ₁₅	<i>kal-[bu]</i>	wooden dog (game piece)
No. 4397	𐤂𐤓𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤏𐤏 ₁₅ pa-da kur ₄ -ra	[...]	... ²⁵
No. 4398	za-na	<i>pa-su</i>	game piece
No. 4399	é za-na	É <i>pa-si</i>	Room of a game piece
No. 4400	𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 za-na	<i>la-ma-as-si pa-s[i]</i>	Good Fortune of a game piece
No. 4401	nu kun-ri	<i>pa-as zi-ka-ri</i>	male game piece
No. 4402	𐤂𐤓𐤏𐤏𐤏 še-dù-a	<i>pa-as si-in-ni-[iš-ti]</i>	female game piece
No. 4403	[é 4]	É <i>er-bé-et-ta</i>	Room Four

The translations I supply above were not always evident to those working on these lexical lists. Veldhuis, for instance, considered za-na (No. 4398) and é za-na (No. 4399) to be, respectively, a “figurine” and the “box for a figurine”.²⁶ Gantzert, for whose composite Emar edition we are indebted, nonetheless interpreted these objects as a “domestic dog” (No. 4396), “doll-house” (No. 4399), and “male figurine” (No. 4401), among others. It is significant that exemplars of 𐤅𐤁𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏=𐤅𐤁𐤁𐤏𐤏 from Late Bronze Age Emar, perhaps not too distant in time and cultural influence from the origin of Tušratta’s letter, preserve record of the “wooden (𐤂𐤓) dog” as a game piece. Depending on circumstances, it was possible that this label designated a miniature sculpture of a dog, a more abstractly represented form, or even a generic token called “dog” solely for gaming purposes. In any case, standardized versions of this lexical list (𐤅𐤁𐤁) in the first millennium BC seem to omit the wooden dog and other references to the *Game of Twenty Squares* at the same position in the text, as does the related lexical commentary 𐤅𐤁𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏.²⁷ Even before game pieces were dubbed as “birds” appropriate to the Babylonian zodiac (see below), ancient players likely

24 Cf. Arnaud 1987, 80: 566’–572’; Forerunners A to 𐤅𐤁𐤁 6 and 7: 259–261 in *MSL* 6, 159.

25 Perhaps the Sumerian 𐤂𐤓𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤏𐤏₁₅ pa-da kur₄-ra describes a “wooden dog (𐤂𐤓𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤏𐤏₁₅) game piece, thickened (kur₄) possibly by gilding or enameling, from the material of a (wooden) branch (pa)”.

26 Veldhuis 1997, 167 (No. 701), 190 (No. 702).

27 In the Emar composite edition, the wooden dog and other features of the *Game of Twenty Squares* appear immediately after lexical entries on the term PIRIG, which occur in later texts (𐤅𐤁𐤁 7b: 161 ff. in *MSL* 6, 128–129; 𐤅𐤁𐤁: 186 ff. in *MSL* 6, 143; cf. Vedeler 2002, 45,

recognized that the conception of these pieces as “dogs” was an arbitrary one and not absolutely essential to game play. Indeed, just as the game board could be summoned at a moment’s notice by the etching of its pattern as graffito on any available surface (Fig. 33.4a–33.4b), other impromptu objects could serve as ready substitutes for tokens used in the game.

Perhaps less negotiable was the requirement for two kinds of game pieces, which the lexical lists differentiate as “male” and “female”. Fleshy features observed in liver extispicy were sometimes compared to a “male game piece”,²⁸ which suggests that male and female game pieces were concretely distinguished in shape and form. While the Emar lexical lists designate *nu kun-ri* (No. 4401) and *gišnu še-dù-a* (No. 4402) as male and female respectively, the first millennium BC version in tablet BM 78113 replaces these labels with [n]u *kár-kár* (obv. 10) and [nu] *ʾšeʾ-bi-da* (obv. 11). The latter readings are particularly exciting, since they are precisely the forms that appear in the Seleucid game rules (BM 33333B: rev. 1–5). Indeed, though we might have naturally assumed that different types of gaming tokens served to indicate which player they belonged to, as was actually the case with the Egyptian games of *Tjau* and *Senet* (Figs. 33.7 and 33.8), the rules alert us to the fact that, at least in the Seleucid game, there was need for *each* player to possess both “male” and “female” pieces. Let us examine these objects carefully in turn.

The writing *NU KÁR.KÁR* appears in ritual contexts below, once as an apotropaic measure against malicious sorcery effected by means of “cast spittle”, and again in one among only a handful of Mesopotamian ritual procedures that explicitly address conditions in battle:²⁹

Tablet 6–7 of Namburbi Series: K 2773 + K 2901 + K 8910: rev. 8–13 (// KAR 72: rev. 5–11) in Caplice 1970, 136, 139–140

(Namburbi that) the evil of cast spittle may not approach a man.

Its ritual: Mix 7 pellets of clay (7 *NU KÁR.KÁR šá IM*) with spittle (and) form (them).

Place 1 upon your tongue. Place 1 within your mouth. Place 1 in your nostril.

Nos. 195 ff.) without mention of dog or game. For the development of the *ḪAR-ra=ḫubullu* series, see Veldhuis 2014, 149–157 (§ 4.1.2.1).

28 *CAD P* 225 s.v. *passu* § b.

29 Jean 2013, 110, n. 21.

Take 2 in (each of) your hands, and carefully throw away the one upon your tongue, the one within ⟨your⟩ mouth, the one within your nostril, and (those from) your hands.

The evil of spittle will not approach the man.

SpTU 1 12: rev. 6–15 in Hunger 1976, 29–31

... You make a drawing of ... You place *burāšu*-juniper (ŠIM.LI) in 7 censers. You place 7 pellets of clay (7 NU KÁR.KÁR šá IM). You sprinkle ... 7 boys (and) 7 girls. ... whether in the city, in the plaza, or whether ... you release ... with their hands, the hair of their head ... they strike. They cry out, “*ehē!*” ... the enemy in battle is seized and revealed ... He seizes ... He says the following: “*Sîn, i’û!* At my right ... *i’û!*” The child(ren)³⁰ Ištar (and) Šamaš who go before the army. He says ... He names them ... of Anu (?) ... He names them daughters (?) of Šamaš (and) Adad.

Caplice was correct to equate the term NU KÁR.KÁR with *kupatinnu* (AHw 1569b), given how frequently phrases like “7 *kupatinnu*-pellets of clay” occur elsewhere in syllabic writing.³¹ More suspect, however, was his proposal of an etymology from the verb *tapālu* (“to scorn, treat scornfully”; CAD T 47–48) in the sense of “(making) dirtied, smeared”.³² If I might venture a suggestion, one meaning of KÁR seems to involve purposeful, precise, and often repetitious movement, as evident from the terms ^{gi}š.Á.KÁR and ^{gi}š.ŠU.KÁR that refer to tools, carpentry devices, implements, and even musical instruments that required such movement of the “arm” (Á) or “hand” (ŠU),³³ as well as the Sumerian compound verb IGI KÁR for careful examination and inspection (of tablets, portents, etc.) that relied on similar efforts by the “eye” (IGI).³⁴ Karahashi appears to express a similar idea in her translation “(The Lord of

30 Perhaps referring to the status of the moon-god Sîn as father of Šamaš and Ištar, who, as “child(ren)” may have been represented by the “7 boys (and) 7 girls”, respectively. Note, however, the view that the latter were not actual children, but “7 (Figuren von) kleinen Knaben, 7 (Figuren von) kleinen Mädchen” in Hunger 1976, 30.

31 See, for example, 7 *ku-pa-tin-nu ša* IM (79-7-8, 77: rev. x+21) in Landsberger 1956, 343; [x x x (x)] / *ka-pa-ti-in-ni ša* IM (AMT 62/3: rev. 6–7) and 3 *ku-up-pa-ti-in-ni* (KUB 4 48: ii 11 ff.) in Biggs 1967, 51, 55; *ku-pa-ti-in-ni 7 ù 7* (BM 79022: obv. 10) in Wasserman 2010, 331; 7 *u 7 ku-pa-tin-ni* (BAM 159: ii 14 // BAM 160: 5’) in Parys 2014, 15.

32 Caplice 1970, 141; cf. [šū-kár]-kár = *tu-up-pu-lum* (Antagal c: 232) in MSL 17, 200.

33 Krispijn 1990, 4 (No. 158); Civil 1994, 72 (Nos. 14–15); Veldhuis 1997, 187 (No. 619).

34 Steinkeller 1982, 149–151; Karahashi 2000, 126–127. Cf. [GIM SUMUN-šú SA]R-ma IGI.TAB

Aratta) circled around (ní im-kár-kár-ka) in the sanctuary in his holy residence" (*Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, line 442), where the object moved this time is not merely a body part but one's very "self" (NÍ).³⁵ While it remains true that KÁR commonly means "to light up, shine", it seems clear at least that the above expressions (gisÁ.KÁR, gisŠU.KÁR, IGI KÁR, and perhaps NÍ KÁR) cannot be satisfactorily explained merely as derivatives of the meaning "to light up". As I understand it, the logographic form NU KÁR.KÁR refers to the *kupatinnu*-pellet as a representative object (NU) rolled into shape by deliberate and skillful action (KÁR).

In comparing game pieces to ritual "pellets" or medical "pills", the imagery ran both ways. A ritual for safe travel in the steppe required the formation of "4 game pieces (*passu*, logogram ZA.NA) of clay", corresponding presumably to the four cardinal directions.³⁶ *Materia medica* was prepared in forms described as "game pieces", perhaps representing the amount of medication for a single dosage.³⁷ One therapeutic tablet, for example, instructed the healer to mix his ingredients in sheep's gall and to create a daub for the patient's eyes in the shape of a "game piece" (*BAM* 22: 30'), while a remedy for sexual impotency called for various materials to be grounded together and fashioned into a "game piece" (BM 41279: rev. 19).³⁸ This is not to say, however, that such metaphoric descriptions in medical texts could always be taken for granted. In a commentary (BM 59596) from the city of Sippar, the commentator evidently felt that the cuneiform signs ZA.NA in a therapeutic text were not sufficiently lucid, and needed to be explained as the term *passu* ("game piece").³⁹

The identity of the female game piece [nu] ʾše¹-bi-da (BM 78113: obv. 11) poses a greater challenge, even though Gesche's drawing of the cuneiform

u IGI.KÁR, "Written, checked, and examined (according to its original)" (BM 33333B: rev. 33) in the colophon of the Seleucid rules.

35 Karahashi 2000, 132. While this reading is attractive because of how frequently ní occurs in Sumerian compound verbs with the meaning "self" (Karahashi 2000, 130–134), we should note also alternative interpretations of ní as "fear": itima-ka ki-tuš kug-ga-ni-a ní im-kár-kár-ka, "In his cella, his sacred room, undone by fear" (*ELA*, 442 in Vanstiphout 2004, 80–81; Mittermayer 2009, 140–141, 281–282).

36 4 *pa-si šá* IM DÜ-uš (K 9875: obv. ii 32) in Landsberger and Meier 1937–1939, 143, Tafel X. For the incantation associated with this ritual, see Vanstiphout 1977, 52–56.

37 Landsberger 1960, 117–119; *CAD* P 224–225.

38 ina ZÉ UDUNITA₂ ĦE.ĦE ZA.NA DÜ-uš (*BAM* 22: 30'); ... *tamarraq išēniš tuballal* ZA.NA *teppuš* (BM 41279: rev. 19 in *CAD* P 225, courtesy R.D. Biggs; cf. Biggs 1967, 44).

39 Sippar Therapeutic Comm. 4 in Frahm 2011, 238. The commentary equation of interest is: ZA.NA : *pa-as-su* (*CT* 41 43 = BM 59596: rev. 9).

appears distinct enough where the signs are preserved.⁴⁰ We would do better by taking as our starting-point the suggestively similar label ^{giš}nu še-dù-a (No. 4402), which denotes also the female game piece in *ḪAR-ra=ḫubullu* texts from Emar. As a matter of fact, meanings of the component še-dù-a are brought to light in first millennium BC versions of this lexical series:

First Millennium BC Lexical Text ḪAR-ra=ḫubullu 3: 50–51, 195–198 in MSL 5, 97, 108–109

line 50	^{giš} še-dù-a	<i>šu-u-šum</i>	licorice tree
line 51	^{giš} še-dù-a	<i>su-pa-lu</i>	<i>supālu</i> -juniper
line 195	^{giš} še-dù-a	<i>ŠU-ú (= šedû)</i>	offshoot
line 196	^{giš} še-dù-a	<i>ni-ip-lu</i>	sapling
line 197	^{giš} še-dù-a	<i>ziq-pu</i>	sprout
line 198	^{giš} še-dù-a	<i>ši-it-lu</i>	sprig

Veldhuis observed that lexical entries of ^{giš}še-dù-a in first millennium BC sources correspond to earlier writings like ^{giš}KID-da at Old Babylonian Nippur (Nos. 46–48), ^{giš}sed-du at Ugarit, as well as ^{giš}šu-da and ^{giš}SAR-da in a lexical text (*LTBA* 1 78: ii 1–2) typical of the Ugarit/Emar tradition.⁴¹ In addition, I would draw attention to comparable Isin entries with the writing ^{giš}KID-da (Is I-02, II21'–23') and ^{giš}É-da (Is I-01, II10–12), as well as subsequent entries on ^{giš}MES in versions from both Nippur (Nos. 49–051e) and Isin (Is I-02, II24'–III03; Is I-01, II13–18), pointing out what may be revealing similarities in forms of the cuneiform signs É, KID, MES, and ŠED.⁴² Furthermore, assonantal affinities among the forms ^{giš}sed-du, (^{giš})še-dù-a, ^{giš}šu-da (and perhaps also ^{giš}SAR-da and še-bi-da) are reminiscent of the range of orthographic variation attested especially for names of some animals and plants, a category that ^{giš}še-dù-a likely comes under. To give but one example, the name of a certain gull (Akkadian: *ṣayāḫu* or *girgilu*) has been found in writings like giri₁₆-i-lu^{mušen}, kir₄-gi₄-lum^{mušen}, and gur₈-gal^{mušen}, among other orthographies.⁴³ While more work needs to be done to untangle all this evidence, we may at least consider meanings of še-dù-a to be similar in first millennium BC and Emar texts, and posit that the Emar description ^{giš}nu še-dù-a (No. 4402) refers to the same type of

40 Gesche 2000, 662.

41 Veldhuis 1997, 169 (Nos. 046–048).

42 See Veldhuis 1997, 261 (Is I-01, II10–18) and 263 (Is I-02, II21'–III03).

43 Veldhuis 2004, 244–246.

female game piece (nu še-bi-da) mentioned in tablet BM 78113 (obv. 11) and in the Seleucid game rules (BM 33333B: rev. 5).

In other words, whereas the male game piece took the form of a rounded “pellet” or “pill” (*kupatinnu*), the female game piece was an object that stood “upright” (dictionary root *zaqāpu*, logogram DÛ),⁴⁴ as was characteristic of vegetative protrusions like an “offshoot”, “sapling”, “sprout” (*ziqpu*), and “sprig”, and of erect (parts of) plants like the “licorice tree” and “*supālu*-juniper”.⁴⁵ Just as *kupatinnu* was a description of the gaming token’s shape instead of its material,⁴⁶ the *gišše-dù-a* entries above shed light on the figure of the female game piece, rather than imply it was necessarily fashioned from plant substances. Incidentally, this dichotomy between spherical or circular male pieces and elongated female ones runs contrary to modern assumptions about shapes that are phallic (therefore male) and non-phallic (therefore female), which underlies how gender is assigned to modern mechanical and electrical parts, depending on their role either as protruding connectors (male) or receptacle-like fasteners (female). While the flat circular or square tokens discovered at Ur (Fig. 33.1) do not help clarify the forms of these later gaming pieces, what readily comes to mind are the Egyptian games of Tjau and Senet with their tokens of short spools and tall cones (Figs. 33.7 and 33.8). Though historians are correct to be skeptical that the Egyptian Tjau with its twenty squares was a replica of the Mesopotamian game,⁴⁷ even purely superficial resemblances and mutual influences can be instructive, and one wonders whether such isomorphism could have extended also to the shapes of movable pieces in both games.⁴⁸

Either way, one might well question the relevance of arcane terminology in lexical lists for shedding light on this game, which seems to have enjoyed widespread popularity in antiquity, so that its rules would hardly have been considered secret or esoteric knowledge. The decision to frame the game in erudite terms, however, was one made by ancient scholars themselves, perhaps including the author(s) of tablets BM 33333B, *DLB*, and BM 78113. The term

44 Idu 2: 226 in *CAD Z* 51; Antagal d: 70 in *MSL* 17, 204.

45 In an association that may be suggestive, “pellets” (*kupatinnū*) of clay and pieces of *burāšu*-juniper were mentioned together in the battle ritual (*SpTU* 1 12: rev. 6–15).

46 Note the attachment of qualifiers such as *šá IM* (“of clay”) in rituals cited above, where the material of the *kupatinnu* needed to be defined.

47 Ranke 1920, 11, n. 1; Pusch 2007, 69–73; *contra* Murray 1951, 20.

48 At times, isomorphism could even have exerted an influence on game play, as in the proposal by Brumbaugh (1975, 135–137) about how the Ur game could have modified the Knossos game.



FIGURE 33.7 *Twenty Squares game board and gaming pieces, c. 1635–1458 BC. Thebes, Asasif, Courtyard CC 41, Pit 3, Burial E 3, In Coffin. MMA Excavations, 1915–1916. Rogers Fund, 1916*

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART ACCESSION NO. 16.10.475B–K. IMAGE IN PUBLIC DOMAIN FROM WWW.METMUSEUM.ORG

kupatinnu for male game pieces, in particular, was expressed in syllabic writing in the vast majority of cases, and even had an alternative logographic form ^{na4}KÚŠ.⁴⁹ Was there a point in representing the word as NU KÁR.KÁR?

In Finkel's view, "the ancient lexical equivalent to KÁR.KÁR ... is either *nabātu*, 'to shine brightly', or *napāhu*, 'to glow, said of stars and the moon' (among other nuances)," and each gaming token so designated could be named a "shining piece(?)".⁵⁰ It is vital, however, to make a clear distinction between denotative and connotative meanings of cuneiform terminology, so as not to obscure the interpretive strategies of ancient authors. The term NU KÁR.KÁR

49 CAD K 549–550; A.GAR.GAR = *piq-qan-[nu]*, [ŠE.AŠ]^{[g]i-ri¹D[U-šeššig]} = *šal-lu-r[um]*, ^{na4}KÚŠ = *ku-pa-tin-nu* (Antagal 3: 170–172) in *MSL* 17, 156. The entry on *šallūrum* is heavily restored, but finds confirmation in ŠE.AŠ.^{gi-ri}G[IR₆] = *šal-la-ru*, ŠE.AŠ.GIR₆.GIR₆ = MIN (Hh 24: 145–146) in *MSL* 11, 82. Curiously enough, the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* admits these restorations, but lists the items as separate entries: *šallūru*, "(a fruit tree and its fruit)" (CAD Š/1 253–254) versus *šallaru* B, "(a type of barley)" (CAD Š/1 248).

50 Finkel 2007, 20, 29.



FIGURE 33.8 *Senet game board and gaming pieces, c. 1550–1295 BC. Abydos Cemetery D, Tomb D99. Gift of Egypt Exploration Fund, 1901*

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART ACCESSION NO. 01.4.1A. IMAGE IN PUBLIC DOMAIN FROM WWW.METMUSEUM.ORG

simply stood for *kupatinnu* meaning “pellet” or “pill”, with its component KÁR.KÁR having nothing to do with “lighting up” or “shining brightly” (see my discussion above). Credit must go to the ancient interpreter who cleverly recognized the possibility of wordplay involving a *separate* meaning of KÁR concerning the “shining” of stars, so that a game piece in the shape of a “pill” could be *made* to represent a star constellation. As a matter of fact, the scribe of the game rules tablet (BM 33333B), Itti-Marduk-balātu (II), is known to have been an astronomer (*tupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*) of the Esagil temple in Babylon around 130 BC, as well as the owner of an astronomical omen commentary (BM 35408) and of a manuscript (MS b) of Gilgamesh Tablet X that was interpreted in astral terms elsewhere.⁵¹

51 Oelsner 2000, 802–811; Boiy 2004, 175–176, 211, 259–260, 273; Frahm 2011, 164, n. 773, 307; George 2003, 740 (Tablet 10 MS b). Imagery on the “Path of the Sun” and the “Waters of Death” in Gilgamesh Tablet 10 was the basis of an astronomical argument in a Late Babylonian commentary on *Marduk’s Address* (BM 47529+47685: obv. 17) in Wee 2016a, 136–137, 146–147 (§ 7d).

The term *napāhu* (logogram KÁR.KÁR)⁵² actually has an even more specific meaning in astronomical contexts, referring not merely to the “glowing” of a constellation, but to its first visibility or heliacal rising, when a star emerges in the east just before dawn after a period of invisibility when it is obscured by the sun’s glare. In a section (1: iii 13–33) of the astral compendium *Mul-apin*, for example, stars that rise heliacally (*napāhu*, logogram KUR) are paired with other stars that simultaneously set (*rabû*, logogram ŠÚ) in the west in the morning.⁵³ Another section (1: iv 1–30) of *Mul-apin* describes yet a third category of constellations named *ziqpu* stars, which culminate in the middle of the sky between stars that rise and set in the morning. Again, I must emphasize that the term *ziqpu* (translated “sprout”) in *ĦAR-ra=hubullu* 3: 197 (see above), as well as numerous uses of its dictionary root *zaqāpu* (“to erect, set upright”), did not necessarily or naturally include astral nuances. In the *Seleucid Game of Twenty Squares*, however, ancient interpreters took advantage of possible wordplays on “pill” shaped (NU KÁR.KÁR) male tokens and “sprout” shaped (*ziqpu*) female tokens, to make them symbols of heliacally rising (KÁR.KÁR) constellations and *ziqpu* stars respectively.⁵⁴ With this realization in mind, let us take a second look at the instructions concerning bird game pieces in the Seleucid game rules:

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- 52 KUR = *n[a-pa-hu]*; KÁR.KÁR = MIN šá M[UL?]; Dili-bat.BAD = MIN šá M[UL]; MÚ^{mu-mu} MÚ = MIN šá A[N] (*Nabnitu* 22: 2’–5’) in *MSL* 16, 206.
- 53 Hunger and Pingree 1989, 47–52. To be sure, the pairs of simultaneously rising and setting constellations in this section (*Mul-apin* 1: iii 13–33) would hold true even at times other than the morning. However, descriptions of the number of days from the “rising” (KUR) of one constellation to the “rising” of another (*Mul-apin* 1: iii 34–48 in Hunger and Pingree 1989, 53–57) must refer to instances of heliacal risings, and the relevance of KUR (*napāhu*) in the context of *ziqpu* stars (*Mul-apin* 1: iv 1–30 in Hunger and Pingree 1989, 57–67) occurs “in the morning before sunrise” (iv 11).
- 54 This marvelous example should be added to our collection of object word plays, whereby expressions describing the forms of physical objects supply paronomastic links to other words and ideas that are ascribed to the objects themselves. See, for instance, the “bowl with human feet” designed to mimic the Egyptian hieroglyph for *w’b*, “to cleanse” (Allen 2005, 16–17) and the Uruk vase depiction of bowls stacked atop a box whose gestalt recalls the archaic cuneiform sign EN, “lord” (along with other examples in Hockmann 2008, 326–336). It has also not escaped my notice that the five Rooms associated with bird game pieces in the Seleucid rules (i.e., Rooms 5, 6, 7, 10, and 12) can be related to planetary “Houses of Secret,” with Jupiter in Cancer (sign 4, not 5), Mercury in Virgo (sign 6), Saturn in Libra (sign 7), Mars in Capricorn (sign 10), and Venus in Pisces (sign 12) (to be discussed in a forthcoming publication), but wordplay involving bird constellations at their heliacal rising and in *ziqpu* roles seems to have been the primary consideration here.

BM 33333B: rev. 1–5, According to Finkel 2007, 19, 28–29

rev. 1	UD.GAL.MUŠEN NU KÁR.KÁR	UD.GAL bird: shining piece(?)
rev. 2	UGA.MUŠEN NU KÁR.KÁR	Raven: shining piece(?)
rev. 3	[DAR.LUGAL] 'MUŠEN' NU.KÁR.KÁR	[Rooster]: shining piece(?)
rev. 4	[Á.MUŠE]N 'NU'.KÁR.KÁR	[Eagle]: shining piece(?)
rev. 5	[SIM]. 'MUŠEN' «[MUŠEN']» NU 'ŠE'.BI.DA	[Swallow]: “lazy” piece(?) ⁵⁵

BM 33333B: rev. 1–5, According to My Reading

rev. 1	U ₄ .GAL.MUŠEN NU KÁR.KÁR	<i>Ugallu</i> -bird: a “pill” token
rev. 2	UGA.MUŠEN NU KÁR.KÁR	Raven: a “pill” token
rev. 3	'Á.MUŠEN' NU KÁR.KÁR	[Eagle]: ⁵⁶ a “pill” token
rev. 4	[SIM.MUŠE]N 'NU' KÁR.KÁR	[Swallow]: a “pill” token
rev. 5	[DAR]. 'LUGAL.MUŠEN' NU 'ŠE'.BI.DA	Rooster: a “sprout” token

The involvement of the astronomer Itti-Marduk-balātu (II), as well as the zodiacal names on the obverse of the Seleucid tablet (BM 33333B), leads naturally to the question whether bird gaming tokens actually corresponded to star constellations imagined as birds. As a matter of fact, four of the bird names were already part of astral lore, with the Rooster standing for *Lepus*, the Raven for *Corvus* (and *Crater*), the Eagle for *Aquila*, and the Swallow for the Western Fish of *Pisces* (and parts of *Pegasus* and perhaps *Equuleus*).⁵⁷ I am in agreement with Wiggermann that the writing U₄.GAL.MUŠEN refers to the *Ugallu* weather-beast (usual logogram: ^(d)U₄.GAL), which is portrayed on reliefs as having a lion's head, a human's torso, and bird talons for feet.⁵⁸ Here, this

55 ŠE.BI.DA interpreted as the Sumerian verb corresponding to Babylonian *egû*, “to be careless, neglectful” in Finkel 2007, 20, 29.

56 The bird names in BM 33333B: rev. 3–4 are in fact damaged beyond recognition, but it seems logical that birds represented by “pill” tokens were listed in their zodiacal order: *Ugallu* (sign 5), Raven (sign 6), Eagle (sign 10), and Swallow (sign 12). Later in BM 33333B: rev. 9–32, the Swallow was brought to the front of the line, because game preference dictated that it enter the game board, not on the (impossible?) high score of 12, but on the minimum score of 2 (see discussion later).

57 Reiner and Pingree 1981, 10–16; Hunger and Pingree 1999, 271–277; Kolev 2013, 268–270; Horowitz 2014, 245–249.

58 Wiggermann 1992, 169–172; cf. Green 1983, 90–92, Plates XI–XII; CAD U–W 26–27.



FIGURE 33.9 Drawing of cuneiform signs restored as [DAR]. 'LUGAL(?) MUŠEN' (BM 33333B, rev. 5) indicating the "Rooster" game piece

creature is classified as a "bird" (probably by virtue of its feet), conveniently so that its leonine features would recall the constellation Leo, which is precisely the constellation we would expect for a token assigned to "Room 5" (BM 33333B: rev. 16–17) on the game board (see below). In my interpretation of the game rules, the final bird mentioned is not the Swallow but the Rooster (BM 33333B: rev. 5; cf. Fig. 33.9),⁵⁹ and it is the Rooster that is differentiated from the rest of the birds by its representation as a female "sprout" token.

With this realignment, we begin to make sense of the Rooms on the game board where tokens "sit" and make their first entry. The "pill" game pieces represent bird constellations from the moment of their heliacal rising, and are initially assigned to Rooms partly corresponding in number to the schematic month (or sign in the Babylonian zodiac) when they rise heliacally.⁶⁰ Some degree of imprecision was perhaps inevitable. A Neo-Assyrian letter, for instance, alludes to the game by mentioning an exit "from Room 5, Room 6, Room 7" (K 4449: ii 13'),⁶¹ implying that the significance of Rooms with these particular numbers (and perhaps others as well) predated the zodiac's invention, so that any later attempt to incorporate zodiacal ideas into the game needed to conform to its

59 One readily observable benefit of this reading is its elimination of the extra «[MUŠEN⁷]» sign in Finkel 2007, 29 (BM 33333B: rev. 5).

60 The schematic Babylonian year of 360 days was mapped exactly onto the sun's ecliptic of 360°, so that each month began with the sun's movement into a new zodiacal sign, and the 30 days of a month corresponded to the 30° of a zodiacal sign. As a result of this scheme, zodiacal names were at times written using their corresponding month names: for example, the "Crab" (logogram KUŠU₂ in *SpTU* 3 105) appears in *SpTU* 3 104 as ŠU, the writing for the month Du'ūzu (IV). Wee 2016b, 171, n. 100.

61 É 5 ina É 6 ina É 7 lu-š[u-nim-ma] (K 4449: ii 13') in Lambert 1957–1958, 383; Livingstone 1989, 57 (No. 25); Finkel 2007, 31. Note also the following bilingual allusion to the game from a Hellenistic tablet: ud-dè é-10-ta 10-àm ba-ra-ab-è / u₄-mu ina É e-še-ret e-še-ret ú-še-eš-ša-a, "a storm will expel ten from Room 10" (VAT 410+423+2177+Fragment: obv. 25'–26') in *SBH* 58; Finkel 2007, 31; cf. *CAD* H 66; *CAD* E 364.

preexisting features. Later in the next section, I suggest another reason why a Room with a certain number was, by design, not entirely coterminous with a month or zodiacal sign of the same number.

In astral texts from the end of the second millennium BC and the initial part of the first millennium BC, which divide the year and stars into twelve portions, the Lion is assigned to portions 3–5, the Raven to portion 6, the Eagle to portions 9–10, and the Swallow to portions 10–11.⁶² In a later tablet (*LBAT* 1499), these constellations appear instead in months 4, 7, 11, and 12 respectively.⁶³ With the invention of the zodiac, the Lion became eponymous as the 5th zodiacal or micro-zodiacal name. Calendar Texts like *SpTU* 3 104 and 105, which draw connections between zodiacal signs and therapeutic ingredients from animals and birds, associate Leo (sign 5) with an actual lion,⁶⁴ Virgo (sign 6) with a raven, Aquarius (sign 11) with an eagle, Sagittarius (sign 9) with the eagle-like *Anzû*-bird, Pisces (sign 12) with a swallow or dove, and Gemini (sign 3) with a rooster.⁶⁵ Allowing for a narrow range of variation in numbers associated with a particular constellation, those especially from the later part of the first millennium BC match up nicely with pairings of Rooms and “pill” tokens in the Seleucid *Game of Twenty Squares*, with the *Ugallu* in Room 5, the Raven in Room 6, the Eagle in Room 10, and the Swallow in the “head rosette” adjacent to Room 12 (see next section and Fig. 33.10).⁶⁶

On the other hand, the “sprout” game piece represents the Rooster constellation from its moment as a *ziqpu* star in the middle of the sky. In Mul-apin, the Rooster lies in close proximity to the Twins (Gemini) and the True Shepherd of Anu (Orion) (1: ii 2–5), and the Great Twins are said to function as *ziqpu* stars in the 6th month Ulûlu (1: iv 24).⁶⁷ The same may be inferred concerning

62 For example, Mul-apin lists as dates of heliacal rising: the Lion on the 15th of Du’ûzu (IV) (1: ii 42–43), the King (Regulus in Leo) on the 5th of Abu (V) (1: ii 44), the Raven on the 10th of Ulûlu (VI) (1: ii 45), the Eagle on the 15th of Kislimu (IX) (1: iii 5–6), and the Swallow on the 15th of Tebêtu (X) (1: iii 7–8) in Hunger and Pingree 1989, 42, 44–46. The Lion appears in Month 3, the Raven in Month 6, the Eagle in Month 10, and the Swallow in Month 11, according to the reconstructed circular astrolabe, Astrolabe B, and the “Zwölfmalldrei” tablet (BM 82923) in Horowitz 2014, 1 (Fig. 1), 33–42, 140–142. ^mulUG₅.GA in BM 82923: obv. 17, is read “The Dead One” by Horowitz, but “Rabe” in Walker and Hunger 1977, 31.

63 Horowitz 2014, 126–127.

64 It is possible that the names for some of the less accessible animals (e.g., lion, eagle, *Anzû*-bird) may have been *Decknamen* for more common medical ingredients. Steele 2011, 337–338.

65 See discussion of *SpTU* 3 104 and 105 in Wee 2016b, 178–182.

66 BM 33333B: rev. 9–10, 16–17, 20–21, 28–29.

67 Hunger and Pingree 1989, 31, 64. The “Twins” are mentioned as *ziqpu* stars on the obverse

the Shepherd in Mul-apin, which rises heliacally in Simanu (III) (1: ii 40) and sets in the morning together with the heliacal rising of the Scorpion's Breast and She-Goat in Arahsamna (VIII) (1: iii 4, 26), which suggests that the Shepherd achieves *ziqpu* status roughly at midpoint around the 6th month.⁶⁸ Even late compositions like the Calendar Texts just mentioned (*SpTU* 3 104 and 105), which assign the rooster to Gemini (sign 3) and the scorpion to Scorpio (sign 8), imply a midpoint around sign 6. According to the Greek and Latin *parapegmata* (see later section), midpoints between heliacal rising and morning setting for Sirius (near the Rooster) consistently come after the heliacal rising of Virgo (near the Raven), even if the dates are admittedly close. In the Seleucid *Game of Twenty Squares*, it is easy to see why the Rooster's "sprout" token makes its entrance in Room 7, following Room 6 where the Raven is first introduced.

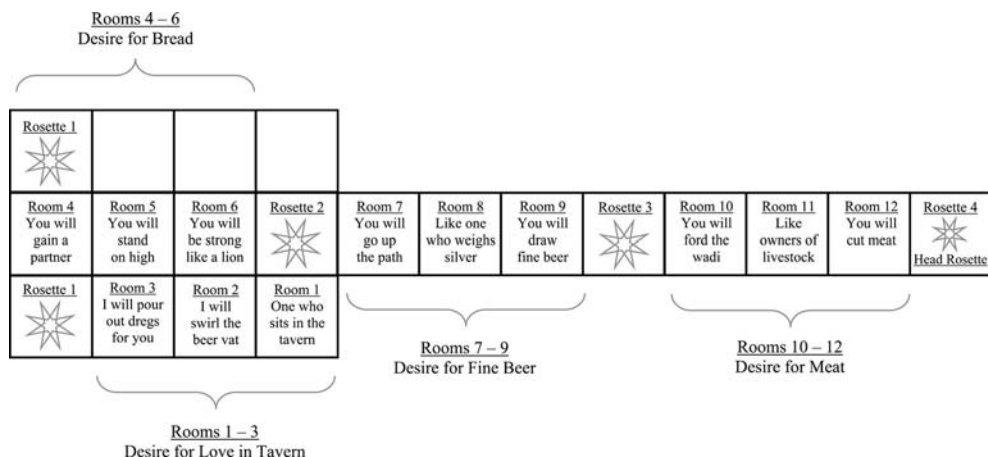
Rooms and Thresholds

My proposal on how bird constellations relate to "pill" and "sprout" game pieces explains why each of these pieces begins its tenure on the game board in a particular Room or rosette, but I have yet to make an explicit connection between such Rooms and the squares on the board. The unquestioned assumption has been that a "Room" or "House" (*bītu*) was just the ancient name for a game square.⁶⁹ If the ancient Mesopotamians in fact named their game *Room Four*, as I will show, it certainly seems logical to assume that the rosette on every fourth square defines that square as a "Room". I wish to argue, however, that there are compelling reasons to consider only squares without rosettes as Rooms, at least according to the Seleucid game rules, and that squares with rosettes went by another designation. The reader should refer to Fig. 33.10 as a visual aid to my arguments below.

(segment 1a, c) and reverse (line 18) of the Sippar planisphere in Horowitz and Al-Rawi 2001, 171, 176–177; and the "Great Twins" in BM 38369+38694: ii' 9–11 in Horowitz 1994, 92. Note also *ziqpu* roles of "the Rear Twin" (AO 6478 / K 9794), "the Feet and Hands of the Twins", and "the Rear Foot of the Twins", discussed in Steele 2015, 131–132.

68 Hunger and Pingree 1989, 41, 44, 50. Later, I apply the same method to obtain a rough estimate of the *ziqpu* position of Sirius, i.e., by locating the midpoint between its heliacal rising and morning setting.

69 Finkel 1992, 17; Finkel 1995, 66 (Fig. II); Finkel 1999, 6 (Fig. 6); Finkel 2007, 23 (Fig. 3.4).

FIGURE 33.10 *Rooms and Rosettes on the game board*

First, since each Room partly corresponds in number to a schematic Babylonian month or zodiacal sign, we would expect the total number of Rooms to be twelve. Since each player had access to a continuous path of 16 squares, it is reasonable to assume that only the 12 squares without rosettes counted as Rooms. This scheme, moreover, provides an answer to the question about what the rosettes represented. Not only do the four rosettes evoke astral connections by virtue of their star-like shapes (*CAD* K 49 §3), their distribution at equal intervals of three months/signs immediately recall the four cardinal moments of the Babylonian year: the equinoxes and solstices.

This brings me to my second point: The zodiacal sections on the obverse of tablet BM 33333B (Fig. 33.6a–33.6b) are undoubtedly connected to the rules on the tablet's reverse. It is significant, therefore, that the sections begin with the Field (Pisces) instead of the Hired Man (Aries), even though we might expect the first square on the game board (i.e., Room 1) to correspond to month/sign 1. As a matter of fact, Room 1 represents part of Pisces along with part of Aries, and that, more generally, any given Room n corresponds to parts of the schematic months or zodiacal signs $(n-1)$ and n . The reason for staggering the months/signs in relation to the Rooms becomes apparent after some thought: In Babylonian astral tradition, equinoxes and solstices occur within a single month and sign, rather than between separate months and separate signs. If a Room on the game board were coterminous with a month or zodiacal sign of the same number, then the first rosette between Rooms 3 and 4 could represent the summer solstice at only a very precise moment in time, i.e., at the very end of month/sign 3 or the very beginning of month/sign 4. According to my scheme, however, Rosette 1 between Rooms 3 and 4 corresponds to the

summer solstice any time in month/sign 3, and the following rosettes represent the autumnal equinox in month/sign 6, the winter solstice in month/sign 9, and the vernal equinox in month/sign 12.⁷⁰ I have understood the so-called “head rosette” (BM 33333B: rev. 9–10), on which the Swallow game piece sits, as another reference to the vernal equinox in Rosette 4 at the very end of the game board (see Fig. 33.10). As the Greek and Latin *paraepgmata* (see below) suggest, the heliacal rising of Pisces around the time of our Seleucid tablet was perhaps considered near enough to the vernal equinox.

Thirdly, the arrangement of the twelve zodiacal sections of tablet BM 33333B (obverse) into four columns of three rows each (Figs. 33.6a–33.6b) was intended to mirror the division of the twelve Rooms on the game board into four groups of three Rooms each, with the groups separated from each other by rosettes. Utterances were integrally linked, not only to the zodiacal names they were grouped with, but also to fulfilled or unfulfilled desires expressed in the Seleucid game rules (Fig. 33.10). On the one hand, it is easy to see why the Twins alluded to a “partner”, the Lion to lion-like “strength”, the Furrow to a straight “path”, the Scales to the act of “weighing silver”, the Goat-fish to “ownership of livestock” like sheep and goats, and perhaps the Hired Man to manual labor of “beer swirling”. Other affiliations are more opaque. One wonders, for instance, whether a perceived connection between “Crab” (*alluttu*) and “those who are high” (*elûtu*) led to the utterance “You will stand on high (*šaqîš*)”, or whether there was imagined wordplay between *sibi*—“brew (of beer)” —and the constellation *šibi* (“Old Man”, i.e., Perseus) that stood in the sign(s) Pisces and/or Aries.

On the other hand, the organization of utterances in groups of threes results in tableaux of images that, to varying degrees, reflect human desires expressed in the game rules.⁷¹ The tavern scene (Pisces–Taurus), in which someone (a woman) waits on the customer by “pouring out the dregs” and serving him

70 This resembles the scheme in the circular astrolabe (Horowitz 2014, 1, Fig. 1), but differs from that of Mul-apin. Although the vernal equinox on the 15th day of Nisannu (I) is not explicitly stated in Mul-apin, it may be inferred from dates of the summer solstice on the 15th of Du'ūzu (IV) (1: ii 43), the autumnal equinox on the 15th of Tašritu (VII) (1: iii 2), and the winter solstice on the 15th of Ṭebētu (X) (1: iii 9). Hunger and Pingree 1989, 41, 43, 46.

71 I have toyed with the idea that desires for “bread”, “fine beer”, and “meat” in the Seleucid game rules correspond to seasonal activities of crop cultivation and animal husbandry that were linked to the zodiac in agricultural astrology. The zodiacal utterances, however, are too ambiguous for a detailed reconstruction of such a scheme, and there remains the question where desire for “love in tavern” would fit in.

from the “beer-vat”, exemplifies the attainment of love in the tavern when the Swallow game piece “lands on a rosette” (BM 33333B: rev. 9–15). The shepherd-ing scene (Sagittarius–Aquarius), in which one guides the “livestock” along “wadis” and upon pasturelands so that these animals eventually yield good “meat”, corresponds to one’s satiety with meat when the Eagle token lands on a rosette (BM 33333B: rev. 28–32). The two remaining tableaux are less explicit. One scene (Virgo–Scorpio) involves perhaps the cultivation of grains in furrows along straight “paths” and the “silver” purchase of additional ingredients or equipment for the creation of “fine beer”, which is accomplished by the Rooster’s landing on a rosette (BM 33333B: rev. 23–27). The remaining scene (Gemini–Leo) perhaps portrays collaborative efforts with a “partner” and the possession of status and “strength” for managing agricultural land, which results in a harvest of bread when the *Ugallu*-bird and/or Raven piece lands on a rosette (BM 33333B: rev. 16–22).⁷²

The tableaux described above and summarized in Fig. 33.10 provide an elegant solution for why *Ugallu* and Raven tokens that make their entrance in Rooms 5 and 6 are both concerned with the issue of “bread”, in contrast to the Rooster piece in Room 7 whose aim is “fine beer”. This solution would not be possible in alternative scenarios where, for example, the twelve utterances are matched up with the twelve squares of the central runway, or where any game square is a “Room”, so that *Ugallu*, Raven, and Rooster in Rooms 5–7 become lumped together as a group between two rosettes.⁷³ The Seleucid game rules, unfortunately, do not clearly state which rosette each game piece should endeavour to land on. It is possible that any rosette encountered along the token’s path would have met the requirement, and that it was the species of bird token that defined the nature of the desire fulfilled. On the other hand, given

72 A curious turn of phrase in a physiognomic entry may be illumined by the game imagery here: DIŠ *mu-še-il-li* NINDA *ši-it-qú-la i-ta-n[a-kal]* (*Šumma kataduggû* 95), which Böck (2000, 138–139) has translated: “Wenn er einer ist, der Fröhlichkeit verbreitet, wird er immer ausgewogen Brot zu essen haben.” Cf. “Wenn er stets Heiterkeit verbreitet, wird er stets *abgewogene* Nahrung essen” in Kraus 1936, 98–99; *šitqulu* in this context meaning “ausgewogen, gleichmäßig” in *AHw* 1252; “... he will always have sufficient (?) bread to eat” in *CAD* Š/3 133. I understand this entry as “If he is one who brightens (others), he will regularly have bread to eat in due measure (*šitqula*),” and wonder whether there is play on the idea that Rosette 2, which lies nearest to the *Ugallu* and Raven tokens and which fulfills their desire for bread, represents the autumnal equinox (*šitqultu*). See meanings of *helû*: “(1) to shine, make brilliant; (2) to be merry; (3) to make love, copulate” in *CAD* H 169; “(G) hell, heiter sein; (D) hell machen” in *AHw* 339.

73 Finkel 1995, 67, Fig. V; Finkel 2007, 23, Fig. 3.4.

how neatly Rooms and desires are organized into four groups, one wonders whether the rosette in view was the one nearest the square on which a game piece enters the board. According to this interpretation, landing on Rosettes 1, 2, 3, and 4 would, respectively, answer to human desires for love in tavern, bread, fine beer, and meat. Depending also on other factors, there may not be a need to distinguish the form of one 'pill' game token from another, since a bird's identity would indicate merely the game square on which it enters the board, and not the specific desire it addresses.

It is still attractive to think of the *Game of Twenty Squares* as a race game, as historians have already assumed, but the Seleucid game rules imply that the fulfillment of desires (by landing on rosettes) was of equal if not greater importance in game play. It is possible that a player was not permitted to complete the game until all his desires were fulfilled. Certainly, the initial position of the Swallow token at the "head rosette" (i.e., Rosette 4; see Fig. 33.10) in month/sign 12, as well as its subsequent movement towards Room 1 (months/signs 12 and 1), presumes that game pieces can travel in a cyclical manner from one end of the board to its beginning. Alternatively, a player could perhaps finish his game without having all his desires met, with appropriate penalties so that the player who was first to reach the "finishing line" was not necessarily the one to win the game. Indeed, the possibility of completing the game with regrets is nicely aligned with the game's status also as a tool of divination, as suggested by its association with Mesopotamian liver models (e.g., Fig. 33.5).⁷⁴ One can easily imagine a suppliant making a predetermined number of cycles around the game board, to discover at the end whether or not his desires (or a particular one) will be fulfilled. The rubrics of "love in tavern", "bread", "fine beer", and "meat" could certainly have been synecdochic for other concerns expressed in the zodiacal utterances, so that, if one is allowed to speculate, topics covered could include friendship or marriage (Gemini), career promotion (Cancer), trade and commerce (Libra), and travel (Sagittarius), among others.

There are hints, in fact, that the zodiacal utterances in tablet BM 33333B were not the only ones associated with the *Game of Twenty Squares*. Tablet *DLB* (see above) replicates the same text on its obverse, but also contributes a different set of twelve utterances on its reverse.⁷⁵ Perhaps more intriguing is the question of how these utterances were actually employed in game play.

74 Meyer 1982, 53–56; Finkel 1995, 71; Becker 2007, 11–15.

75 The utterances on the reverse of tablet *DLB* are unfortunately very damaged and cannot yet be restored with confidence. Bottéro 1956, 17–25; Landsberger 1960, 128–129; Finkel 1995, 19, 28.

Landsberger's assessment that these were "Spielreime" makes good sense,⁷⁶ especially when one considers the manner in which syllabic cuneiform signs composing each utterance (not counting the logographic zodiacal name) are artificially assigned to seven triangular or rhomboidal subsections. Only two utterances on tablet BM 33333B (§ V and § X) seem to break the rule, by each having syllable signs for only six subsections. But these may be considered scribal errors, since their duplicates on tablet *DLB* bring the number up to seven again, by adding the sign *-ma* as a conjunction after the verb.⁷⁷ Orthographic choices involving (C)V or (C)VC signs appear to be, likewise, influenced by the goal of fitting the utterance into exactly seven subsections. In some cases, CVC syllables like *būt* (§ I) and *qil* (§ VIII) are broken up into separate signs *bi-it* and *qí-il* respectively. In other cases, we find these syllables represented by single cuneiform signs *tab*, *bak* (§ III), *tap* (§ IV), and *kas* (§ VIII). Doubled consonants are inconsistently represented as in *ta-ra-áš-ši* for *tarašši* (§ IV) versus *ta-sa-ba* for *tasabba* (§ IX), as are vowel lengths in *ki-i be-lu bu-ú-lu₄* for *kī bēlū būlu(m)* (§ XI) and *ú-us-su* for *ussu* (§ VII). A case of sandhi-writing occurs with *dannu(m) usahḫar* (§ II) articulated as *da-an-nu-mu-sa(h)-ḫa-ar*.

In my understanding, cuneiform signs occupying the seven zodiacal subsections depict how players were supposed to vocalize each utterance in seven morae, with syllables pronounced in compressed (e.g., *bak* in § III instead of *ba-ak*) or expanded ways (e.g., *ú-us-su* in § VII) for prosodic purposes. While a full treatment of the game's astragals (BM 33333B: rev. 7) lies beyond the scope of this essay, one cannot but notice that the two astragals would yield seven possible outcomes in a combined score ranging from 2 to 8, if each were cast as a four-sided dice numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4.⁷⁸ Perhaps the square initially occupied

76 Landsberger 1960, 128.

77 For sections already filled with seven syllabic cuneiform signs, no attempt is made to insert the conjunction *-ma* after the verb.

78 Finkel (2007, 21–22) is correct to observe that the choice of the comparatively large and less wieldy ox astragal (in addition to the sheep astragal) must have served a special purpose. I am, however, doubtful of the proposal that the ox astragal functioned as a "double or nothing" throw, changing sheep astragal scores of 1, 2, 3, and 4 into 5, 6, 7, and 10 respectively, since the addition of 4 steps in scores of 1, 2, and 3 would make absolutely no difference as to whether a game piece lands on a rosette, which the Seleucid rules imply is a vital objective of the game. Cf. the numbers 1, 3, 4, and 6 on Greek *astragaloi* and Roman *tali* (Graf 2005, 60–66). In the *Game of Twenty Squares*, the minimum score obtainable from a throw of the astragals seems to be 2, since, otherwise, it would have been more appropriate for the Swallow game piece to enter the board at a score of 1 instead of 2 (BM 33333B: rev. 9–10). Moreover, at least for the purpose of introducing a new bird token to the board, the astragals must have been capable of the score of 10 required by the Eagle

by a game piece counted as step 1 and determined which zodiacal utterance was to be used,⁷⁹ and each subsequent step was made while reciting consecutive subsections of the utterance, so that the utterance would be completed only if the two astragals scored 8. This scenario is, of course, entirely speculative, and I offer it while acknowledging the rich variety of other ways in which zodiacal utterances could have been incorporated into game play. By opting for the requirement of memorization, possibly even of a different set of utterances every time the game is played, players could have chosen to raise or lower the game's level of difficulty as they wished.

My final argument about why only game squares without rosettes qualified as "Rooms" builds upon this architectural metaphor of the game board, where numbered Rooms are separated from each other by "thresholds" of rosette designs.⁸⁰ The liminal roles of equinoxes and solstices as transition points in the Babylonian year need little elaboration. The most graphic illustrations of the idea, however, are the inscribed threshold slabs of monumental palace entryways, the best-studied examples of which come from Neo-Assyrian palaces to the north. According to Albenda, the practice of inscribing "stone pavements and portal thresholds with royal inscriptions" in Assyria in the ninth century BC gave way to the decoration of these threshold slabs with rosettes and other geometric motifs during the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II, Sennacherib, and Assurbanipal.⁸¹ Game boards with rosettes or cross markings had long predated these architectural conventions, of course, and we should not mistake the relationship between the two as one of direct influence, but

piece (BM 33333B: rev. 28–29). One wonders whether this score of 10 became an option only when the maximum score of 8 was achieved with two astragals, at which point the player was given the choice of, say, "10 or nothing" by an extra roll of one astragal. The different species of the two astragals would have ensured that the same astragal (sheep or ox) was consistently used for any extra rolls, to prevent any unfairness arising from inevitable differences in two naturally formed astragal bones. On a more symbolic level, it may be significant that the astragals "moving the game pieces" of bird constellations (BM 33333B: rev. 8) were of sheep and ox, which represented the first two signs Aries (cf. Wee 2016a, 164–165) and Taurus that were synecdochic for the zodiac as a whole.

79 Perhaps one more perk of a rosette was the absence of obligation to recite an utterance, even if one needed to move the game piece away from the rosette. Incidentally, the counting of the initial square as step 1 allows the Raven game piece, which sits in Room 6, to gain access to Rosette 2 in the very next square by attaining the minimum score of 2 (see Fig. 33.10).

80 Hence my decision to translate *bitu* in the context of this game as "Room", rather than "House".

81 Albenda 1978, 4–6, 12–18, plates 1–26; cf. Paley 1989, 135–147.

of mutual participation in a shared pool of cultural symbols. More than decorated threshold slabs, the idea that protective guardian deities stood at these entryways was one of great antiquity, appearing in Sumerian texts with names like *alad*, *lamma*, and even *udug*, as well as in Akkadian designations like *lamassu*, *aladlammû*, and *šēdu*.⁸² Several of the inscribed threshold slabs from Neo-Assyrian palaces were, in fact, flanked by human-headed winged bulls representing these deities.⁸³ As Russell remarked, royal authority would have been most keenly felt “at the monumental portals, where the effect of the threshold inscriptions in the horizontal dimension would be complemented by that of the colossus inscriptions in the vertical dimension, creating a space charged with the power connoted by the surrounding inscriptions.”⁸⁴

The sense of security and well being associated with these guardian figures certainly explains how the name *lamassu* came to represent, more abstractly, the notion of “good fortune”. In the Emar edition (Nos. 4399–4400) and a first millennium BC manuscript (BM 78113: obv. 7–8) of the lexical list *ḪAR-ra=ḫubullu* (see above), we find the juxtaposition of two expressions with parallel syntax: “Room of a game piece” and “Good Fortune (*lamassu*) of a game piece”. The former, as I have argued, indicates a game square without a rosette, and the latter must refer to a game square with a rosette, since it was clearly “good fortune” for a game piece to land on a rosette and to have its desire (for love in tavern, bread, etc.) fulfilled. Furthermore, there are good reasons to suspect that *lamassu* here was more than a vague word for “good fortune”, and that nuances of divine protection at thresholds were very much on the minds of players who engaged in the game. As of the present, four graffito versions of the *Game of Twenty Squares* have been found beneath Assyrian winged bull colossi: two at the British Museum (e.g., Fig. 33.4a–33.4b), one at the Louvre, and one in Iraq.⁸⁵ Finkel’s picturesque description of what could have transpired under the shadow of these sculptures is worth quoting at length: “It is not hard to imagine eighth-century-BC guards, uncomfortable on the plinth, whiling away point-duty out of the eye of the sergeant-at-arms with pebbles and dice which could be swept away at a moment’s notice, like fly gamblers

82 Wee 2014, 28–29; see also discussion and bibliography in Ritter 2010.

83 See, for example, the photo provided by Russell (1999, 4, Fig. 3), where the hoofed feet of one of these guardian deities are visible beside the inscribed threshold of Sennacherib’s Southwest Palace at Nineveh (Room I, Door e).

84 Russell 1999, 51.

85 Finkel 1995, 70; Finkel 2014, 72–74. Graffito boards for another game (with 27 squares in three rows of nine) have been found also engraved onto the stone window-sills of the Harem building at Persepolis. Curtis and Finkel 1999, 45–48.

surprised by a police constable in a modern street market.”⁸⁶ But it is easy also to imagine a suppliant coming to the threshold for a few rounds of divination, or individuals who decided to occupy themselves in competitive or solitary versions of the game, while basking in the beneficent gazes of these protective deities. All visitors to the threshold would have enacted in real life the desired outcome of the game, which was (very literally) to land on the square of the *lamassu*.

Greek and Latin *parapegmata*

Although the Seleucid game rules imply a pattern of equinoxes and solstices in months 3, 6, 9, and 12 similar to what we find in the astrolabe tradition,⁸⁷ the pairing of game pieces (representing bird constellations) with numbered Rooms (representing months/signs) clearly deviates from this tradition. One wonders if earlier versions of the game rules, perhaps even predating the zodiac’s invention, could have assigned the constellations to Rooms of different numbers (representing months) that conformed better to astrolabe schemes. But the Neo-Assyrian letter mentioned earlier, which spoke of “Room 5, Room 6, Room 7” (K 4449: ii 13’),⁸⁸ implies that squares corresponding to these labels were already an integral part of game play in earlier times. In any case, it is worth thinking about how closely astronomical associations in the Seleucid game resemble near contemporary records on the heliacal risings of stars, especially since the tablet BM 33333B (rev. 39–40) preserves for us most of its date: “[Babylon;] Month Araḥsamna (VIII), Day 3, [Year 1]35 of Seleucus the king (177/176 BC)”.

In this section, I interpret and excerpt entries from Greek and Latin *parapegmata* dated from around the second century BC to the second century AD, which have been conveniently edited and translated in a single volume (2007) by Daryn Lehoux. For our purposes, numerical figures in these texts are useful for where they stand in relation to each other, rather than for their absolute values, whether these are expressed in terms of zodiacal days (Geminus),⁸⁹ dates in the Egyptian calendar (Ptolemy), or the number of days (in Roman numerals) to the Kalends (Kal.), Nones (Non.), or Ides (Id.) of a Roman month

86 Finkel 2014, 73.

87 See, for example, the circular astrolabe and the “Zwölfmaldrei” tablet (BM 82923) in Horowitz 2014, 1 (Fig. 1), 140–142.

88 Lambert 1957–1958, 383; Livingstone 1989, 57 (No. 25); Finkel 2007, 31.

89 Lehoux (2007, 81–84) suggests that, instead of understanding Geminus to refer to a zodi-

(Columella and Pliny). It should go without saying that there is room for imprecision arising from inaccurate or inexact records, the conflation of different sources and localities, as well as inconsistent ways of defining the boundaries of ancient constellations. In contrast to the way equinoxes and solstices were bound to the sidereal zodiac in Babylonian astral tradition,⁹⁰ for instance, we might suspect the effects of axial precession to be discernible among the *para-pegmata*, i.e., by the gradual shift of equinoctial and solstitial points westward in the zodiac. There is enough deviation in the numerical figures assigned to particular stars, however, to introduce uncertainty in such fine comparisons of one text with another.

There was something artificial about the choice of only bird constellations in the Seleucid game rules, as obvious from the rather forced classification of the *Ugallu* weather-beast as a “bird.” Some of these constellations, like the Rooster (Lepus), do not appear very prominently even in Babylonian astronomy, much less in Hellenistic contexts. These bird constellations likely served also as proxies for specific bright stars, either within themselves or in their close vicinity, so that the *Ugallu*-bird stood for Regulus (the breast / heart of Leo), the Eagle for Altair (in Aquila), the Rooster for Sirius (in nearby Canis Major), the Raven for Spica (in nearby Virgo), and perhaps the Swallow for Alpheratz (“star shared by Pegasus and Andromeda”; see below).⁹¹ Based on such associations, I have very tentatively attached labels of *Room* or *Rosette* numbers to the *para-pegmata* excerpts below, as a working guide to what might have been perceived as an entry’s corresponding position in the *Game of Twenty Squares*. As a rough estimate of the Rooster’s *zīpu* position (*Room 7*), I have calculated the midpoint between the heliacal rising and morning setting of Sirius, and this midpoint comes almost immediately after the autumnal equinox (*Rosette 2*) in the *para-pegmata*. The heliacal risings of Aquila (*Room 10*) and Pegasus (*Rosette 4*) also lie close to but mostly precede the winter solstice (*Rosette 3*) and vernal equinox (*Rosette 4*) respectively, which digresses somewhat from the game rules’ positioning of the Eagle in Room 10 after Rosette 3, and of the Swallow in Rosette 4.

acal calendar system, “we should interpret the formulae at the beginning of signs literally, and see the zodiacal days simply as ‘counters’ from one known astronomical event to the next.”

90 Steele and Gray 2007, 448–450.

91 The heliacal rising of Alpheratz (α Andromedae = δ Pegasi) receives considerable attention in Ptolemy’s *Phaseis* below.

A.iii *Geminus Parapegma (Predates Late 2nd Century BC?) in Lehoux 2007, 226–239*

<i>Rosette 1</i>	Callippus	Cancer 1	summer solstice
<i>Room 5</i>	Callippus	Cancer 30	heliacal rising of Leo's beginning
<i>Room 5</i>	Callippus	Leo 12	heliacal rising of Leo's middle
<i>Room 6</i>	Callippus	Virgo 5	heliacal rising of Virgo's shoulders
<i>Room 6</i>	Euctemon	Virgo 10	heliacal rising of Vindemiatrix
<i>Room 6</i>	Callippus	Virgo 17	heliacal rising of Virgo's middle
<i>Room 6</i>	Callippus	Virgo 24	heliacal rising of Spica
<i>Rosette 2</i>	Euctemon & Callippus	Libra 1	autumnal equinox
<i>Room 7</i>	Eudoxus	~ Libra 4/5	midpoint of heliacal rising (Cancer 27) & morning setting (Sagittarius 12) of Sirius
<i>Room 10</i>	Euctemon	Sagittarius 15	heliacal rising of Aquila
<i>Room 10</i>	Eudoxus	Sagittarius 26	heliacal rising of Aquila
<i>Rosette 3</i>	Euctemon & Callippus	Capricorn 1	winter solstice
<i>Rosette 4</i>	Callippus	Pisces 30	heliacal rising of Northern Fish (whole)
<i>Rosette 4</i>	Euctemon & Callippus	Aries 1	vernal equinox

A.xiv *Oxford Parapegma (c. AD 15) in Lehoux 2007, 392–399*

<i>Rosette 1</i>	June 22	summer solstice
<i>Room 5</i>	August 17	heliacal rising of Leo's heart
<i>Rosette 2</i>	(September)	autumnal equinox
<i>Room 7</i>	~ September 23	midpoint of heliacal rising (July 18) & morning setting (November 28) of Sirius
<i>Rosette 3</i>	December 20	winter solstice
<i>Rosette 4</i>	March 19	heliacal rising of Pegasus
<i>Rosette 4</i>	March 23	vernal equinox

A.vi *Columella's Parapegma (Mid 1st Century AD) in Lehoux 2007, 244–252*

<i>Rosette 1</i>	VIII, VII & VI Kal. July	summer solstice
<i>Room 5</i>	IV Kal. August	heliacal rising of Leo's breast

<i>Room 5</i>	Day before Non. August	heliacal rising of Leo's middle
<i>Room 6</i>	VI Kal. September	heliacal rising of Vindemiatrix
<i>Room 6</i>	III Kal. September	heliacal rising of Virgo's shoulders
<i>Room 6</i>	III Id. September	heliacal rising of Virgo's middle
<i>Room 6</i>	XIV Kal. October	heliacal rising of Spica
<i>Rosette 2</i>	VIII, VII & VI Kal. October	autumnal equinox
<i>Room 7</i>	~ VII Kal. October	midpoint of heliacal rising (VII Kal. August) & morning setting (VII Kal. December) ⁹² of Sirius
<i>Room 10</i>	VII Id. December	heliacal rising of Aquila
<i>Rosette 3</i>	XVI Kal. January	winter solstice (Hipparchus)
<i>Rosette 4</i>	Nones of March	heliacal rising of Pegasus
<i>Rosette 4</i>	III Id. March	heliacal rising of Northern Fish (whole)
<i>Rosette 4</i>	IX & VIII Kal. April	vernal equinox

A.vii *Pliny's Parapegma (1st Century AD) in Lehoux 2007, 253–261*

<i>Rosette 1</i>		VIII Kal. July	summer solstice
	Egypt	IV Non. July	heliacal rising of Sirius
	Italy	XVI Kal. August	heliacal rising of Sirius
<i>Room 5</i>	Caesar	III Kal. August	heliacal rising of Leo's breast
<i>Room 6</i>	Caesar & Assyria	XI Kal. September	heliacal rising of Vindemiatrix
<i>Room 6</i>	Egypt	XVI Kal. October	heliacal rising of Spica
<i>Rosette 2</i>	Caesar	VIII Kal. October	autumnal equinox
<i>Room 7</i>	Egypt+ ⁹³	~ Kalends of October	midpoint of heliacal rising (IV Non. July) & morning setting (III Kal. January) of Sirius
<i>Room 7</i>	Italy+	~ Nones of October	midpoint of heliacal rising (XVI Kal. August) & morning setting (III Kal. January) of Sirius
<i>Rosette 3</i>		VIII Kal. January	winter solstice
	Caesar	III Kal. January	morning setting of Sirius

⁹² X Kal. December: morning setting of Lepus.

⁹³ The mixture of sources/localities for these couple of entries may, of course, reduce their reliability.

<i>Rosette 4</i>	(Caesar)	VIII Id. March	heliacal rising of Northern Fish
<i>Rosette 4</i>		VIII Kal. April	vernal equinox

A.viii Ptolemy's Phaseis (2nd Century AD) in Lehoux 2007, 261–309

<i>Rosette 1</i>	Epiphi 1	summer solstice
<i>Room 5</i>	Mesore 18–20	heliacal rising of Leo's heart
<i>Rosette 2</i>	Thoth 28	autumnal equinox
<i>Room 7</i>	~ Thoth 29/30	midpoint of heliacal rising (Epiphi 28) & morning setting (Choiak 1) of Sirius
<i>Rosette 3</i>	Choiak 26	winter solstice
<i>Room 10</i>	Choiak 27	heliacal rising of Aquila
<i>Rosette 4</i>	Mecheir 19—Phamenoth 10	heliacal rising of star shared by Pegasus & Andromeda
<i>Rosette 4</i>	Phamenoth 26	vernal equinox

Beware of Board Game!

In concluding, it would be remiss of me not to sound a note of caution and to make an appeal for moderation in playing the *Game of Twenty Squares*. Of pertinence is the entry below from the Mesopotamian Diagnostic Series Sa-gig, which is unusual in the way it ascribes different reasons for the goddess Ištar's role in the patient's ailment, depending on whether the patient is a man, a woman, or an adolescent girl:

Adapted from Sa-gig 3: 41–42 in Scurlock 2014, 14, 20; TDP, 20–23, Tablet 3: 32–33

DIŠ SAG.DU-su DAB.DAB-su GÚ-su TAG.TAG-su GABA-su GU₇.MEŠ-šú!
 ŠÀ-šú GAZ.MEŠ-šú x[...]x G[U₇] u N[A]G NU GUR-ma GU₇ u NAG ^d₁₅
 MU É er-bit-tim UŠ.ME-šú šá-niš ana MUNUS MU A.LAGAB u sa-ma-li
 šal-šiš ana KI.SIKIL.BÀN.DA MU ki-gul-lim áš-tam-mi

If his head keeps seizing him, his neck keeps touching him, his chest keeps hurting him, his belly keeps crushing him ...⁹⁴ whatever he eats and drinks

94 On the basis of Comm. Sa-gig 1–3 = STT 403: 35, the restoration *i[t-ta-na-ad-là]h* has been

does not return, and so he keeps eating and drinking;⁹⁵ The goddess Ištar keeps coming in pursuit after him, because of (the game of) *Room Four*. Secondly, for a woman, because of A.LAGAB⁹⁶ and *samālu*-cup. Thirdly, for an adolescent girl,⁹⁷ because of the place of destruction (?)⁹⁸ (and) tavern.

Although a couple of terms in this medical entry are obscure, impropriety and perhaps overindulgence are suggested by the adolescent girl's adventures in the tavern and the woman's attachment to her *samālu*-cup. The man, on the other hand, is faulted because of É *er-bit-tim*, an expression Scurlock and Andersen curiously translated "(he built) a house at the crossroads".⁹⁹ Keeping with the theme of uninhibited behavior at a tavern, van der Toorn proposed emending the expression to É *sa!(er)-bit-tim* ("alehouse").¹⁰⁰ As it happens, the writing É *er-bé-et-ta*, ("Room Four") occurs in the ḪAR-ra=*hubullu* version from Emar cited earlier (No. 4403), and similar orthographies like *bi-i[t e]r-bé* (BM 78113: obv. 9) and perhaps *bi-[it er-bé]* (BM 54202+54666: 15') appear in first millennium BC lexical texts, implying that *Room Four* was what the ancient Mesopotamians called their game.

It is not entirely clear what is being condemned here about the game of *Room Four*, whether it was a case of addictive gambling,¹⁰¹ or an overly

suggested by Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 432 (§ 19.5), 751, n. 6; Scurlock 2014, 14. This is unlikely, because the verb represents an explanatory *comment* in the commentary, not a *topic* that is quoted from the Diagnostic Series Sa-gig.

95 My understanding of this expression is influenced by a similar one in *DPS* 26: 78'–79' (Heeßel 2000, 285), which describes also a condition attributed to the goddess Ištar: NINDA u KAŠ NU GUR-ma GU₇ u la išallal ("food and drink do not return, and so he keeps eating and does not sleep").

96 This term A.LAGAB posed a problem to interpreters even in antiquity, as evident from attempts at explaining it in Comm. Sa-gig 1–3 = *STT* 403: 37 (Wee 2012, 544, 548, 556) and Comm. Sa-gig 3B = BM 43854+43938: obv. 2'–4' (Wee forthcoming).

97 Restored on the basis of Comm. Sa-gig 1–3 = *STT* 403: 40 in Wee 2012, 544, 548, 556.

98 For the reading "place of destruction(?)", see CAD K 350 (*kigullu* B). Understanding the difficult term *kigullu* as *kihullu* results in the translation "place of mourning(?)" by Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 432 (§ 19.5), 751, n. 9; Scurlock 2014, 20.

99 Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 432 (§ 19.5); Scurlock 2014, 20.

100 van der Toorn 1985, 199, n. 311.

101 Finkel (1992, 16) thought "it seems probable that there was a pool of tokens into which each player placed an agreed starting deposit. As the game progressed, if a man landed on a rosette, the player would collect the appropriate number of tokens from the pool, and likewise would have to payout an equivalent number of tokens if forced to bypass

competitive obsession with winning. The Sa-gig entry, nonetheless, is fascinating as one of the clearer negative portraits of the game we have encountered so far. Indeed, the signs of stress-induced headaches and body aches, strain injuries from repetitive motions, and the ravenous consumption of comfort foods and drinks may not be altogether unfamiliar experiences, even today, for those who spend hours in relentless attempts at a video game console, a slot machine, or an interminable game of *Axis and Allies*. To the ancient Mesopotamians, Ištar the goddess of sexual foreplay also cast her eye over other forms of human merriment, amusing herself at the travails of the man who simply could not resist that entrancing game of *Room Four*.

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such a square." I am more hesitant to identify the lines "Alas, alas! (My) heart, (my) heart! Astragal, astragal!" (BM 77438: rev. 4–5 in Winckler 1889, 156, No. 6) as part of a "*Gambler's Lament*" (cf. Finkel 2007, 29), since these exclamations are followed by the statement "in my city ... there is no judge" (*i-na URU-ia ... da-a-a-nu ul i-ši*), which could refer instead to the insecurity of relying on the whims of chance (exemplified by the astragal) in the absence of good judicial authority.

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BM 33055: A Late Babylonian Clay Tablet with Figures and Captions

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Introduction

At a conference held in memory of Thorkild Jacobsen in the British Museum on 7 April 1994, Irving L. Finkel acquainted me with BM 33055 (78-10-23, 1), a late first millennium (LB) tablet from Babylonia with drawings and descriptions of natural and supernatural beings in a ritual setting. I copied the text later that year and now, at long last, dedicate its edition to Markham J. Geller, with whom I share a life-long interest in all things supernatural and demonic.

The copy of the text benefited from a partial copy made earlier by Finkel, for the use of which I cordially thank him. In 2011 an article by the same author appeared, in which he published a small photograph of the obverse of the tablet, and briefly summarized his views on its contents (Finkel 2011, 338–339, and Fig. 7; see also Taylor 2011, 19). Commenting on the quality of the drawings Finkel judged the curved lines to be “undertaken with less than perfect assurance, but the overall results clear and competent.” While copying the text, I too noted this less than perfect assurance and tried to mimic it in the drawings. The photographs published here were made by Strahil Panayotov, for which I owe him my gratitude. Finally, thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the tablet.

Summary

In combination with the captions the images on the obverse can be seen to cover two related subjects: the one, dynamic, an audience scene involving the god Zababa, his symbolic animal (a spread-winged eagle), the king, and a decapitated female supplicant; and the other, static, a selection of elements from the god’s court featuring the divine eagle Udulu on a pole, and two pairs of personified divine weapons. In the destroyed lower right corner of the obverse there is room for at most two further images with captions,

presumably weapons or emblems as well, which would bring their total up to six or seven.

The audience scene and the collection of weapons or emblems called “of Kiš” identify the space in which the drawn figures once functioned as a cult room or chapel, undoubtedly in Zababa’s Edubba or Emeteursag in the same city. Based on the audience scene and the direction in which the weapons are facing, the location of the figures in three dimensional space can be reconstructed with a high degree of probability.

The reverse, almost completely destroyed, shows an isolated right(?) hand holding a rectangular object, the nature of which remains unclear; the scene seems to be dynamic, and must somehow complement the scenes and texts on the obverse.

The clay tablet might be a LB archival copy of an original Late Kassite(/Isin II) stone tablet buried in the foundations of Zababa’s temple, but the evidence is meagre.

Text and Translation

BM 33055 (78-10-23, 1); 8.5 × 7.1 × 2.5 cm; pinkish slip; Babylon Collection

Hand copy: Figs. 34.1 (Obv.) and 34.2 (Rev.).

Reconstruction drawings: Figs. 34.3 (side view) and 34.4 (top view).

Photos: Figs. 34.5–34.9, see also Finkel 2011, Fig. 34.7.

- 1) [king], god:
[image of Zababa of Kiš; behind h]im the king is drawn
[ša-lam ^dza-ba₄-ba₄ šá KIŠ^{ki} / ina EGIR-š]ú LUGAL e-šir
- 2) eagle on a board with carrying pole:
image of Udulu of Kiš
ša[l-m]u ^dud-u₁₈-lu šá KIŠ^{ki}
- 3a) [woman without a head]:
image of a woman without a head: (she is) a destitute woman; both her hands are stretched out (to beg)
ša-lam MUNUS šá SAG.DU NU TUKU mu-uš-ke-na-t[u₄]
ŠU.2.M[E]Š-šú ki-la-lí-šú ma-ak-ku
- 3b) [spread-winged eagle]:
[under]neath the eagle is (another) eagle, its wings are spread
in[a K]I.TA TI₈^{mušen} TI₈^{mušen} kap-pe-šú [(x)] pe-ta-a

- 4) **lion-scimitar:**
 image of Igalim of Kiš
ṣal-mu ^d*ig-alim* ʾšá KIŠ^{ki}
- 5) **eagle-scimitar:**
 image of Šulašaga of Kiš, (with) the face of an eagle
ṣa-lam ^d*šul-a-ša-ga* ʾšá KIŠ^{ki} IGI TI₈^{mušen}
- 6) **plain mace:**
 image of Šaggāšu of Kiš
ṣal-mu ^d*šag-ga-šu* šá K[*IŠ*^{ki}]
- 7) **plain mace:**
 [image] of Kami-tāmûšu of Kiš
 [*ṣa-lam*] ʾ^d*kám-me-ta-mu-šu* šá ʾKIŠ^{ki}
- 8) [destroyed, room for at most two objects with captions]
 [tentative restoration:]
 [**double-lion-mace**]:
 [image(s) of Šarur / (and) Šargaz of Kiš]
 [*ṣal-mu* ^d*šár-ur*₄ / (ù) ^d*šár-gaz* šá KIŠ^{ki}]

The Audience Scene

On the preserved portion of the tablet the first figure from the left is a beardless god with a horned crown, raising his right hand in a gesture of greeting.¹ The horned crown, in profile, has a rectangular top placed slightly towards the back, which recurs on a Kassite seal from Thebes (Porada 1981, 53 ad 27), and on two Babylonian stele fragments from Susa (Börker-Klähn 1981, Nos. 114 and 115; Herles 2006, Figs. 407, 201 = 408[!]; Harper 1992), all three stylistically dated to the Late Kassite(/Isin II) period (Seidl 1965, 180; Herles 2006, 269, n. 1492).² Since among the many horned crowns of the Iron Age this Late Bronze Age variant

1 Finkel (2011, 339) describes the first visible image on the left as “the head of a king with a crown—the face largely abraded.”

2 First half of the 12th century BC; this very infrequent type of horned crown may still have been in use in the Isin II period.

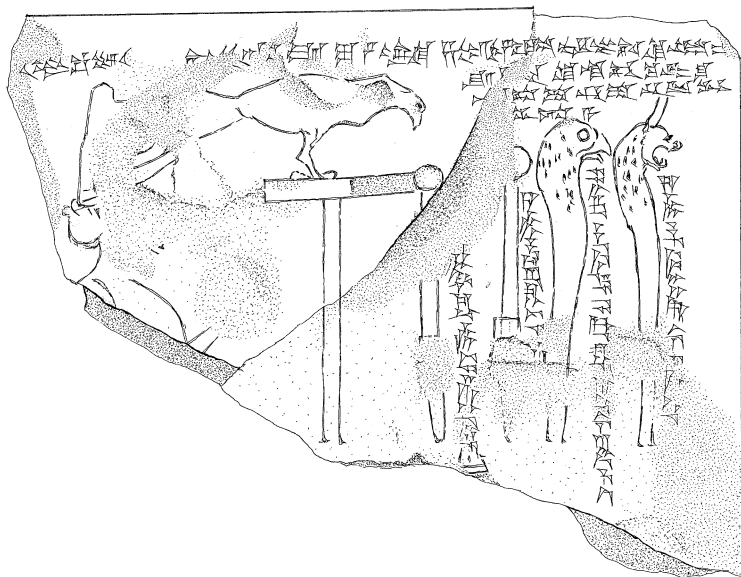


FIGURE 34.1 *BM 33055, hand copy, obv.*

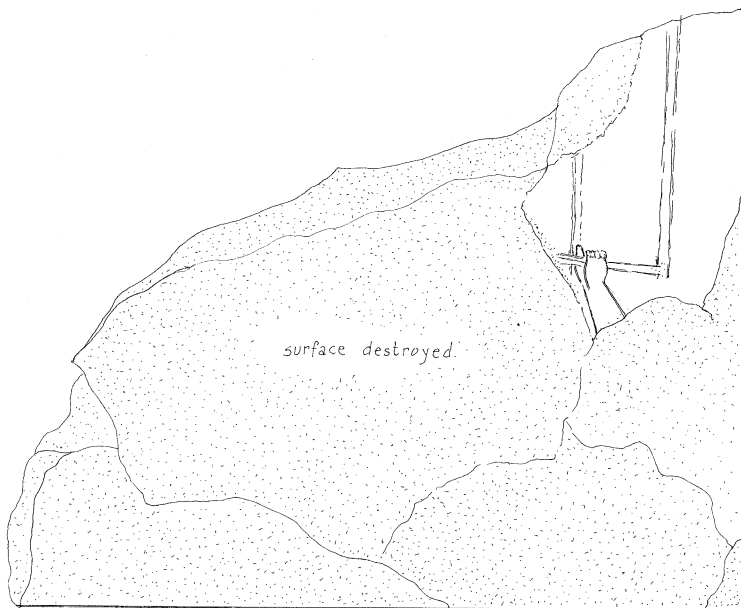


FIGURE 34.2 *BM 33055, hand copy, rev.*

is no longer found, the headdress of the god, and perhaps the rest of his attire, seem to originate in a period preceding that of the inscription by more than half a millennium.

The god in question must be the head of the pantheon of Kiš, the war and death god Zababa, members of whose court are depicted and identified in front of him. There is room for the expected caption (“image of Zababa of Kiš”) in the gap to the left of the preserved portion of caption 1; that in fact there was something there is corroborated by the third person pronoun -š]ú, which must refer back to this something, the restored “image of Zababa of Kiš”. The figure of the god is reconstructed standing, not seated, so as to make room for the king behind him, and for the headless woman and the spread-winged eagle in front of him. There is no reason to suspect any further figures behind the god and the king.

Beyond the headdress, the upright stance and the greeting gesture, the image of the god cannot be reconstructed. The mace he carries in his left hand on the reconstruction drawing is inspired by Peter R.S. Moorey’s discussion of the “elusive iconography” of Zababa in Old Babylonian Kiš (Moorey 1975, 97), where, according to this scholar, the god and his acolytes may be represented by “a war-god, attired like Ištar armed” (ibid., 85), or by “at least two male figures” without horned crowns, “the one with a bow aimed (p. 82), the other with a mace (p. 83)”. There is not enough room for a rod-and-ring symbol in the god’s left hand.

In the preserved portion of caption 1 the king is mentioned, and because there is no room for the figure of this king in front of Zababa (that spot being taken by the headless woman), it must have been drawn behind him; the remainder of caption 1 is restored accordingly: [*ina* EGIR-š]ú. Since the king and the god could not have been standing back to back, the two must have been facing in the same direction.

The second figure to the right is the god Udulu, represented by a bird of prey standing on a board with a carrying pole. That this bird of prey is an eagle (TI₈^{mušen}) goes forth from the reference to it in caption 3b. ^dUd-u₁₈-lu is a name and epithet of Ninurta/Ningirsu, and of various warrior gods identified with him, among them Zababa;³ in BM 33055 he is an independent minor deity in the service of Zababa. Being an ud, a “Day(-Demon)”,⁴ the SB ^dud-u₁₈-lu “Day(-Demon) Storm” enforced the commands of his divine master and as such

3 Richter 1999, 64–65; ^dud-t[a]-u₁₈-[lu] = [^dni]n-urta, OB Diri Nippur 10: 52 (*MSL* 15, 36); Maul 1991, 319–320.

4 Wiggermann 1998–2001a, 225; Wiggermann 2007, 111.

was similar to the god's vizier Papsukkal, and to the deified weapons supporting his authority. Carrying out his work in the skies, the aggressive storm god Udulu was aptly visualized as an eagle.⁵ Papsukkal, too, could be represented by a bird, but his was a more peaceful walking bird.⁶

The original Sumerian form of the god's name is /udtaulu/, in earlier sources (OB) regularly spelled ^dud-ta-u₁₈-lu; the element -ta- is a permanent part of the compound, and must be accounted for in the translation. In later sources (SB) the Sumerian form of the name is virtually always spelled ^dud-u₁₈-lu, which probably reflects a contraction (> /uddulu/) and a subsequent reinterpretation of the original compound (> /udulu/). In SB Akkadian the Sumerian name is pronounced *utullû/uttullû* (*ut/u₄-tu-lu-u*, *CT* 42 12: obv. 1–2; cf. Cohen 1981, 143, 194) or *utullu/uttullu* (^dut/u₄-tul-lu₄, ^dú-tu-ul-lu; Finkel 2000, 199, No. 43: 7' and unpublished duplicates, reference courtesy H. Stadhouders). Neither the earlier, nor the later form of the god's name is a genitive compound.

In the original form of the name (^dud-ta-u₁₈-lu) the element -ta- could not have carried lexical meaning, simply because it does not have one; hence -ta- must be the syllabic spelling of a grammatical element, for which only the Sumerian ablative-instrumental postposition is available: "out of, by means of, together with the day(-demon)", or distributive, "day after day". If, as likely, there is a basic continuity with the later meaning of the god's name, then the element u₁₈-lu must have expressed the violent, stormy side of his character (*meĥû*). In any case, the earlier -ta-u₁₈-lu is not a qualification of a head word ud-, and thus the god is not in origin a "Day-Demon".

5 The eagle (or bird) occurs more often in the iconography of Zababa/Ninurta, although it is not always clear in exactly what function: Braun-Holzinger 1996, No. 1142 (OB seal with a spread-winged frontal eagle, owned by a servant of Papsukkal); Braun-Holzinger 1996, No. 1165 (OB seal from Kiš with a spread-winged frontal eagle, owned by Me-Zababa, a servant girl of Zababa); Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, No. 183 (Kassite seal with two flying eagles, and a brief prayer to Zababa, owned by the high priest of the Emeteursag); eagle scimitar, Zababa's symbol on *kudurrus* (Herles 2006, 269); eagle on a pole, on *kudurrus* and a MA seal (Herles 2006, 260–261, Pl. 87 [= 348]), the symbol of Šuqamuna and Šumaliya (Herles 2006, 262–263), or the vizier/emblem of one of the gods identified with Udulu (eagle standing on a pole on BM 33055); standing eagle, symbol of Ninurta on Sennacherib's Judi Dagħ relief (Seidl 1989, 235, No. 2). There is a close association between the constellations Aquila (MULTI₈MUŠEN) and Zababa (parts of Ophiuchus, Serpens, and Aquila), cf. e.g. Gössmann 1950, Nos. 2 and 170; Reiner and Pingree 1981, 82: iii 25; as a constellation Zababa is an anthropomorphic god, for his (horned) crown and some of his body parts see Hunger and Pingree 1999, 270 ff. (Crown, Eye, Right and Left Shoulder, Middle, Shin, Right and Left Foot).

6 For the walking bird (on a socle) see Wiggermann 1998–2001b, 495–496; Herles 2006, 262.

In SB bilingual passages the later form of the name (ud-u₁₈-lu, rarely ud-ta-u₁₈-lu) is understood as a genitive compound *ūm meḥê*, “day(-demon) of violent storm”, or once as a substantive-adjective phrase, *ūmu erpu* “dark day(-demon)”; a learned text translates *rākib me[hê]* (KAR 304: r. 27+KAR 337: r. 13), as “rider on the storm”. None of the SB translations convinces: the Sumerian god’s name is not a genitive compound, u₁₈-lu does not normally mean “to be dark” (*erpu/erēpu*), and the learned text takes u₄ as u₅ (= *rakābu*). Nonetheless, the SB scholars were undoubtedly correct to identify the god as a (personified) violent weather phenomenon, a type of “day demon” (ud/*ūmu*) comparable to the South Storm (tu₁₅-u₁₈-lu/*šūtu*, úlu/*meḥê šūti*) and to the deified dust storm ^dmermer_{2/4} (*ašamšūtu*), the latter equated with both Adad (An = *Anum* 3: 210) and ^dud-u₁₈-lu/^dnin-urta (CT 25 13: r. iii 31).

Caption 3 describes two images that are not present on the preserved upper part of the tablet, the one being a woman without a head (3a), and the other a spread-winged eagle (3b). The spread-winged eagle is described as being [under]neath another eagle, which must be the bird of prey representing Udulu, and its position on the tablet is reconstructed accordingly. Instead of on a pedestal, the spread-winged eagle may have been standing directly on the floor.

For the headless woman, too, there is room in the lower right portion of the tablet, but in view of her size in relation to that of the god the woman should be placed as much to the left of that space as possible; traces of a headless neck may be visible at the lower end of caption 7. In the reconstruction the woman has been made to “face” the god [and the king], because in the text she is described as stretching out her hands (to beg); this begging gesture implies a reciprocal, face to face relation between the god and the king on the left, and the woman on the right.

In the present context, a woman described as “without a head” can only have been represented by, literally, a woman without a head. This seemingly superfluous description presumably did not serve to define the headless woman as a headless woman, but to link the further explanations of caption 3a in the upper corner of the tablet to the actual image of a headless woman at some distance away in the lower corner.

The additional information offered by caption 3a explains the meaning of the missing head. The Sumerian phrase LÚ.SAG.DU.NU.TUKU, “someone who has no head,” “headless person”, is translated into Akkadian as *lā išānû* denoting a “have-not”, a “poor”, “destitute”, “powerless”, or “dependent” person, which in its turn is equated with *muškēnu*, “poor/destitute person” (CAD I–J 222–223 s.v. *išānû*, Lexical Section; CAD M/2 272–273, 275–276 s.v. *muškēnu*). In the same vein, caption 3a explains the headless woman as a *muškēnat[u]*, a “destitute

woman”,⁷ and continues with a further element of her image descriptive of poor and destitute people: “both her hands are stretched out (to beg).”⁸ What now appears to dominate the scene on the obverse is an audience in a temple, with a god and a king receiving a headless female suppliant begging for something. The size of the figures expresses their relative importance.

The spread-winged eagle at Zababa’s feet must represent one of his servants, perhaps his vizier Papsukkal, elsewhere represented by a walking bird. In any case, this eagle is distinguished from the eagle Udulu and from Zababa’s weapons by having no name and no divine determinative, and thus occupies a relatively low position in the hierarchy of the god’s court. The reconstruction of the spread-winged eagle is inspired by the spread-winged eagle being carried away by Assyrian soldiers from the Edurgina of Lugal-asal/Bēl-šarbi at Šapazza/Baš⁹ on a relief of Tiglath-pileser III from Nimrud.¹⁰ The anthropomorphic god being carried away from the same temple, Lugal-asal presumably, holds an unidentified object in his hands (not a spade or a dagger), which must be another of his emblems. As an armed death-god, Lugal-asal may well have shared an emblem such as the spread-winged eagle with an armed death-god like Zababa/Ninurta/Nergal.¹¹

The Deified Weapons and Emblems

The audience scene and the collection of deified weapons “of Kiš” identify the space in which the figures of BM 33055 functioned as a cult room or chapel of Zababa, undoubtedly his Edubba or Emeteursag in the same city.¹²

7 According to the dictionaries this is the first attestation of the feminine form of *muškēnu*.

8 For the collocation *qāta magāgu*, “to stretch out one’s hand” (in BM 33055 both hands) connoting “to beg”, see the three clear attestations cited by CAD M/1 28 s.v. *magāgu* 2 (MB, SB, NB). The more common collocation *qāta tarāšu* has the same meaning (CAD T 211 3c2’a, 214 13b; once with the dual ŠU.2.MEŠ-a-a, “both my hands”, cf. CAD T 213 7b2’, citing STT 65: 16; MA), and besides begging also connotes praying (CAD T 211 3c2’b’). It is likely that the gestures of begging for food or alms (from the rich), of begging for mercy (from the powerful, CAD T 213 7b2’), and of begging for anything from a god (praying) could be identical (“to stretch out the hand[s]”), while the various texts spoken by the suppliant differed in accordance with his needs.

9 George 1993, 80, No. 226; Joannès 1987.

10 Gerardi 1993, 131 ff.; Holloway 2002, 131; Berlejung 2002, 230.

11 Krebernik 1987–1990; Selz 1997, 186, n. 16, dagger of Lugal-asal; Wiggermann 1998–2001a, 225–226.

12 George 1993, 78, No. 200; 125, No. 785; Annus 2002, 86–87.

Fifteen deities, divine courtiers, and deified weapons are listed for Zababa's Edubba in a LB ritual text from Babylon,¹³ five of which recur, with slight variations, in the preserved portion of BM 33055:

No. 10 [d ^u]d-u ₁₈ -lu	caption 2, Enforcer
No. 11 d ⁱ -qa-li-iá	caption 4, Weapon d ^{ig} -alim
No. 12 d ^{šul} -šà-ga-na	caption 5, Weapon d ^{šul} -a-šà-ga
No. 13 d ^{mi} -[tu], "(Divine) Mace" without name	caption 6, Plain mace Šaggāšu
No. 15 [d ^{ká}]m-me-ta-mu-šú ¹⁴	caption 7, Plain mace Kami-tāmûšu

Ten gods of the LB ritual text do not recur in the preserved portions of BM 33055. Among them are Zababa's wife (Šarrat-Kiš), their(?) two daughters (known from other texts as Iqbi-damiq and Ĥussinni),¹⁵ their(?) stillborn baby [K]ūbu, and the divine judge [Madānu].¹⁶ The remaining five can be viewed as deified weapons or enforcers of Zababa, which brings their total up to ten:

No. 5 Udulu-the-Wisent	Enforcer, variant of Udulu ¹⁷
No. 6 Muštēšir(-ḥabli)	Weapon, originally of Marduk
No. 7 Kakku-Šazu	Weapon, originally of Marduk
No. 8 Kakku-[SAĜ.NINNU/SAĜ.PIRIĜ]	Weapon, originally of Ninurta
No. 14 [Luḥušû]	Enforcer (Mischwesen), Nergal of Kiš. ¹⁸

13 George 2000, 293: rev. 18–22 with comments, restorations and parallels.

14 Thanks to BM 33055 caption 7 the last item in the Babylon ritual can now be read as [d^{ká}]m-me-ta-mu-šú, presumably for d^{Kami}-tāmûšu, "bound is the one who has sworn by him." The only other attestation of this god is in an OB juridical protocol from Babylon (VAS 22 28: 40, cf. Charpin 1985, 275–276; Klengel 1983, 28–30; not in Richter 1999), where the mace (ḡisTUKUL) of Zababa, called d^{ka}-mi-ta-mi-šu (for Kāmi-tāmîšu, "who binds the one who swears by him," a genitive construction, cf. Charpin 1985, 276: "qui saisit son parjure"), is used in the presence of the šangû of Zababa to establish "border by border" (itâ itâ) the precise extent and location of a contested property. For this use of divine emblems see Slanski 2003–2004.

15 George 2000, 295, ad 2; 298, ad 19.

16 Cf. George 2000, 297, ad 9; 298, ad 19.

17 Presumably d^{Ud}-ulu-a-lim is another manifestation of d^{Udulu}(-the-Eagle) encountered on BM 33055.

18 See CAD L 240 s.v. luḥušû; George 2000, 299, ad 22; a Mischwesen whose feet leave a track which is not that of an Anzû (supernatural eagle), nor that of a šēdu (supernatural lion or bull) (CT 38 5: 125 ff.), and whose apparently bird-like beak is not that of a bird, turtle-dove

A LB school text from Babylon (Cavigneaux 1981, 137) enumerates the “seven well-crafted weapons/emblems” (^{giš}TUKUL *naklūtu*) of Zababa, adding three items to his court (Nos. 3, 4, 7) which are present neither in the ritual text from Babylon, nor in BM 33055. The weapons are collectively characterized as those “who destroy the evil, wicked and inimical day-demon (UD^{ú-mu})”:

No. 1 ^d <i>ig-alim</i>	Caption 4
No. 2 ^d <i>šul-šà-a-ga-ni</i>	Caption 5
No. 3 ^d <i>šár-ur₄</i>	Weapon originally of Ninurta
No. 4 ^d <i>šár-gaz</i>	Weapon originally of Ninurta
No. 5 ^d <i>me-tu</i> , “(Divine) Mace” without name	Caption 6? (plain mace <i>Šaggāšu</i>)
No. 6 ^d <i>lú-ḫuš-a</i>	Weapon (Mischwesen), Nergal of Kiš,
No. 7 ^d <i>e-ta-ni-ÚS.SA.DU-šú¹⁹</i>	Caption 7? (plain mace <i>Kami-tāmūšu</i>)

The LB ritual text has ten weapons/enforcers,²⁰ the contemporary school text has seven, and BM 33055, as far as preserved, has five: the vizier-like Day-Demon Udulu, the pair *Šaggāšu* and *Kami-tāmūšu*, and the pair *Igalim* and *Šulašaga*. BM 33055 patently has no room for another five weapons/enforcers to reach a total of ten, but its broken lower right portion does have room for two further figures with captions, which, if weapons/enforcers, would bring their total up to seven, and thus in accordance with the LB school text. Since it is unlikely that the lower right corner introduced a new theme to the scene, the two broken figures presumably in fact did represent two weapons/enforcers, possibly a matching pair like the two plain maces and the two animal-headed scimitars in the upper right corner.

From an iconographic point of view the search for the two missing weapons is quickly over. In the periods under discussion there are three very common deified weapons, two of which are already accounted for: the lion-scimitar (here named *Igalim*), and the eagle-scimitar (here named *Šulašaga*). The third is the double-lion-mace, which, depending on context, is ascribed to Nergal

or *hūqu*-bird (Leichty 1970, 56: 24–27). ^d*Lú-ḫuš-a* is a member of Zababa(/Ninurta)’s court in Eršemma 45 (Cohen 1981, 143: 8, cf. 145: 13).

19 Cf. George 2000, 299, ad 22, who reads ^d*ē-tanē’-itēšu*, which can be understood as “do not change its (the property’s) border”; with this translation the name parallels that of the oath god *Kami-tāmūšu*, represented by a plain mace, which suggests that ^d*ē-tanē’-itēšu*, too, could have been represented by a plain mace.

20 Slanski 2003–2004, 317 ff., discusses the broad meaning of *kakku* and *šurinnu*.

(Sennacherib's Bavian relief) or Ninurta (*kudurrus*),²¹ gods of war and death to whom Zababa is closely related. With its two matching heads the double-lion-mace could represent two identical agents fused in one, a Siamese twin, which would bring the total of visualized divine weapons/enforcers on BM 33055 from five to seven. On *kudurrus* (for instance No. 48 discussed below), as well as on the partly restored right hand side of BM 33055 (captions 4, 5 and 8), the three (or four, if the Siamese twin counts double) divine weapons often appear together (Wiggermann 1998–2001a, Fig. 6).

For the name of the double-lion-mace the choice is equally limited. Among the weapons listed above for the temple of Zababa only Kakku-Šazu/Kakku-[SAĜ.NINNU/SAĜ.PIRIĜ] (LB ritual text) and Šarur/Šargaz (LB school text)²² form plausible pairs of matching elements, while only the latter occurs in both extant lists of *šurinnu*, “emblems”, one of seventeen on a *kudurru* from the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina I (see Seidl 1989, 33 ff., No. 48: iv 24), and one of twenty on a badly preserved LB school text from Uruk (*LKU* 31: 8).²³

Matching the names of emblems 14–17 on *kudurru* 48 with the actual emblems on that and other *kudurrus* has proved to be a problem. The various solutions (summarized and discussed by Seidl 1989, 33 ff.) and a new proposal (Wiggermann) are tabulated below (Table 34.1).

All authors agree that there are three emblematic divine weapons (double-lion-mace, eagle-scimitar, lion-scimitar), to be divided over only two items named in the list of “emblems” (No. 14 Šarur[ur]-Šargaz; No. 15 Meslamtae). Zimmern and Frank matched the double-lion-mace with Šarur(ur)-Šargaz, and the lion-scimitar with Meslamtae, but had to leave the eagle-scimitar without a name, although it is depicted on the stone. To solve the problem of the missing name Thureau-Dangin and Seidl added one item to the list by splitting No. 14 Šarur(ur)-Šargaz into two, 14a Šarur(ur) and 14b Šargaz, each the name of a different divine weapon. Adding an item to the list of 17 names, however, had the disadvantage of expanding the list to 18, one item too many, which Thureau-Dangin and Seidl solved by taking the two seemingly independent emblems at the end of the list (Nos. 16 and 17) as one. But there is another way out.

21 Seidl 1989, 157 ff.; Herles 2006, 244–245; Wiggermann 1998–2001a, 225–226.

22 In an explanatory list (5R 46: i 32) ^dšár-ur and ^dšár-gaz are equated or identified with ^dmuš-te-šir ḫab-lim and ^{giš}TUKUL ^dšà-zu.

23 The list of emblems *LKU* 31 ends with the Sebettu, as do other Neo-Assyrian lists of protective deities (Wiggermann 2009–2011, 465, § 5.8), and is followed by a subscript: 20 GIŠ.Š[U.NIR.MEŠ].

TABLE 34.1 *Table of emblems and their names (14–17) on kudurru No. 48*

	Ancient name or description of emblem on <i>kudurru</i> 48	New proposal	Seidl 1989, 35	Thureau-Dangin 1919	Zimmern 1906 and Frank 1909
14	^d LUGAL(<i>šār</i>)- <i>ur₄-ur₄</i> ^d <i>šār-gaz</i>	[Double-lion-mace] Ninurta; [<i>Šarur Šargaz</i>] (in BM 33055)	14a. Double- lion-mace Ninurta and 14b. Eagle- scimitar Zababa	14a. Lion- scimitar and 14b. Eagle- scimitar	14 Double-lion- mace
⟨15⟩	⟨ ^d <i>lugal-ir₃-ra</i> ⟩ dropped and not counted	Eagle-scimitar Zababa; <i>Šulašaga</i> (in BM 33055) or:	15 = 14b	15 = 14b	(image of Eagle- scimitar Zababa present, but not named in list)
15	^ù <i>mes-lam-ta-è</i>	Lion-scimitar Nergal; <i>Igalim</i> (in BM 33055)	16 Lion-scimitar Nergal	16 Double-lion- mace	15 Lion-scimitar
16	<i>ma-sab/šab ru-ba- ti</i> “basket/seat of the Queen”	Goddess on throne with dog Gula	17 = 17+18 God- dess on throne with dog Gula	17 = 17+18 God- dess on throne with dog	16 Goddess on throne with dog
17	<i>mar-ka-su GAL-ú ša é-si-kil-la</i> “big rope of (the deity of) Esikila”	Omega-symbol (and knife) Mother-Goddess?	⟨⟨18⟩⟩	⟨⟨18⟩⟩	17 Omega- symbol

A third approach to the missing name problem takes its clue from BM 33055, where the eagle-scimitar and the lion-scimitar are clearly paired, and named after the members of a traditional pair of great antiquity, Šulašaga and Igalim, originally weapons of Ninurta. On *kudurru* 48 the eagle-scimitar and the

lion-scimitar are paired as on BM 33055, but with a name for only one of them: Meslamtae. Together with Lugalirra, however, Meslamtae forms an equally traditional pair of armed protective figures,²⁴ and it is the restoration of the former that supplies the missing name on *kudurru* 48. The elision of ^dLUGAL-ir₉-ra from the list of emblem names would have been caused by vertical haplography, the previous item being ^dLUGAL(šàr)-ur₄-ur₄, a unique spelling of a common name.²⁵

The restored name ((Lugalirra)) brings the total number of names on 18 instead of 17, which can be corrected by fusing the two seemingly independent emblem names at the end of the list into one (17 = 17+18), as was done by Thureau-Dangin and Seidl. Alternatively, it might be that the items were counted only after Lugalirra was dropped from the list. In that case, Nos. 16 (originally 17) and 17 (originally 18) would name two independent emblems.²⁶ Finally, No. 14 Šarur(ur)-Šargaz remains as the name of the double-lion-mace emblem of Ninurta (of Zababa on BM 33055 and the LB school text), on *kudurru* 48 counted as one, on BM 33055 (restored) and the LB school text counted as two.²⁷

Spatial Relations and Narrative Content

With the projection of a three dimensional space onto a flat screen, some information on the location and form of figures in that space gets irretrievably lost, less so when it is done methodically, as in renaissance art, and more so when it is done ad hoc, as in Mesopotamian art. This implies that the results of translating figures and their relations from a flat screen back into a three dimensional space will be ambiguous.

24 For their anthropomorphic form see Lambert 1987–1990, 145; Wiggermann 1998–2001a, 224; Green 1988.

25 Kreberník 2009–2011, 85.

26 Since the identification of emblem name No. 16 as denoting Gula on her throne (Seidl 1989, 195 ff.) seems to be generally accepted, the reading *rubāti*, “of the (divine) queen”, (representing ^dGULA) is to be preferred over *CAD*’s *šubbati/šuppati*, “of rush”. The word taken to name *rubātu*/Gula’s emblem (*ma-sab, masabbu*) denotes “basket”, which does not correspond to any emblem on the *kudurrus*, whereas conversely a word denoting Gula’s throne is missing among the emblem names. This suggests that the word spelled *ma-šab* represents a variant or misspelling (*māšabu*) of *mūšabu*, “seat/throne”.

27 Possibly one of the two plain maces of BM 33055 can be identified with the “Einzelne Keule” of the *kudurrus* (Seidl 1989, 133, No. 20), but if so, it does not replace the double-lion-

The space that BM 33055 encodes (Fig. 34.4) is a three dimensional one, a temple with its contents, and thus the results of reading the spatial relations off the flat screen on which they were projected (the tablet) will be ambiguous and uncertain. Yet it is worth a try, because even if the projection is not methodical, the hierarchical relations between the figures and the narrative content of the scene suggest at least an outline of the three dimensional stage on which they functioned. At essential junctures the cuneiform text, terse as it is, offers invaluable help.

Along a ground line representing the middle axis of the temple an audience takes place; a headless woman enters through a gate, and proceeds through the middle to beg in front of Zababa, his eagles, and the king. The god, the king and the eagle Udulu may or may not have been standing on a platform.

Except the spread-winged eagle and the double-lion-mace, the god's emblems and weapons are standing on an imaginary second ground line about half way up the right upper corner of the tablet. The eagle-scimitar and the lion-scimitar are facing to the right, to the outside of the temple; passing through the gate the headless woman must have met these two on her right, as well as a second pair of guardians on her left, the double-lion-mace Šarur-(and)-Šargaz reconstructed in the lower right corner. Having arrived in front of the god, the headless woman makes her plea in between two plain maces, presumably one on either side of the middle axis.

A close reading of the evidence reveals some further narrative elements. The leading parts must have been played by the headless woman, unique in all cuneiform literature,²⁸ and by the king in association with the god.

First, someone without a head is dead, and when a dead soul (*eṭemmu*) wanders about and into a temple, it is a dead soul that was not properly laid to rest, and hence could not be fed and taken care of by its family. Consequently, the headless woman was permanently hungry and thirsty, a *muškēnātu*, "destitute woman", as the caption has it, and what she begged for must have been the things she needed first and foremost: food, drink, and a proper burial.

The second point is that heads do not drop off by themselves, and that a headless person must be a decapitated person, decapitated by the authorities

mace, the eagle-scimitar, or the lion-scimitar, since all four occasionally occur together on one monument (*kudurrus* Nos. 97, 98; three on *kudurru* No. 103).

28 Dr. S. Panayotov informs me that on an unpublished Lamaštu amulet from the British Museum (BM 104891) a nude and apparently headless woman (or child) is drawn to the right of Lamaštu's left leg, and to the left of the dog drinking from her left breast. In view of the different contexts, the two headless females are unlikely to be related, but the general lack of evidence counsels restraint.

(foremost the king) in punishment for a crime.²⁹ Apparently, the story of the headless woman did not get a happy ending, since the image perpetuates her destitute state for all eternity, and for all to see. Probably the headless woman's fate was meant as an example for other criminals, which, *mutatis mutandis*, can be demonstrated by a passage from the composition *Nebuchadnezzar King of Justice* (Lambert 1965, 8: iii 6 ff.): "... (a criminal) ... they cut off his head and sent it through the land. They (also) cut off a stone head, made it into the likeness of that man's head, had the following inscribed on that man's head, and fixed it on the outer gate of that law court for all mankind to see: 'a man whose case has been judged, the tablet of whose verdict has been written, and whose tablet has been sealed, but afterwards he returns for judgement—in like manner his head be cut off.'" In BM 33055 the headless body (of stone presumably) like the criminal's head, stays in the temple, forever begging in front of god and king. The fate of the headless woman's (stone) head and the precise nature of her crime may have been among the subjects of the reverse, depicting, we may guess, another part of the same temple.

With one eye on the history of the Sun Tablet of Nabû-apla-iddina (Woods 2004), the purpose and history of BM 33055 can now be tentatively outlined: in order to let the headless woman's punishment last forever a Late Kassite(/Isin II) king had a chapel built and furnished in the temple of Zababa;³⁰ its layout and contents were described on a tablet, the original of BM 33055, of stone, no doubt, for durability. Late Kassite(/Isin II) iconographical features that stem from this original are the crown of Zababa, and probably his eagle-scutum, which is attested only on *kudurrus* no later than the NB period;³¹ the script must have been late MB, contemporary with the king who commissioned the tablet.

Since the information on the tablet must have been meant for a later king rebuilding the temple, the original stone tablet was probably buried in the temple's foundations, where that later king would surely find it, and in fact did. This later king (NB/LB) rebuilt the chapel and reburied the stone tablet, but had a clay copy (BM 33055) made of the original, retaining most of the irreplaceable original drawings of the god and the weapons/emoles (Late Kassite/[Isin II]), but updating the script (NB/LB), and perhaps the image of the king.³²

29 Other decapitations take place in war situations, but not of women.

30 The Isin II king Adad-apla-iddina (1068–1047) seems close enough in time, and is known to have rebuilt the Emeteursag (George 1993, 125).

31 Herles 2006, 269.

32 The last kings known to have rebuilt the Edubba are Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II (George 1993, 78); BM 33055 may be a LB archive copy paleographically updated more than once between the Late Kassite(/Isin II) and LB periods. The image of the king as reconstructed in the drawing (Fig. 34.3) is NB rather than Late Kassite(/Isin II).

The building history of the temple and the fate of the tablet may have been among the subjects of the reverse.

The genesis of BM 33055 may be summarized as follows:

1. An original 3D set-up of statues and symbolic weapons in (a chapel of) Zababa's temple; it cannot be excluded that the original set-up was already 2D (wall relief, wall painting or stele, with or without explanatory captions);
2. A reduced 2D version of that set-up on a stone tablet, with explanatory captions; probably buried in the foundations of the temple in question;
3. A later and partly updated archival copy of 2 on a clay tablet (BM 33055).

Photos of BM 33055, S.V. Panayotov

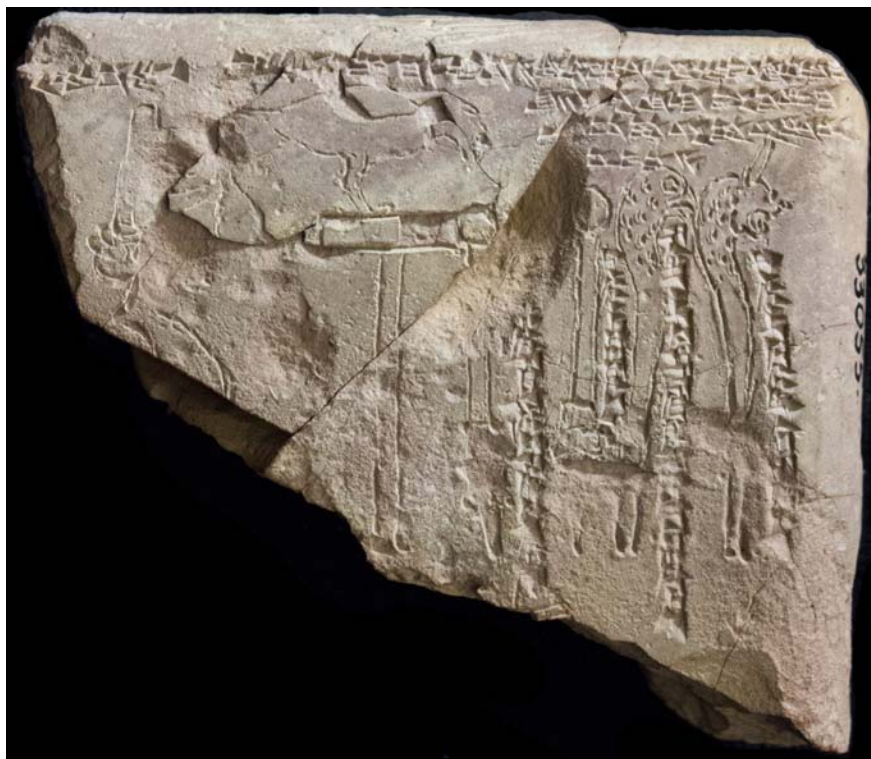


FIGURE 34.5 *BM 33055, obv.*

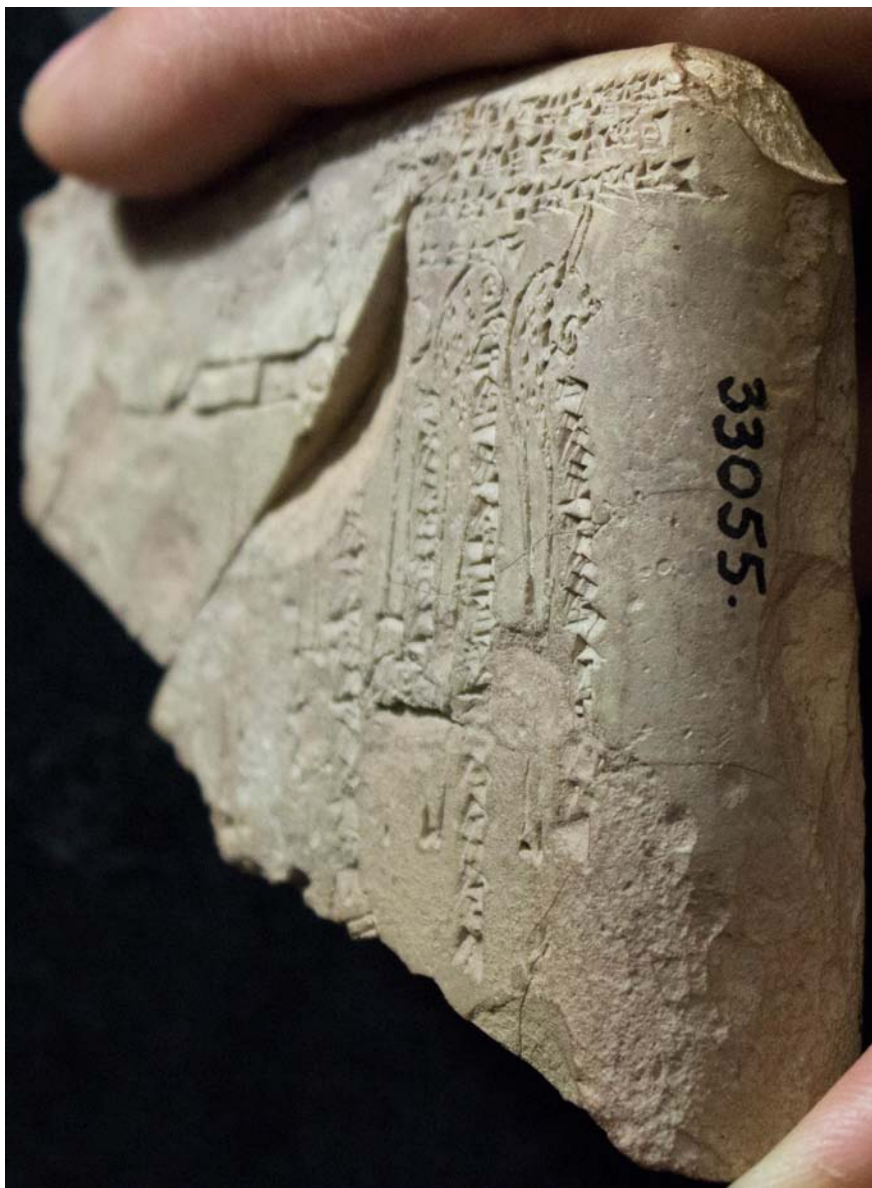


FIGURE 34.6 *BM 33055, right edge*



FIGURE 34.7
BM 33055, right edge



FIGURE 34.8 *BM 33055, rev., left edge*

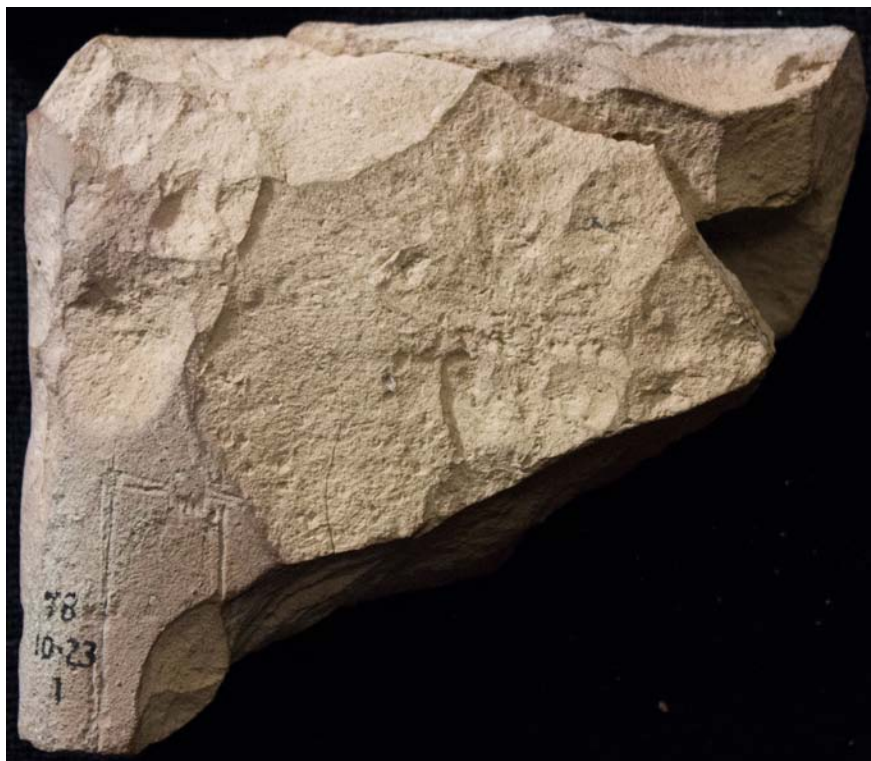


FIGURE 34.9 BM 33055, rev.

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Additional abbreviations:

IGI Attia, Annie. 2015. Traduction et commentaires des trois premières tablettes de la série IGI. *JMC* 25.

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